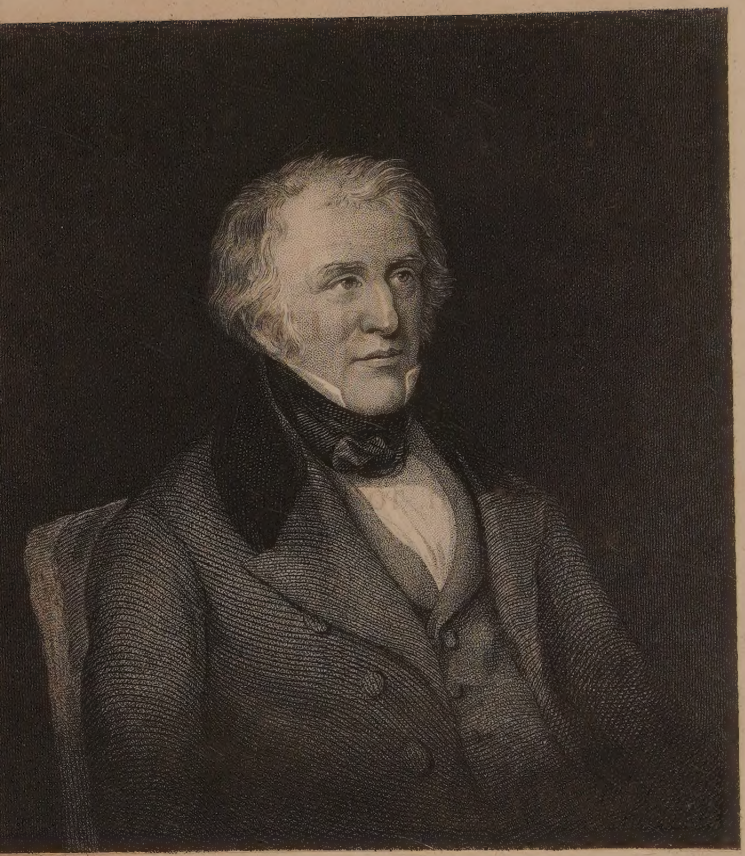

Franklin Fmx.

EDWARD PELHAM BRENTON,

CAPTAIN, ROYAL NAVY.

London Published by Henry Colburn 13 Great Marlborough Street

THE

NAVAL HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE YEAR

MDCCLXXXIII. TO MDCCCXXXVI.

BY

EDWARD PELHAM BRENTON,

CAPTAIN IN THE ROYAL NAVY.

A NEW AND GREATLY IMPROVED EDITION,

ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS, PLANS, ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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THE

NAVAL HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

CHAPTER I.

Captain Collier's action with La Flèche—Vice-admiral Rainier occupies the Portuguese settlements—Accounts reach Bombay of the probable renewal of the war—British naval force in India—Arrival of Rear-admiral Linois—Admiral Rainier refuses to deliver up Pondicherry——Linois sails in the night—News of the war reaches India—Linois attacks Bencoolen—Meets with the China fleet off Pulo A'or, and, after a short action, quits them—Munificence of the East India Company—Action of Captain Henry Lambert—Action between Centurion and Marengo—Fiorenzo and Psyché—Admiral Rainier returns from India with a rich fleet—Affairs of Ceylon and India—Sir Thomas Trowbridge, in the Blenheim, falls in with Linois, in the Marengo—Short action, undecided.

Captain G. R. Collier, in the Victor sloop of war, fell in, off the island Diego Garcia, in September, 1801, with a French corvette. The enemy sailed better than the Victor on a wind, but not so well large, and, having disabled the rigging of the Victor, obtained a favourable position and escaped. Captain Collier determined not to quit his foe. Judging that she must be bound to the Mahée islands, he steered for them, and there got sight of her as she lay in a secure and intricate anchorage. The officers of the Victor sounded the channel, under the fire of the French corvette; and Captain Collier, having ascertained the depth of water, warped his ship in under a raking fire, until he got so near as to anchor with springs on his cable, when he brought his broadside to bear, and in two hours and a half sank her at her anchors, without having one of his own men killed

or wounded. The corvette was called La Flèche, had 172 men and 22 guns; the Victor was a vessel of very inferior force.*

In the month of December the squadron was employed in occupying, or reinforcing, the garrisons of the Portuguese settlements in India, Diu, Goa, and Damaun, in pursuance of orders from Government. A squadron also was despatched from Bengal to take possession of Macao, but the admiral fortunately falling in with it off Prince of Wales's Island, ordered Captain Edward Oliver Osborn, in the Arrogant, to proceed with it to communicate with the supercargoes at Canton, before he landed the troops at Macao. This prudent precaution saved much uneasiness, and perhaps prevented a disturbance between us and the Chinese, who would have seriously resented any affront offered to the Portuguese. This state of things, between us and the latter power, was occasioned by the forcible interference of France with the Government of Lisbon; in consequence of which Madeira was occupied by a British garrison, as we have already seen. On the 29th of February, 1802, the vice-admiral received an account of the signing of the preliminary treaty of peace with France: from that time till the month of December nothing material of a public nature occurred in India. On the 1st of the month the Centurion left Trincomalee for Madras, and, contrary to the usual course of the monsoon, when 80 miles east of that place, she met with a gale, or hurricane, of such extreme violence as to carry her lower masts over the side without a stitch of canvass being set. She soon after arrived safe in Madras roads, where Admiral Rainier embarked on board of her on the 3d of January, 1803.

He had frequently written to be superseded from his command, when the Earl of St. Vincent acquainted him that his local knowledge and experience were so conducive to the public good, that his services could not be dispensed with. Soon after this the vice-admiral sailed in the Centurion for Bombay, where he arrived on the 7th of February, in time to assist in person, with his ship's company, in extinguishing a fire which broke out on the 17th, and burnt down the greater part of the town, leaving only the dock-yard, arsenal, European buildings, and castle, which were preserved by the intrepidity of the admiral

* It is melancholy to reflect that this gallant and lamented officer put a period to his existence some years ago, in consequence of a mistake which he made in a signal when in pursuit of an American frigate in the latter part of the war. His mind was regaining its wonted tranquillity, when an unfortunate passage in a then recent publication roused his feelings to such a pitch of excitement that he could no longer endure the supposed censure of his brother officers. Yet he had frequently distinguished himself in action, and on one occasion, in a personal rencontre with a robber, he shot the man dead, after receiving the contents of his adversary's pistol through the back of his hand.

and his people. For his conduct on this occasion the admiral received the thanks of the governor and council of Bombay, and was desired to communicate the same to his officers and men.

Captain James G. Vashon, of the Fox frigate, with two other vessels, was employed against the Jygate pirates with great success, which was acknowledged in warm terms by the Government of Bombay. While Admiral Rainier was at Bombay, the accounts from Europe represented the peace to be not quite secure, and that a garrison for Pondicherry would leave France at a certain time. The admiral, in consequence of this intelligence, hastened round to the Coromandel coast, and anchored in Cudalore roads on the 5th of July, when his force consisted of the—

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Centurion (flag)	50	Capt. J. S. Rainier.
Lancaster	64	—— William Fothergill.
Trident	64	—— Thomas Surridge.
St. Fiorenzo	40	
Fox	32	—— J. G. Vashon.
Terpsichore	32	—— W. Bathurst.
Sheerness (flûte)	44	—— J. S. Carden.
Victor, Albatross, Rattlesnake }	Sloops.	

These were not all the ships of war on the station. In addition to them there were in the Indian seas, and on the passage to India,

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
The Arrogant	74	E. O. Osborn.
Tremendous	74	John Osborn.
Russel*	74	R. Williams.
Sceptre*	74	Sir A. C. Dickson, Bart.
Intrepid	64	William Hargood.
Romney	50	Sir Home Popham.
Leopard	50	

About 11 frigates, and some sloops and smaller vessels.

In New South Wales and on discoveries—

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Investigator	14	Matthew Flinders.
Buffalo	12	Lieut. William Kent.

It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to know the exact number of ships on this or any other station. The changes were so frequent and so various as to baffle the most diligent inquiry.

* Went out in 1804.

The admiral had been only one week on the coast, when Admiral Linois, whom my readers will remember at Algeziras in 1801, arrived in the Marengo, of 80 guns, with two or three large frigates. He had sailed from Brest very early in March, and anchored in Pondicherry roads, having on board General de Caen, with a garrison for that place; but the vice-admiral, acting in concert with the government of Madras, would not allow them to land, nor would he deliver up the fortress until farther advices arrived from Europe. Linois affected much indignation at the refusal, producing the sign-manual of the King of Great Britain as his authority to land; and, warning Admiral Rainier of the consequences, he intimated his determination to retire if the place was not immediately given up. While this correspondence was going on, a French corvette appeared in the offing, bringing dispatches for Linois, who, on the following night, left lights upon his buoys, cut his cables, and went to the Mauritius.

Although circumstances would not have justified Admiral Rainier in committing any act of direct hostility against the French, still, as he had prevented their throwing a force of 3,000 men into Pondicherry, under the possibility and even the probability of a speedy renewal of the war, there would not have been a much greater wrong committed if he had commanded the French admiral to come to an anchor with his ships in Pondicherry roads, and, with the British squadron at anchor alongside and around them, there to wait until the arrival of farther orders from England. This would have been a measure of obvious propriety after the prohibition to land, and to the full as justifiable. It was evident, from the King's message to parliament of the 8th of March, that hostilities were about to recommence. This message had reached India in June; the corvette Le Bellier sailed early in April, and brought the intelligence which induced Linois to depart so suddenly from the presence of a force so much superior.

The Count de Dumas, in the "Précis," vol. xi. p. 61, accuses us of bad faith in not restoring the East-India and other colonies: this is no more than we are to expect from French writers, whether of the Napoleon or the Ultra school. An extract from the same volume, p. 189, may convince an unprejudiced reader that the conquest of our Indian possessions was contemplated at the very time the French Government pretended to be most anxious to preserve peace.

The passage is taken from the instructions written in *February*, 1803, by Bonaparte himself, for General de Caen, and concludes with these remarkable words:—

"The mission of the captain-general is, in the first instance,

a mission of observation, political and military, &c.; but the First Consul, well informed by the captain-general, upon whom he relies for the punctual execution of these instructions, may, perhaps, place it in his power to *acquire a great glory which prolongs the memory of men beyond the duration of ages.*"

Letters of marque and reprisals having been issued by the British Government on the 16th of May, the Caroline frigate, commanded by Captain Benjamin William Page, sailed on the 27th with dispatches for India, and arrived on the 6th of September. The same intelligence had reached the presidency of Bombay from Bussorah on the 4th, with instructions from the Court of Directors to detain all Dutch property; their settlements to be occupied by us until the policy of the Netherlands was decided.

Admiral Rainier, seeing that the war was renewed, employed his squadron in every direction for the annoyance of the enemy. The Sheerness captured a French transport, laden with ordnance stores and provisions; and the Caroline took the General de Caen and Les Frères Unis privateers.

While the honour of the British flag was supported by our ships of war, those of the Honourable East India Company were singularly successful in defending themselves from the attack of an enemy's squadron, which might, according to the fair calculation of sea-fighting, have taken or destroyed one half of them.

After Admiral Linois had retired from the roads of Pondicherry, and returned in safety with his squadron to the Isle of France, he received official dispatches from Europe, conveying the news of the war, and bringing orders to commence hostilities. He sailed accordingly, and proceeded to the Eastern seas, attacking our settlement of Bencoolen, in the island of Sumatra, where he burnt or destroyed some small vessels, took three prizes, and burnt some warehouses, with comparative impunity.

This may be considered the last exploit of any consequence performed by the unfortunate French admiral. He continued in the Chinese seas, and off Sumatra and Batavia, till the month of February, at which time, when off the straits of Malacca, he fell in with the homeward-bound India fleet, consisting of the following ships:—

Ships.	*Commanders.*
Camden	Capt. Dance, senior officer.
Warley	—— H. Wilson.
Alfred	—— J. Farquharson.
Royal George	—— F. J. Timmins.
Coutts	—— R. Florin.

Ships.	*Commanders.*
Wexford	Capt. W. Stanley Clarke.
Ganges	—— W. Moffatt.
Exeter	—— Henry Meriton.
Abergavenny	—— J. Waresworth, jun.
Henry Addington	—— J. Kirkpatrick.
Bombay Castle	—— A. Hamilton.
Cumberland	—— W. W. Farren.
Hope	—— J. Pendergrass.
Dorsetshire	—— R. H. Brown.
Warren Hastings	—— T. Larkins.
Ocean	—— J. C. Lockner.

This valuable fleet, with eleven sail of country ships, fell in, off Pulo A'or, with the squadron under the command of Admiral Linois, consisting of the

Ships.	*Guns.*
Marengo	80
Belle Poule	44
Suffisante	44
Corvette	28
Brig	18

Captain Dance, with great judgment, put his ships' heads towards the enemy; four of his best sailers he sent down to reconnoitre, and, having ascertained what they were, called in his look-out, and formed the line of battle in close order under an easy sail. As soon as the French ships could fetch into the wake of ours, they put about, and at sunset were close in the rear of the India fleet, which was in momentary expectation of an attack, but at the close of day the French admiral hauled his wind. Lieutenant Fowler, of the Royal Navy, who was a passenger with Captain Dance, volunteered to go in a fast-sailing vessel to order the country ships to keep on the lee bow of the India fleet; by this judicious arrangement Captain Dance kept himself between the country ships and the enemy. Lieutenant Fowler, having executed his order, returned, bringing with him some volunteers from the country ships to serve at the guns (a noble proof of the public spirit of our sailors). The Indiamen lay to in line of battle during the night, with the people at their quarters. At daylight, on the 15th, the enemy were three miles to windward, also lying-to: the British ships hoisted their colours and offered battle, but the enemy not choosing to come down, at nine A. M. the India fleet steered its course under easy sail; the enemy then filled and edged towards them. At one P. M. Captain Dance, perceiving that the French admiral intended to attack and cut off his rear,

made the signal for his fleet to tack and engage in succession. The Royal George led, and was followed by the Ganges and Earl Camden. The ships performed the manœuvre with admirable correctness, and stood towards the French under a press of sail. The latter formed a very close line, and opened their fire on the headmost ships, which was not returned until ours had approached as near as they could get, the French having a great advantage in superior sailing. The Royal George bore the brunt of the action; the Ganges and Camden came up, and also began to engage; but before any other ships could get up, the French admiral hauled his wind, and stood away to the eastward under all the sail he could set. Captain Dance made the signal for a general chase, but, after a pursuit of two hours, finding the enemy gained on him, he very properly desisted.

The action was very short: one man only was killed on board the Royal George, and one wounded; the other ships had none hurt, and received little damage in their hulls or rigging.

To say that Linois was deceived by the warlike appearance of our Indiamen, and the blue swallow-tail flags (*pavillon à queue bleue*) worn by the three largest ships, may save his courage at the expense of his judgment. "An Indiaman," says the Count de Dumas, "has often been mistaken for a ship of the line." But when did the Count de Dumas ever hear of 17 British ships of the line lying-to, to await the attack of a French 80-gun ship and two frigates?

The conduct of the Company's officers and men on the memorable action off Pulo A'or displayed a fine instance of our national character. On what occasion has it ever happened that the merchant-ships of our enemies have defended themselves, and adhered to each other with so much firmness and decision, against a ship of war? Our East Indiamen are certainly very fine ships, and have, generally, such an appearance as to be sometimes mistaken for ships of the line; but their complement of men is very inadequate to their size, for fighting, particularly when required to lie alongside a ship of the line. None of them, we believe, had more than 100 men, their heaviest metal 18-pounders. The Marengo had 700 at least, with a weight of metal on her lower-deck, and a scantling, which rendered her an overmatch for all the ships of that fleet that could at one time have brought their guns to bear on her. The two frigates were also very powerful ships; so that the conduct of Captain Dance, in resisting the attack, and keeping his ships in line of battle, instead of ordering them to separate and seek their safety in flight, entitles him to all the praise which can be bestowed on a sea officer. His Majesty

was graciously pleased to confer upon him the honour of knighthood. The Court of Directors also presented him with 2,000 guineas, and a piece of plate of the value of 200 guineas. To Captain Timmins, of the Royal George, they presented the sum of 1,000 guineas, and a piece of plate of the value of 100 guineas; to Captain Moffatt, of the Ganges, 500 guineas, and a piece of plate of 100 guineas value; to all the other captains 500 guineas, and a piece of plate of the value of 50 guineas; to Lieutenant Fowler, of the Royal Navy, a piece of plate of 300 guineas value;—and the Court of Directors, as well as the public bodies in India, were extremely liberal in pecuniary gratification to every officer and man in the fleet. Captain Sir Nathaniel Dance had also a pension of £300 per annum settled on him by the East-India Company; and this, by a vote of a General Meeting of Proprietors, was increased to £500 per annum.

Captain Henry Lambert commanded the Wilhelmina, of 32 guns, an old Dutch-built frigate, without one quality to recommend her as a ship of war, unless it were that of looking so unlike one in every respect that the enemy fearlessly approached her, and by that means was sometimes captured when a chase would have been useless.

This ship, in the month of April, 1804, fell in, off the east side of Ceylon, with a large French frigate-built privateer, which she engaged with great obstinacy and fury for three hours, when the Frenchman being much disabled, and the British frigate still more so, they separated, nor was it in the power of our young hero to renew the action, the enemy having so much the advantage of him in point of sailing. We shall shortly, however, see him more gloriously successful. The Wilhelmina had four men killed and six wounded.

The unfortunate Linois was doomed to experience another defeat from a ship of war every way his inferior, and under circumstances which certainly placed his professional character in a still more unfavourable point of view.

On the 18th of September, the Centurion, of 50 guns, was lying at anchor in the roads of Vizagapatam, for the protection of the Princess Charlotte Indiaman, and the Barnaby, a country ship, which were taking in their cargoes at that place. While thus employed, Linois appeared in sight from the southward, with the Marengo and two frigates. Captain Lind was on shore at this time, making the necessary arrangements for the sailing of the convoy; in his absence the command of the ship devolved on the first lieutenant, Mr. James Robert Phillips, whose good conduct could certainly not be surpassed. As his first object was to secure the convoy, he made the signal

for an enemy being in sight, and for the ships to provide for their own safety. The Barnaby ran on shore and was lost in the surf, and the Princess Charlotte struck her colours after receiving a few shots from one of the frigates. The Centurion cut her cable and got under sail, prepared to receive the attack of this superior force, the whole of which now fell upon the British ship. Their fire was returned with the greatest vigour; the enemy's ships kept at the distance of half a mile from her, and in this way all of them engaged for more than an hour; the Marengo and one frigate on the starboard, the other frigate on the larboard quarter. At 11 o'clock the French ships tacked and stood to sea, and soon after, Captain Lind got on board with great difficulty and danger. By this time the Centurion's rigging and sails were so much cut as to render her unmanageable, and she was compelled to anchor at the back of the surf, about a mile and a half to the north-east of the town, where she prepared again for action. The enemy stood in, and, after trying the range of her guns, came to an anchor abreast of the Centurion, at the distance of about a mile, and renewed the action. The lower-deck guns of the British ship were the only ones that would reach, while those of the enemy were capable of doing greater execution. One of the frigates kept under sail on her quarter, and annoyed them very much, while the other carried off the Indiaman. After this action had lasted about two hours, the Marengo cut her cable, and made sail with the squadron and prize to the N. E.

The Count de Dumas, unfortunate in his apology for Linois in the affair off Pulo A'or with Commodore Dance, is still more so in this. He calls the Centurion "*un vaisseau de guerre;*" but the term is never applied by the French to any thing less than a ship of 74 guns, which he well knew the Centurion was not. He says that she was supported by heavy batteries, which is equally incorrect, as no ship of her draught of water could lie within gun-shot of the shore at that place. He observes also that we had 10 sail of the line in India, which were in search of Linois, and which he was certain would soon overtake him; he therefore made the best of his way to the Isle of France, "after having captured and destroyed to the value of twenty millions of francs from the Company. Faults," he concludes, "we may avoid, but uncertainty and error we are all liable to."—*Précis*, vol. xi., p. 69.

The conduct of Linois in this affair seems to be unaccountable; the naval reader must draw his own conclusion. The Centurion had none killed, and only nine wounded. Captain Lind received the honour of knighthood, and his first lieu-

tenant was promoted to the rank of commander, and soon after deservedly to that of captain.

On the 13th of February, Captain Henry Lambert (late of the Wilhelmina), in the St. Fiorenzo, of 38 guns, fell in, near Vizagapatam, with a French frigate, a privateer of 10 guns, and a country ship, their prize. After a chase of 37 hours, the British frigate came up with the merchant-ship, which she recaptured, and learnt that the enemy's ship was the Psyché, of 36 guns and 240 men, under the command of Captain Bergeret. Captain Lambert left a midshipman in charge of the prize, and made all sail in pursuit of the frigate, then endeavouring to escape, and at a great distance ahead. At ten minutes past eight he commenced a close action with her, which continued till half-past 11 o'clock, when the St. Fiorenzo hauled off to repair her rigging, and in half an hour after bore up to renew the contest; but, just as she was about to open her fire, an officer came from the enemy's ship to say that motives of humanity had compelled her captain to surrender; he had therefore struck his colours, though he might have borne the conflict much longer. Upon examination of the captured ship, however, all farther disguise was impracticable, and the cause of the surrender was evident; the second captain, two lieutenants, 54 seamen and soldiers, lay dead on her decks, with 70 officers and men wounded. The St. Fiorenzo had 12 killed and 36 wounded. There was a character in this action which marked it as one of peculiar coolness and gallantry on both sides. Captain Bergeret was a man universally esteemed by his enemies. His bravery, his talents, his humanity and generosity to his prisoners, had rendered him deservedly an object of interest to all those who had fallen into his power. He had been taken in a former action by Sir Edward Pellew, in the Indefatigable; he then commanded La Virginie, a very large frigate. The family of Lord Exmouth still retain a great friendship for this gallant and excellent Frenchman.

Captain Lambert, whose conduct on this and the former occasion excited the admiration of the country, received no particular mark of favour for his victory.

Admiral Rainier, while his cruisers were so honourably employed in the bay of Bengal, did not forget the blockade of the Isle of France, off which he stationed Captain Edward O. Osborn, in the Arrogant, of 74 guns, with a small squadron, who captured and destroyed many of the enemy's vessels; but, notwithstanding the vigilance of that excellent officer, the French squadron under M. Linois, with all their prizes, got safe into port.

In January, 1805, Admiral Rainier was at Prince of Wales's Island, where he found Rear-admiral Sir Edward Pellew, in the Culloden, who had arrived to succeed him in the command.

In March, Admiral Rainier sailed from Madras in the Trident: stopping at St. Helena, he took the China fleet under his convoy, and arrived safe in the Downs with the most valuable fleet that ever came from India. It consisted of 39 ships, and was estimated in value at fifteen millions sterling. Admiral Gantheaume was supposed to have been most anxious to get out for the chance of intercepting this fleet, but Cornwallis and Gardner kept too close to Brest to admit of his moving; and the gallant veteran Admiral Rainier completed his long and meritorious public services by bringing the convoy in safety to the ports of his country, from which he had been absent eleven years and four months. During the whole of that time he held the command in India; and no officer had ever possessed it for so long a period, nor with so much uninterrupted success. He died in London on the 6th of April, 1808, after having bequeathed to his country one-tenth part of the property which he had acquired in its service.*

The peace of Amiens, which had added to our Indian territory the beautiful island of Ceylon, of the same length and something broader than Ireland, while it gave us the possession of Trincomalee, Point de Galle, and Colombo, added to the weight and responsibility resting on the supreme government and the commander-in-chief of the naval forces in India. To these vast possessions St. Helena may be called the first or outward barrier; the Cape of Good Hope the second; and the island of Ceylon the third. Of this island the Honourable Frederick North was appointed governor on its cession to the British crown; but he had still to contend with the King of Candi, the native sovereign of the country, for the command of the fruitful provinces of the interior.

In the month of June, 1803, the unfortunate Major Davie, who commanded a detachment of 40 British and 200 Malay troops, was induced to lay down his arms, when intrusted with the defence of the city of Candi, and himself and people were put to death in cold blood, with the exception of two or three who were permitted to escape. The entire possession of the

* With the highest possible respect for the memory of this excellent officer and man, I should humbly suggest that if in future any of our admirals should happen to have more money than their own relations might require, they would think of the widows and orphans of their brother-officers "at the Thatched House." The bequest of 10 per cent. was like a drop of water in the ocean whereon it had been gained, and was received without thanks, for none could be grateful for that which, being spread over so large a surface, was unfelt and unseen.

coast, and all the sea-ports of the island, gave us a great advantage as a maritime power; but unfortunately Ceylon, for many years past, has been subject to diseases formerly unknown or of rare occurrence; and Trincomalee, the finest harbour in the world, is scarcely tenable from the prevalence of the Indian cholera.

While Admiral Rainier was on his passage to England, Linois, his great opponent in India, having completed his repairs at the Isle of France, and made good the damage sustained in the action with the Centurion, sailed on his third cruise, in which he was more successful in the acquisition of wealth than of honour.

It had been considered by Earl St. Vincent that the East-India command, from the Gulf of Persia to China, or from the Cape of Good Hope to Macao, was too extensive for one officer. Rear-admiral Sir Edward Pellew now exclusively held that command, to which he had succeeded on the resignation of Vice-admiral Rainier, early in 1805. In the same year Rear-admiral Sir Thomas Trowbridge was appointed to share the profits and the patronage of that enviable station; he had the east, while Sir Edward Pellew held the west side of the Peninsula.

Sir Thomas Trowbridge, having his flag in the Blenheim, of 74 guns, a reduced 90-gun ship, sailed from England some time in June, with 10 sail of Indiamen under his convoy, and a body of troops on board, with which he was directed to proceed to Madras with the least possible delay.

Linois, having quitted the Isle of France in the month of May, upon his third cruise, scoured the Mosambique channel, with the Marengo and the Belle Poule: thence he proceeded to the mouth of the Red Sea, and, finding the weather too violent, he steered for Point de Galle, in the island of Ceylon, captured the Brunswick East Indiaman, and then directed his course towards the Cape of Good Hope. No man had more perseverance than Linois, none had ever more opportunities of seeing his enemy, and none was ever more unfortunate in the results. His error of Pulo A'or was mistaking Indiamen for ships of war; in the present instance he was equally unfortunate in mistaking a ship of war for an Indiaman. In his action with the Centurion he was undecided, and kept at too great a distance; in his action with the Blenheim he showed a want of conduct; in short, the whole naval career of this officer was marked with error or misfortune. Few men were ever more in action, or came out of it with less credit. His last action, in which he was taken, was his best; of that we shall speak in its proper place. In the month of August he fell in

with Sir Thomas Trowbridge and his convoy to the eastward of Madagascar, in 81° east and 19° south. Linois had with him the Belle Poule and Atalante frigates, of 44 guns, and the Brunswick, his prize. The Marengo brought the Blenheim to action, most probably under the conviction of that ship being an Indiaman; but, feeling the effect of her lower-deck guns, Linois very quickly took himself out of gun-shot, and hauled his wind. The Blenheim sailed too ill to attempt the pursuit, and the British rear-admiral continued his course to Madras, where he arrived without any farther accident, and took the command in the Eastern seas.

CHAPTER II.

Plans of Napoleon for invasion of England—Number and disposition of his forces—His letters to the minister of marine and to La Touche Treville—Force of his fleet—Directions of Napoleon for the exercise of his Brest fleet—Letter to Missiessy—Army and flotilla—Plans his expeditions to St. Helena, West Indies, and Ireland—Rendezvous off Boulogne—Combination of Spain with France—Causes of failure—Sir Robert Calder sent off Ferrol—Rigorous blockade of Brest—Anxiety of Napoleon for the sailing of Gantheaume—Orders to take the West India islands and St. Helena.

The naval history of Great Britain for the year 1805, was fraught with events of such magnitude as to command in a particular manner the attention of the whole civilized world, whose political existence depended on the result of the great struggle preparing to be decided on the ocean between the navies of Britain and those of France, Spain, and Holland, united against her.

The Emperor of France, with his "invincible army of England," encamped on the heights of Boulogne, waited, or pretended to wait, with anxious expectation to hear of the defeat of the British fleet, before he embarked on his perilous enterprise against the last refuge of liberty in Europe.

While our fleets preserved their position before the Texel, Brest, Rochefort, Vigo, Ferrol, Cadiz, Carthagena, and Toulon, the smaller vessels, under the command of the most enterprising young officers, watched every motion of the flotilla and the imperial legions, and lost no opportunity of showing to them the kind of enemy they would have to encounter, should they ever reach the happy shores of Britain. The scene of naval operations extended from the Texel to Toulon, thence westward as far as the island of Trinidad, the Antilles, and Jamaica.

The year 1804 had been suffered to pass away without any attempt on the part of France, and little was effected by us worthy of notice.

I shall in this place endeavour to show how vast, and at the same time how indefinite, were the naval plans embraced by Bonaparte for destroying the power of this country; in doing

which I shall have occasion, besides other authorities, to quote documents emanating from himself.

It was pretended by Napoleon that his squadrons, putting to sea simultaneously, should raise the blockades of the ports of Europe, and, after ravaging the British colonies, concentrate in the Channel. In this he certainly pursued a very different system from that which had been adopted by his predecessors. Convinced that the failure of the maritime expeditions of France in her former wars was occasioned by precipitation, he resolved to collect an overpowering force, and not to hazard it in action until he could ensure a favourable result. See *Précis*, vol. xi., p. 317. "His plan was so good," says his eulogist, "that it ought to have succeeded even at the very last moment." This is a conclusion to which we should not have been led by reading the letters and instructions of Napoleon; on the contrary, knowing, as he did, the force under the command of Nelson and Cornwallis, I cannot admit that he showed any judgment in trusting to the union and resources of his scattered squadrons after months of separation, and in not having as many French three-deck ships under the command of Villeneuve as there were in the British fleet.*

In a letter to his minister of the marine, dated at St. Cloud, 1st May, 1804, Napoleon gives the most positive injunctions for the Brest fleet to be daily under sail; he is discontented with the conduct of the admiral, who, notwithstanding his urgent commands, "had not caused one ship to weigh her anchor in the whole course of the year, in order to facilitate the passage of the flotilla from Audierne bay;" so that, with a very small squadron, the English had been permitted to blockade their fleet. "Whenever the weather will permit," he says, "let light squadrons be kept constantly under weigh, to harass the enemy, even if they should receive a few broadsides." No excuse would be admitted for the neglect of this order, the execution of which was to keep the British on the alert, and the French in wind, (*en haleine.*) Napoleon forgot that this exercise was at least as beneficial to us as to them; increasing the local knowledge of our officers, and the practical seamanship of our men. Rewards and promotions were liberally held forth to the most zealous; and, by a letter to Admiral La Touche Treville, dated Malmaison, July 2, 1804, it would appear that a little energy had been instilled into them.

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* Fouché, vol. i., p. 333. The author of that work, speaking of the vast schemes of Napoleon, says, "Hélas! il s'abîma dans ses combinaisons maritimes, croyant mouvoir nos divisions navales avec la même précision qu'il mettraient ses armées de terre à manœuvrer devant lui." The instructions to Villeneuve, in the same page, were more easy to dictate than to execute.

To that officer Napoleon writes "that the Rochefort squadron consists of five sail of the line and four frigates, ready for sea; while at Brest there are 20 sail of the line, which are in the constant habit of weighing anchor "to harass the enemy;" that three Dutch ships of the line were blocked up in the Texel, with four frigates, and a convoy of 30 transports, having on board the army of Marmont."

He adds that "between Etaples, Boulogne, Vimereux, and Ambleteuse, he had 1,800 gun-vessels, carrying 120,000 troops, and 10,000 horses." "Let us only be masters of the Channel six hours, and we shall be masters of the world." *Précis*, vol. xi., p. 200. "If," continues Napoleon, "you deceive Nelson, he will go to Sicily, to Egypt, or to Ferrol;—if your squadron should get out of the Mediterranean, it will naturally be supposed that you intend to raise the blockade of the last-named place; it will therefore be advisable that you take a circuitous route to reach Rochefort; this will give you 16 sail of the line and 11 frigates: then, without anchoring, or losing one minute, you will either sail round Ireland at a great distance, or get before Boulogne." (We suppose by running up the English Channel.) "Our Brest fleet, of 23 sail of the line, will have the army embarked, and by keeping under sail will oblige Cornwallis to remain close to the shores of Britany, in order to prevent their escape." He adds, "It is probable that you will reach Boulogne in the course of September, when the nights will be reasonably long, and the weather not bad for any length of time."

When, in the autumn of 1804, Bonaparte was at Mayence, he ordered Decrès to prepare three expeditions. One, under Villeneuve, was to embrace two objects: it was to sail from Toulon, consisting of 12 sail of the line, eight frigates, and two brigs, with a body of troops. When in the Atlantic Ocean the admiral was to detach, on a separate expedition, two sail of the line, four frigates, and two brigs, with 1,800 troops, under the command of Brigadier-general Rielle, to take St. Helena; to carry succours to Senegal; retake Goree, and burn or lay under heavy contributions all the British settlements on the coast of Guinea. After having sent off this detachment, he was to proceed in accomplishment of the other object: with nine or ten sail of the line, three frigates, and 5,000 or 6,000 men, he was to repair to Guayana, take on board Victor Hugues, and go to Surinam, of which no doubt he was expected to become master.

The moment it was known that this fleet had sailed from Toulon, the remaining expedition, consisting of the Rochefort squadron, under Vice-admiral Missiessy, was to sail directly to

Martinique; to take Dominica, St. Lucia, and the Saints, and form a junction with Villeneuve; who, thus reinforced, would lay all the British islands under contribution; take as many prizes as he could; show himself before every roadstead in the Windward Islands; run down to the city of St. Domingo, in which a few French troops still remained, reinforce them with 1,200 or 1,500 men; then, returning to Europe, raise the blockade of Ferrol, release the five sail of the line in that port, and thus, with a fleet of 20 sail of the line, proceed to Rochefort; then join the Brest fleet, and with the whole proceed to Boulogne.

Villaret, who commanded the fleet on the 1st of June, 1794, and at St. Domingo in 1802, was appointed governor of Martinique; Victor Hugues of Surinam; and, as if success were certain, governors were also appointed to Demerara, Berbice, and Cayenne.

The instructions respecting a fourth expedition are fully detailed in a letter from Napoleon to Decrès, dated Mayence, September 29, 1804, *Précis*, vol. xi., p. 212. This was to be undertaken by Gantheaume, with the Brest fleet. The Océan, of 120 guns, under repair at that port, was to have been finished by torchlight, to assist in conveying 18,000 men, 3,000 of whom were to be cavalry, artillery, and engineers. Sailing from Brest they were to steer well to the westward of Ireland, and then, turning suddenly to the east, enter Loch Swilly, as if coming from Newfoundland. Thirty-six hours after having anchored they were to sail again, leaving the brigs and all the transports, with the Volontaire frigate, whose guns were to serve for the army, or to be placed in battery, or otherwise, as might be most advisable. The landing in Ireland, if it could not be immediately effected, was to have been abandoned; no time was to be lost, and the squadron was to steer for Cherbourg, to gain intelligence of the army at Boulogne, and escort the flotilla. If, on reaching this last place, the admiral should find the winds so unfavourable as to force him to pass the Straits of Dover, he was to proceed to the Texel, where he would find seven Dutch ships of the line, and 27,000 men embarked: these he was to take under his convoy, and proceed with them to Ireland. "One or the other of these operations," says Napoleon, "must succeed;" and then, whether he had 30,000 or 40,000 men in Ireland, whether he was himself in England or Ireland, the victory was his. "*Le gain de la guerre est à nous.*" "The English, attacked at the same time in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, unaccustomed to such visitations, will be made sensible of their own weakness." Napoleon supposed, and with great reason, that, as soon as Admiral Cornwallis heard of the sailing of Gantheaume from

Brest, he would steer for Ireland, and, not finding him there, that he would return to Brest and watch for him. For this reason Gantheaume was directed, after landing his troops, to go round the north of Scotland, and repair to the Texel. At the time of his departure from Brest 120,000 men were to be embarked at Boulogne, and 25,000 at the Texel. These were to continue embarked as long as the expedition to Ireland lasted. The sailing of the Toulon and Rochefort divisions was to precede that of Brest for Ireland, as it was calculated that the 20 sail of the line, of which those squadrons were composed, would oblige us to send 30 sail in pursuit of them; and the 10,000 or 12,000 troops on board of them would cause us also to detach strong reinforcements to our vulnerable points. Great indeed is the difference between an attacking and a defensive enemy; yet with so many contingencies it was impossible that the plans of Napoleon should succeed without a miracle.

In consequence of our seizure of the Spanish frigates in October, 1804, the King of Spain was very easily induced to join Napoleon in his hostility to England. A force of 30 sail of the line in the ports of the Peninsula, with six months' provisions and 5,000 troops, would appear formidable in a French or English newspaper, but nowhere else. I have seen Spanish line-of-battle ships 24 hours unmooring; as many minutes are sufficient for a well-manned British ship to perform the same operation. When, on any grand ceremony, they found it necessary to cross their top-gallant yards in harbour, they began the day before; we cross ours in *one* minute from the deck. But, as enemies, the Spaniards have rarely deserved our notice. Gravina took the command of the Spanish fleet at Cadiz; Grandelana the squadron at Ferrol. Gibraltar was *threatened* by a Spanish army encamped at St. Roque, under the command of Valdez; while O'Farril had another, on paper, of 25,000 men on the frontiers of Portugal, to enforce the equivocal neutrality of that power.

There is an inextricable confusion and want of arrangement in the plans of Napoleon, and one is led to suppose that he wished to put England on her guard against his enterprise, merely to furnish him with excuses for not undertaking it. It is clear that, if he seriously meditated the invasion of England, he began his work in a manner of all others the least likely to ensure success. He had so long threatened it, that he felt his honour was concerned in the execution: yet when the season approached he was evidently afraid to risk his crown, his life, and his reputation as a soldier, by embarking on an element which fatal experience had often told him was not favourable to the genius of France.

Why did he not, when his forces in the spring of 1805 were perfectly prepared, assemble them all in the Channel? His fleet from Toulon, which he intended should coast along the shores of Europe, and gather the squadrons, till the united fleet at Brest comprised 80 sail of the line, never followed up the attempt further than to raise the blockade of Cadiz. What was the capture or pillage of a small island in the West Indies, compared to the mighty plans of which he had so loudly boasted? Was it likely that his fleet, after a six-months' campaign in that pestilential climate, would have been better prepared for the execution of his project than they were at their first sailing out of port? Where was the probability that his scattered squadrons (admitting their escape from our pursuit) would join the appointed rendezvous at Boulogne, after a cruise of six months, worn out with disease—in want of every thing, even perhaps ammunition—while so many events, of which his admirals must have been ignorant, might in their absence have changed the whole face of Europe? Napoleon, who had led his legions to the water-side, trembled at the sight of that shore, the possession of which had been the object of his fondest hopes, the height of his ambition. Having advanced so far, he knew not how to retreat with honour, and was, no doubt, happy to hear that Villeneuve had returned to Ferrol; and thus, after venting his peevish expression, "*Quel Amiral!*" he was glad enough of the non-appearance of his fleet, which he pretended had rendered the undertaking impracticable.* The armaments which he had sent to different parts of the world returned without effecting any thing, if we except the plunder of Rousseau, in Dominica, by Missiessy and General La Grange. Napoleon, affecting disappointment, turned away from the ocean, and led his army to the plains of Jena and Austerlitz. Missiessy, a gallant and enterprising officer, whether enjoined to return quickly, or not supposing himself strong enough, made no systematic attack to reduce Dominica, and was forced to be contented with a predatory warfare. Villeneuve, anxious to avoid the victorious Nelson, fled through the West Indies, and had almost reached his port, when intercepted and brought to action by the brave and unfortunate Sir Robert Calder.

Early in March Sir Robert was on his station near Cape Prior, with only seven ail of the line, soon after augmented to nine: nor was it till the 14th of July that he was reinforced by the junction of Rear-admiral Stirling, with six sail of the line,

* The Duc d'Otrante, in his Memoirs, vol. i., p. 338, says, "The invasion of Bavaria by Austria was a fortunate diverson for Napoleon, saving at once his *maritime honour* (he never had any), and preserving him, to all appearance, from a disaster which might have ruined both him and his rising empire."

who came to him from Rochefort, which port he had been blockading, and where it has been observed the enemy had five sail of the line, which sailed immediately on his quitting that station. For five months, with the most immoveable patience, had Sir Robert Calder, with a very inferior force, watched the port of Ferrol, where the enemy had five sail of French ships of the line, as many Spanish, and eight frigates, ready for sea, besides three more Spanish ships of the line in a very forward state of equipment.

The return of Villeneuve to some port in Europe was daily expected. Brest and Cadiz were guarded, and Sir Robert Calder was ordered to look for him 40 leagues west of Cape Finisterre.

Nothing could have saved Villeneuve from the disgrace of this check but the sailing of Gantheaume; but Gantheaume, in spite of all his exertions, could not get out of Brest, so closely was he watched by Lord Gardner, with the Channel fleet, in March, and Admiral Cornwallis for the rest of the summer. To every seaman it must appear obvious that there was but one plan by which Napoleon could ever have expected to succeed in the invasion of England; this was, at any risk, to have assembled all his ships off Brest, where, if he had ever possessed 80 sail of the line, they must have been a match for our Channel fleet. Letter after letter he writes from the Château de Stupinis to Decrès, to urge the departure of Gantheaume—"Send a courier to Gantheaume; God grant he may not find him at Brest." This was on the 23d of April, and on the same day, in another letter, he says, "Recommend to Villeneuve to do all the harm he can (in the West Indies, I conclude) while waiting the arrival of Gantheaume." I cannot persuade myself that Napoleon ever seriously meant to send Gantheaume in search of Villeneuve to the West Indies: it is very certain such a design was never carried into effect. He had 10,000 troops in the Windward Islands—"Let them take St. Vincent, Antigua, Grenada, and why not Barbadoes? I leave it with yourself to send orders to retake Tobago and Trinidad."—It was in this way he was "to keep the English in perpetual alarm, and suddenly strike them terrible blows." The stale artifice of spreading false news from India was resorted to: "Let it be inserted in the *Gazette* that great news is arrived from India,—that the despatches have been sent off to the Emperor,—that the contents have not transpired, but that every thing goes on ill with the English." How degrading to the character of human nature, when the rulers of the world have recourse to falsehood, to support plans of treachery!

CHAPTER III.

The combined fleet met with and defeated by Sir Robert Calder—Particulars of the action—List of combined fleets—Of British fleet—Villeneuve's supposed official letter—Court-martial and reprimand of Sir Robert Calder—Observations—His official letters—Consequences of this affair—Captain Maitland attacks Muros—Conduct of Lieutenant Yeo—Capture of La Libre—Capture of La Didon.

Not long was the Emperor allowed to indulge in his reveries of conquest over England. Villeneuve and Missiessy came back to Europe as fast as the winds could bring them. Missiessy reached Rochefort in safety, but Villeneuve was not so fortunate. On the 19th of July the Auckland packet brought Sir Robert Calder a letter from Mr. Gambier, the British consul at Lisbon, enclosing the copy of an order from Lord Nelson, dated the 15th of June, at sea, directed to the commanding officer of his Majesty's ships in the Tagus, and acquainting him that the combined squadron had passed Antigua on the 8th, standing to the northward, and recommending the admiral off Ferrol to be on his guard.*

The British fleet at this time in pursuit of him, under the command of Vice-admiral Sir Robert Calder, consisted of 15 sail of the line, two frigates, a cutter, and a lugger. The vice-admiral fell in with them on the morning of the 22d of July, in lat. 43° 30′ N. and long. 11° 17′ W., or about 40 leagues from Ferrol. His first object being to bring the enemy to action, he formed his fleet into compact order, and, on closing with them, made the signal to attack their centre. The enemy's fleet, it appears, were to windward: ours therefore stood upon the same tack, until, by going about, without signal, Captain the Honourable Alan Hyde Gardner, in the Hero, who led the van, fetched close up under the lee of their fleet, so that, by the time our headmost ships reached their centre, the enemy's ships were tacking in succession, which obliged the vice-admiral to perform the same evolution. By this

* See Sir Robert Calder's Court-martial, p. 36.

means a general action was brought on, which lasted four hours; when the British admiral thought it necessary to bring-to, to cover two ships which he had captured. The enemy had the advantage of wind and weather; a very thick fog concealed them a great part of the day, so that the British admiral was unable to communicate with his ships by signal, and soon after the commencement of the action the fog was so dense that he could scarcely discern the seconds ahead or astern of him. The ships captured were the San Rafael, of 84 guns, and the Firmè, of 74, both Spaniards. The loss sustained by the British fleet on this occasion was 41 killed, and 158 wounded; that of the enemy, by their own admission, was 55 killed, and 116 wounded.

As Sir Robert Calder was serving under the orders of Admiral Cornwallis, his official despatch, of which the following is an extract, was addressed to that officer: it reached the Admiralty on the 31st of July, 1805.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Admiralty Office, July 31, 1805.

Copy of a letter from Admiral the Honourable William Cornwallis, commander-in-chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels in the Channel, &c., to William Marsden, Esq., dated Ville de Paris, off Ushant, July 25, 1805, eight P.M.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to enclose, for the information of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, a letter from Vice-admiral Sir Robert Calder, giving an account of his success against the combined squadron of France and Spain.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. CORNWALLIS.

SIR, *Prince of Wales, July* 23, 1805.

Yesterday, at noon, lat. 43 deg. 30 min. N., long. 11 deg. 17 min. W., I was favoured with a view of the combined squadron of France and Spain, consisting of 20 sail of the line, 14 French and six Spanish,* also three large ships, armed *en flûte*, of about 50 guns each, with five frigates, and three brigs; the force under my direction, at this time, consisting of 15 sail of the line, two frigates, a cutter, and lugger. I immediately stood towards the enemy with the squadron, making the needful signals for battle in the closest order; and, on closing with them, I made the signal for attacking their centre. When I had reached their rear I tacked the squadron in succession; this brought us close up under their lee, and when our headmost ships reached their centre the enemy were tacking in

* In the enemy's fleet there was no three-decked ship.

succession; this obliged me to make again the same manœuvre, by which I brought on an action, which lasted upwards of four hours, when I found it necessary to bring-to the squadron to cover the two captured ships, whose names are in the margin.* I have to observe the enemy had every advantage of wind and weather during the whole day. The weather had been foggy, at times, a great part of the morning; and very soon after we had brought them to action the fog was so very thick, at intervals, that we could, with great difficulty, see the ship ahead or astern of us. This rendered it impossible to take the advantages of the enemy, by signals, I could have wished to have done; had the weather been more favourable, I am led to believe the victory would have been more complete.

After passing some encomiums on Captains Gardner and Cumming, the admiral says, "As soon as I have *secured* the captured ships, and set the squadron to rights, I shall endeavour to avail myself of any opportunity that may offer to give you some farther account of these combined squadrons;" and he then concludes with these words, which are omitted in the *Gazette*:—

At the same time it will behove me to be on my guard against the combined squadrons in Ferrol, as I am led to believe they have sent off one or two of their crippled ships last night for that port; therefore, possibly, I may find it necessary to make a junction immediately, off Ushant, with the whole squadron.

Extract of a Letter from Sir Robert Calder, Bart., Vice-admiral of the Blue, to the Honourable William Cornwallis, Admiral of the White, &c., dated at Sea, July 25, 1805.

Sir,

I am induced to send, by the Windsor Castle, a triplicate of my despatch of the 23d instant. Owing to a very great omission of my secretary, who, from indisposition, and an interlineation in my first letter, neglected to insert the name of Rear-admiral Charles Stirling in my public thanks, I am therefore to request you will be pleased to cause the mistake to be corrected as early as possible.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Robert Calder.

The force of the enemy in the action was as follows:—

Spanish Van.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Argonauta	80	Admiral Gravina.
Rafael	84	Don Francis Mendez.
Firmè	74	Don Rafael Villavicéncio.
Terrible	74	
España	64	
America	64	

* S. Rafael, 84; Firmè, 74 guns.

French Centre.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Bucentaure	84	Vice-admiral Villeneuve.
Neptune	90	
Pluton	80	
Montblanc	74	
Atlas	74	
Berwick	74	

French Rear.

Formidable	80	Rear-admiral Dumanoir.
Indomptable	80	
L'Intrépide	74	
Swiftsure	74	
Scipion	74	
L'Aigle	74	
Achille	74	
Algeziras	74	Rear-admiral Magon.

Frigates.

Ships.	*Guns.*
L'Hortense	44
La Cornélie	38
La Didon	44
L'Hermoine	44
La Sirène	44
La Thames	44
Le Rhin	38

List of the Ships of the Squadron under the Orders of Vice-admiral Sir Robert Calder, Bart., on the 22d of July, 1805.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*	*Killed.*	*Wounded.*
Hero	74	Hon. A. H. Gardner	1	4
Ajax	80	William Brown	2	16
Triumph	74	Henry Inman	5	6
Barfleur	98	George Martin	3	35
Agamemnon	64	John Harvey	0	7
Windsor Castle	98	Charles Boyle	10	7
Defiance	74	P. C. Durham	1	3
Prince of Wales	98	Vice-admiral Sir R. Calder Captain W. Cumming	3	20
Repulse	74	Hon. A. K. Legge	0	4
Raisonnable	64	Josias Rowley	1	1
Dragon	74	Edward Griffiths	0	0
Glory	98	Rear-admiral Sir C. Stirling Captain Samuel Warren	1	1
Warrior	74	S. Hood Linzee	0	0
Thunderer	74	W. Lechmere	7	11
Malta	80	Edward Buller	5	40

Frigates

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*	*Killed.*	*Wounded.*
Egyptienne	46	Hon. C. E. Fleming	No return.	
Syrius	36	W. Prowse	2	3
Frisk (cutter)	—	Lieut. J. Nicholson	0	0
Nile (lugger)	—	—— G. Fennel	0	0
		Total	41	158

(Signed) R. CALDER.

We now offer the French official account; for the veracity of which our readers must exercise their own judgment.

Letter from Vice-admiral Villeneuve to the Minister of Marine and Colonies, dated on board the Bucentaure, in the Road of Vigo, July 29, 1805.

MONSEIGNEUR,

I gave you an account of the rencontre I had on the 22d with an English squadron, composed, as I believe, of 15 sail of the line. I had the honour of informing you at the same time of the manœuvres I practised to obtain the advantage of the wind, and to disconcert the project of the enemy for placing my rear between two fires.

The fog with which we were enveloped during the action prevented me from giving such orders as might be necessary; but after an action of three hours I had every reason to think that I had the advantage of the action, when, upon the fog clearing up, I missed two of the Spanish ships. I at first flattered myself that they got into some Spanish port, but as I have not since heard of them, and as one of them was dismasted, I think it possible they may have fallen into the power of the enemy.

It was in vain that on the 23d and 24th I endeavoured to force the English admiral to renew the action: he constantly avoided it. On the 26th, having lost sight of him, I steered for Ferrol, to unite under my flag his Catholic Majesty's squadron, commanded by Lieutenant-general Grandelana. For two days I contended against a fresh N. E. wind and a heavy sea, which impeded my course so much that I determined to anchor in Vigo, in order to disembark the wounded, and some of the soldiers who were ill; and also to take in water, which the Achilles and the Algeziras in particular stood in need of, not having remained long enough in the Antilles to take any in.

In the rencontre of the 22d, we engaged at a considerable distance, and I send you a list of the killed and wounded, which is very inconsiderable. Your Excellency may be assured that I shall remain but a short time in this road, and that as soon as I have taken in water I shall go in search of the English squadron, without, however, neglecting the mission with which I am charged.

As the English admiral who engaged me has certainly three of his vessels rendered unfit to keep the sea, I do not think he can

have more than 12 with him. I cannot praise too highly the skill and the noble conduct of Admiral Gravina. All the Spanish vessels fought with the utmost bravery; *but I am still at a loss to comprehend how it was that we lost the two ships that are missing.* Nevertheless, your Excellency will perceive, that the two disabled vessels might fall into the enemy's line without its being in my power to secure them.

I beg you will assure the Emperor that I did my utmost to attack the enemy again; that I obstinately pursued them, and that they constantly declined the action. I cannot too highly praise my captains and crews.

I have the honour to be, &c.

VILLENEUVE.

I doubt very much whether this letter was not written *for* or dictated *to* the brave but unfortunate Villeneuve.

Taking an impartial review of the force and number of ships, with the known difference in the weight of metal, posterity may, on comparing this with other actions of the same war, agree with me in thinking that Sir Robert Calder was severely treated. Villeneuve had the option of renewing the action, and declined it. The British admiral had not the power at any time of renewing the action, unless his enemy concurred with him, though it is admitted that he might have continued it longer on the evening of the 22d; but on this charge he was not tried.

The action off Ferrol was considered by most persons as a prelude to one of a more decisive nature. The officer who brought the despatches to the Admiralty was Lieutenant Nicholson, of the Suwarrow lugger. In addition to the admiral's letters, he gave much verbal information, and among other things stated that Sir Robert Calder, when he quitted the Prince of Wales, the flag-ship, said to him, "Tell the Lords of the Admiralty I can bring the enemy to action again, and I certainly will do it." These words, afterward denied by Sir Robert before a court-martial, and solemnly sworn to by Lieutenant Nicholson before the Lord Mayor, caused a universally anxious expectation, and farther and more satisfactory accounts were hourly looked for; but on the arrival of one of our crippled ships into port, it was found that the British fleet, after being two days in company with the enemy, had parted with them, and that the combined fleet had got safe into Ferrol.

Of a battle begun, fought, and concluded in a fog, it would be difficult to say much, without the certainty of being led into error. That Sir Robert judged it necessary to bring-to in the evening, to secure the two ships he had taken, was no

doubt unfortunate: had he continued sailing on a wind under moderate canvass, other disabled ships of the enemy, as well as the Firmè and San Rafael, would have fallen to leeward and been taken; but after all it was a victory which led to very important consequences, and for such a victory, be it remembered, Lord Hotham was created a peer in 1795.

Villeneuve, after keeping the sea two or three days, at length quitted the scene of battle, and returned to Ferrol, where he claimed the victory, and all France believed him, although he constantly hauled away from the British fleet whenever the latter stood towards him. Change of wind on the 24th gave our ships the weather-gage, but Sir Robert having no intention of renewing the action at that time, the hostile fleets separated. He considered the action he had fought, if not a decided victory, at least undeserving of censure, but his despatches met with a different reception in England from what he had anticipated; the part marked with inverted commas was necessarily suppressed, as conveying very important information to the enemy, and the concealment produced an effect on the public mind greatly to his disadvantage, before he was put on his trial.

There was much, however, to be said in his favour. HE HAD BEEN TEN MONTHS AT SEA, AND INSTEAD OF RETURNING INTO PORT WHEN HE SAW HIMSELF SO GREATLY OUTNUMBERED, NOT ONLY BY THE FLEET HE HAD DEFEATED, BUT BY ANOTHER FLEET OF SIXTEEN SAIL OF THE LINE AT FERROL, THE ROCHEFORT SQUADRON BEING ALSO AT SEA, SIR ROBERT IMMEDIATELY FORMED A DETACHMENT FROM HIS LITTLE FLEET (reduced by the absence of the Windsor Castle), and sent four sail of the line under Rear-admiral Stirling off Rochefort, while, with nine sail, he continued off Ferrol till the 11th of August, when a gale of wind from S.W. drove him away, and he joined the Channel fleet off Ushant. Pleased with the conduct of the vice-admiral, the brave Cornwallis sent him back on the 17th to Ferrol, with 20 sail of the line. On his arrival he found the combined fleets had sailed a week before; and learning that they had gone to Cadiz, he hastened thither, and joined Vice-admiral Collingwood. It was here that Sir Robert received the newspapers which reflected so severely on his professional conduct, and he determined to apply for public investigation. In vain did the brave and generous Nelson entreat him to remain and share in the rich harvest of glory which he saw preparing for the British fleet; he assured him that the enemy would soon come out, and give him an opportunity of avenging himself for the unjust aspersions on his

character. Sir Robert unfortunately persisted in his purpose. An outcry, almost as great as against the unhappy Byng, was raised against him, and Nelson, yielding to his earnest entreaties, allowed him to return to Spithead in the Prince of Wales. On his arrival, the court-martial which he had demanded was granted; and it assembled on board the Prince of Wales, the ship in which his flag had been flying, in Portsmouth harbour, on the 23d of December, 1805. The officers composing the court were:—

Admiral Sir George Montagu, President.

Vice-admiral J. Holloway.
Vice-admiral B. S. Rowley.
Rear-admiral Edward Thornborough.
Rear-admiral Sir I. Coffin.
Rear-admiral J. Sutton.
Captain R. D. Oliver.
Captain J. A. Wood.
Captain the Hon. Thomas B. Capel.
Captain James Bisset.
Captain John Irwin.
Captain J. Seater.
Captain J. Larmour.

Moses Greetham, Esq., Deputy Judge-advocate.

The vice-admiral was tried upon his own letter; and the charges exhibited by Mr. Bicknell, the solicitor of the Admiralty, were, for not having done his utmost to *renew* the engagement, and to take or destroy any ship of the enemy, which it was his duty to engage. The principal witnesses called by the court in support of the charges were Rear-admirals C. Stirling and G. Martin, Captain Durham, Captain Inman, and Mr. Craddock, master of the Glory. The evidence of these officers proved, that at the commencement of the action, on the 22d of July, the combined fleet consisted of 20 sail of the line, 14 French, 6 Spanish, and 7 frigates; and that on the following day they had 18 sail of the line and 7 frigates. By the evidence of Rear-admiral Stirling it appeared that the enemy was far to windward at daylight on the 23d, when our van bore up to join the admiral; soon after which the fleet wore, and ran to leeward to join the Malta, Thunderer, and prizes; after which the British fleet hauled to the wind, and lay to: while our fleet was running down to the ships to leeward, the enemy was pursuing, but on our fleet hauling to the wind, they did the same, and kept four leagues to windward of the British fleet during the 23d; sometimes bearing up towards them, but

always preserving that distance. It appeared from the evidence, and was admitted by the vice-admiral, that no effort whatever was made or intended to renew the action; and Captain Durham, of the Defiance, having made the signal to the vice-admiral to know whether he should keep sight of the enemy, was answered in the negative; and Sir Robert animadverted with some severity on the captain's presumption in making such a signal.

Rear-admiral (now Sir George) Martin stated, that on the morning of the 24th of July, about seven or eight o'clock, it was nearly calm, except that a light breeze sprang up from N. by E., which brought the enemy right astern; that they were at a considerable distance, the whole of their fleet not being in sight from the deck: and on being asked by the court whether the British fleet could, with advantage, have pursued the enemy on that day? he replied, "Every ship but the Windsor Castle appeared to me to be in a situation to pursue. I only speak from appearances, not having an opportunity to know the circumstances of the ships." On being asked by the court whether the vice-admiral at any time on the 24th showed a disposition to renew the action? Sir Robert Calder prevented the reply, by admitting that he never had any such intention. From the evidence of Captain Durham it was proved that his ship was to windward of the enemy's fleet on the morning of the 24th of July, when he made the signal above mentioned, and that the enemy was standing towards Ferrol (then bearing S.E. distant 125 miles) under topsails, top-gallant-sails, and fore-sail. By the evidence of Captain Inman, of the Triumph, it appeared that his ship had received much greater damage in her masts than could be perceived by the fleet; and that respected and gallant officer also proved that on the morning of the 23d three of the enemy's ships were disabled, either by the loss of the head of the bowsprit, a fore-yard, or a main-topsail-yard, and three or four others were shifting their topsails; but he admitted that their situation was not reported to the admiral. Captain Inman being asked by the court whether, on being ordered to chase by the vice-admiral, he had not made the signal of inability? he nobly replied, "No; I did not consider it a time to make a signal of distress or inability." Here the evidence for the prosecution closed.

Sir Robert rested his defence, in the first instance, on his having defeated the enemy's fleet of superior force; secondly, on the vast superiority of the enemy in ships, at that time known either to be at sea, or ready for sea, in the ports of Rochefort, Ferrol, and Corunna, amounting in all to a force so far superior to his own, that, even in the opinion of the brave Cornwallis, he

ought not to have exposed himself to them after their reinforcement.

The vice-admiral dwelt with considerable emphasis on the consequences of a defeat; the ruin of his fleet, the invasion of Ireland, perhaps of England, for which Napoleon was at that time making every preparation. The court did not enter into this view of the question, but on the 26th of December pronounced the following sentence:—

> The court is of opinion, that the charge of not having done his utmost to renew the engagement, and to take and destroy every ship of the enemy, has been proved against the said Vice-admiral Sir Robert Calder; that it appears that his conduct has not been actuated either by cowardice or disaffection, but has arisen solely from error in judgment, and is highly censurable, and doth adjudge him to be severely reprimanded; and the said Vice-admiral Sir Robert Calder is hereby severely reprimanded accordingly.

The sentence was evidently unexpected by the friends of the vice-admiral. Sir Robert retired from the court overwhelmed with grief and mortification. How different would have been his fortune in life, and his character in history, had he taken the prophetic advice of Nelson! Calder never wanted bravery, but he had not that prompt decision of character so necessary to form a perfect sea officer. His victory would, in 1795, have gained him a peerage. Ten years of successful naval war had taught us to expect more; and the splendid battle of Trafalgar placed most of our sea-fights in the shade. By that battle the navy learned the invaluable lesson, that "NOTHING WAS CONSIDERED DONE WHILE ANYTHING REMAINED TO DO."

This awful sentence, considered in all its bearings, and under all the circumstances of responsibility in which the gallant admiral was placed, will never be forgotten by an attentive sea officer. To me, who had the honour of being personally acquainted with most of the actors in this great scene, it has formed a subject of serious and even melancholy reflection. Had I been a member of that court-martial I should certainly have asked for the repeal of the Act of Parliament, as far as it related to the secrecy of my own individual opinion. It should never be forgotten that Calder's action was the cause and immediate forerunner of Nelson's victory, by driving Villeneuve into Cadiz, where there were no provisions for his fleet. I still live too near the time of action to say more; yet I will venture to add, that Sir Robert Calder had defeated a superior fleet: he knew that fleet was daily adding to its numbers, while his own was as rapidly diminishing, and he judged it for that reason most prudent to stand on the defensive; and,

if we are to admit that Calder was blamable, we must at the same time draw inferences very unfavourable to many officers who had preceded him. Byng was shot for error in judgment —Calder was reprimanded for it, when he had defeated a superior fleet, while a worse action than Calder's was rewarded with a peerage. Surely these facts should make us pause before we take away the life or the character of a fellow-creature.

Sir Robert Calder was a plain honest seaman, a zealous and an honourable man. His judges made a very just discrimination by imputing his failure to error in judgment; and Mr. Yorke, the first lord of the Admiralty in 1810, appears to have felt for him, as an officer whose faithful services had not been requited by his country; he therefore kindly offered him the command at Plymouth, which Sir Robert accepted, and held for three years. He died in 1818, leaving a numerous circle of friends to lament his death and his ill fortune.

After the conclusion of the action, the combined fleets went into Ferrol, and thus terminated the threat of invasion. Napoleon immediately turned his forces towards the plains of Jena and Austerlitz, glad of an excuse to relinquish the more dangerous enterprise of invading Britain. From Ferrol and Corunna the French admiral collected his ships and pushed on for Cadiz, whence he chased off Vice-admiral Collingwood, at that time (previous to Calder's joining him) with only three sail of the line. Collingwood stood to the southward, and allowed his powerful enemy to run once more into that port, whence, in a few days, he was destined to issue forth for the last time. As soon as Villeneuve had anchored, Collingwood resumed his station, and never quitted it until the great event of the 21st of October released him from farther anxiety, and rewarded his vigilance with unfading renown.

In the month of June Captain F. L. Maitland, of La Loire, sent his boats, under the command of Lieutenant James Lucas Yeo, of that ship, into the bay of Camarinas, near Cape Finisterre, where they attacked and carried two Spanish privateers, although moored under a battery of 10 guns. Lieutenant Yeo ordered Mr. Clinch to board the smallest vessel, while himself with the two cutters took the largest, mounting three 18-pounders, four 4-pounders, and 50 men. It being perfectly calm, Mr. Yeo was unable to bring off both vessels, he therefore burnt the smaller one and came out with the larger, having only three of his men slightly wounded: many of the Spaniards were killed or drowned. The English had but 35 opposed to 80 Spaniards, who also fought under the protection of their fort. Having destroyed three small merchant vessels

lying in the port, Captain Maitland directed his course to the town and fort of Muros, and having prepared Mr. Yeo, with 50 officers and men, including the Lieutenants Mallocks and Douglas, of the royal marines, he ran his ship in and came to an anchor. A small fort opened its fire upon him, but Lieutenant Yeo, with his party, instantly landed and spiked the guns, the Spaniards flying before him. A quarter of a mile farther on, another fort still stronger gave great annoyance to the ship. The lieutenant with his party pushed forward, and the Spaniards not having secured the gate, the English entered, and the governor fell dead under the sabre of Lieutenant Yeo. The Spanish officers shared the same fate at the hands of the British, and the men fled, leaving them in possession of the fort, on which they displayed the union flag. It was the 4th of June, the birth-day of his late majesty, King George III. The whole place was now in the power of Captain Maitland, who was permitted by the inhabitants to take away the vessels lying in the harbour. These were La Confiance, pierced for 26 guns, 12 and 9-pounders, and a French privateer brig, pierced for 20 guns; neither of them had their guns on board. The latter, with a merchant brig in ballast, they burnt; the Confiance was brought away, and being purchased into the service, was commissioned as a sloop of war, and Lieutenant Yeo appointed to the command of her.

If the conduct of the victors was honourable in these achievements, their treatment to the captives and the inhabitants was still more so. The bishop and one of the principal men came off to express their gratitude for the generosity with which they had been treated, no instance of pillage having occurred; and the bishop offered them every refreshment which the place would afford.

In the month of December the Loire, in company with the Egyptienne, fell in with a French frigate off Rochefort, and very soon brought her to action, which the French captain maintained with great bravery until disabled; 20 of his men were killed and wounded when he struck. The ship was called La Libre, and mounted 36 guns.

Between the battles of Ferrol and Trafalgar, the Phœnix, of 36 guns, captured the Didon, a French frigate of about the same force. I purposely omit saying anything more on the subject of this action, which is given at length in the first edition, vol. iii. p. 338. That account, which I believe to be correct, did not give satisfaction to some of the parties concerned.

CHAPTER IV.

Nelson's appointment to command in the Mediterranean—Proceeds to his station—Loss of the Indostan by fire—Approaching hostility of Spain—Fleet in Agincourt sound—Skirmishes off Toulon between British and French fleets—Despicable falsehood of French admiral—Indignation of Nelson—Death of La Touche Treville—Boat expedition to Hieres bay—French fleet puts to sea from Toulon—List of British fleet—Nelson's third voyage to Egypt—His reasons for going—French fleet puts back to Toulon—Nelson to the gulf of Palma—Gallant action of Arrow and Acheron—Capture of their convoy—Dey of Algiers dismisses British vice-consul—Gantheaume, attempting to sail, is driven back by Lord Gardner—Villeneuve sails about the same time, and escapes—Is seen and pursued—His force and destination—Missiessy and the Rochefort squadron—Proceedings of Villeneuve—He raises the blockade of Cadiz—Is reinforced by seven sail of the line—Destination changed—He goes to the West Indies—Napoleon's three naval expeditions—He determines to take St. Helena—Affairs of the West Indies—Boats of the Tartar and Blanche—Commodore Hood fortifies the Diamond Rock—Action between the Osprey and Egyptienne—Between Egyptienne and Hippomanes—Commodore Hood and Sir Charles Green take Surinam—Arrival of the dispatches—Bonaparte resolves to regain the colonies—Honourable Sir A. Cochrane goes from Ferrol in pursuit of Missiessy, who arrives at Martinique—Attacks Dominica, Nevis, St. Kitts, and Montserrat—Relieves the city of St. Domingo, and returns to Europe—Villeneuve—His route—Instructions—Orders to victual at Gibraltar—Magon, with four sail of the line, sails to join Villeneuve—Nelson, with the British fleet, in chase of the French—Victuals in Lagos bay—Arrives at Barbadoes—Takes Lieutenant-general Sir W. Myers on board, and sails for Trinidad—Visits other islands, and goes to Antigua—Lands the troops—Sends home the Curieux with dispatches—Particulars of the recapture of the Diamond Rock—Nelson hears of Villeneuve, and ascertains that he has sailed for Europe—Follows him—Arrives off Cape St. Vincent—Length of the chase—He goes to Gibraltar to refit—Sails again—Joins the Channel fleet—Is ordered to Portsmouth—Arrival there.

My readers are, no doubt, impatient to hear something of our favourite hero, whom we have scarcely noticed since the recommencement of the war.

Having been appointed to the command in the Mediterranean, Lord Nelson sailed in the Victory from Spithead on the 20th of May, 1803. Captain George Murray, who so nobly led into action at Copenhagen, went out as captain of the fleet, and Captain S. Sutton in command of the ship. Captain

T. M. Hardy, in the Amphion, of 32 guns, accompanied the admiral until they reached Ushant, when, joining Admiral Cornwallis, Nelson shifted his flag into the Amphion, and leaving the Victory as a temporary reinforcement to the Channel fleet, proceeded to Gibraltar, and thence to Toulon, where the Victory soon after rejoined him: he again returned to her, and on their going to Malta, an exchange took place between the Captains Sutton and Hardy; the former taking the command of the Amphion, the latter of the Victory.

In the month of October, his ships being short of water, he bore up for the Madelena islands, where an excellent anchorage had been recently surveyed for him, by Captain G. F. Ryves, of the Agincourt. Nelson named it "Agincourt sound." It is situated in the straits of Bonifacio, between Corsica and Sardinia, on the northern extremity of the latter island. Nelson greatly preferred Sardinia to Malta, and fervently prayed that the British Government would take possession of it; "If we do not," he says, "the French will." When at sea, he kept the fleet generally off Cape Palma, or Cape St. Sebastian. These being to the westward of Toulon, gave him the advantage in strong westerly gales of running into the Bay of Rosas, or under the Hieres islands, for shelter; or, when the weather was moderate, of keeping a watch on the Spanish fleet in Carthagena, and preventing them from forming a junction with the French at Toulon. There was one circumstance which happened on this station that does not appear to have been sufficiently dwelt upon by the biographers of Nelson, although it seems to have plunged him into more difficulty than all the other casualties of his arduous cruise. He had been 10 months out of England, at sea the greater part of the time, and without having received any material supplies.

Government, aware of his situation, sent out the Indostan, a ship built for an Indiaman, of 1,100 tons burden, loaded with every article of which the British squadron could be supposed to stand in need. This ship was commanded by Captain Le Gros; her crew consisted of about 300 people, including passengers, women, and children; she arrived at Gibraltar in March, 1804, and sailed immediately, in company with the Phœbe frigate, to join Lord Nelson off Toulon. On the 30th she was separated from her consort, in a heavy gale of wind, in the gulf of Lyons; and on the 2d of April, at seven in the morning, when no ship was in sight, and they were 13 leagues from the land, smoke was observed to issue from the fore hatchway. The hammocks were instantly got on deck, and the drum beat to quarters. The fire-engine was set to work, but with little effect: the smoke increased so much as to pre-

vent the people working on the orlop-deck; the hatches were therefore laid over and secured, the ports barred in, and every measure resorted to in order to prevent the circulation of air. In the mean time they hove to, and hoisted the boats out; but to prevent the people rushing into them, the marines were kept under arms. Prepared for the worst, they made all sail for the land; providentially the wind was fair, and they stood in for the bay of Rosas, with signals of distress flying at each mast-head, but no vessel was in sight to afford them relief. The fire rapidly increasing, the exertions of the captain and his noble crew increased with the danger. Water was thrown down in torrents, and part of the powder was destroyed or thrown over-board; in doing this one man was suffocated, and the people were again forced to quit the lower decks.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, when they had been seven hours contending with the flames, they made the land. The joy of this discovery is not be described or felt by any but those who have been in such a perilous situation: but they had still much to do; the land was five leagues off, and at half-past two the flames flew up the fore and main hatchways as high as the lower yards. Some of the men now jumped overboard, to get to the boats, and many of them were drowned. Tarpaulins were kept over the hatches, and water still poured down, by which means the flames subsided a little. Many of the people lay apparently lifeless on the decks, from suffocation. The crisis was fast approaching, when human fortitude could do no more. Had not the officers been steady all must have perished. The mizen-mast was on fire in the captain's cabin, and the flames bursting from all the lee ports. At five o'clock they ran the ship on shore, about a mile from the beach, in the bay of Rosas. The Spanish boats came off to their assistance, but were afraid to approach near enough to be of any service. At half-past five she was on fire fore and aft, when, with an heroic self-devotion which can never be sufficiently extolled, they first sent away the women, the children, the sick, and the foreigners, after which, the good and gallant captain, with his brave adherents, quitted the Indostan, and had scarcely reached the shore when she blew up. The intrinsic value of the ship and cargo, in England, was estimated at £100,000; what must it have been had she reached the fleet she was intended to supply? Nelson by this accident was deprived of almost his last resource; yet he bore it like a man and a philosopher. He was infinitely more distressed at the loss of his dispatches, which were taken in the Swift cutter about the same time. In a letter to the Earl of St. Vincent, dated on the 19th of April, he says, speaking of Captain Le Gros, "If his account be cor-

rect (he is now upon his trial), he had great merit for the order in which the ship was kept. It must have originated from medicine chests breaking, or from wet getting down, which caused the things to heat. The preservation of the crew seems little short of a miracle. I never read such a journal of exertions in my whole life."

By the sentence of the court-martial the captain, officers, and ship's company, were most honourably acquitted. The fire was supposed to have originated in the breaking of a bottle of aquafortis, in the fore-hold. I might adduce many instances of ships in the cotton trade having been on fire in the hold in the voyage between Bombay and China, owing to the cargo having been wet when compressed into the ship. Hemp has been known to ignite from the same cause; and the dock-yard of Brest was set on fire by this means in 1757. Newly painted canvass, or tarpaulin, laid by before it is completely dry, will take fire; and two Russian frigates were nearly burnt by the accidental combination of a small quantity of the soot of burnt fir wood and hemp oil; tied up with some matting in stowing the cargo of the Indostan. There must have been great carelessness.

Nearly a month before this disaster Nelson had written to Sir Thomas Trowbridge, then a Lord of the Admiralty, stating the exigencies of his fleet, and that he had dispatched a British agent to the Black Sea to purchase in the Russian dominions a quantity of naval stores and provisions. About this time he was joined by the Royal Sovereign and Leviathan, and cruised off Cape Sepet with only nine sail of the line.

When Nelson, in January, 1804, weighed from the Madelena islands, he directed Captain Parker, of the Amazon, to remain at anchor in that port, and to guard against any attempt which might be made by the French to invade Sardinia. The Spaniards were at that time so lukewarm towards us that their conduct in withholding supplies almost amounted to hostility; and Mr. Frere was desired by Lord Nelson to convey his lordship's sentiments in the most forcible terms. He wanted frigates as much at that time as in his memorable campaign of 1798. He calls them the eyes of the fleet; an expression which ought never to be forgotten by those who are so fortunate as to command or to serve in that desirable class of vessels. A heavy gale of wind obliged him to take refuge in Agincourt sound. On the 8th of February the fleet ran in under reefed foresails through the eastern passage, "which looked," says his lordship, "tremendous, from the number of rocks and the heavy sea breaking over them; but it is perfectly safe when once known. Captain Ryves's mark of the Pedestal Rock can never be mistaken." During the short interval of his absence

a squadron of frigates escaped out of Toulon, and landed 1,000 men in Corsica.

In the month of April, with a view to decoy the French fleet to sea, Nelson directed Sir Richard Bickerton, with one division of the fleet, to the southward, so as not to be seen from the signal posts of Toulon.

In the month of May the Canopus, Donegal, and Amazon, having stood close in to reconnoitre, were suddenly becalmed under Cape Sepet. The high lands about Toulon render the winds particularly baffling and uncertain; calms and gales of winds follow each other in rapid succession.

While the British ships lay motionless the French admiral sent out five sail of the line, who bringing up a fine breeze from the land, a partial action ensued, but without any result. The British ships soon caught the breeze, and stood out, while the French ships returned to Toulon.

On the 14th of June, the Phœbe and Amazon having chased two French frigates into Hieres bay, prepared to attack them, and the batteries being powerful, the Excellent was directed by Lord Nelson to support the two British frigates. This brought out La Touche Treville, with his whole fleet, when our ships retreated to join the British fleet. Nelson, who desired to meet the enemy, stood close in; but the French admiral, with eight sail of the line opposed to five of ours, one division being still in the offing, hastened back to his anchorage. He had so little regard for his own veracity and honour as to assert that he had chased Nelson away. The shameless falsehood gave much pain to our hero, who swore if he ever took the French admiral that he would make him eat his letter. Nelson sent home a copy of the Victory's log, which was a sufficient refutation of the silly gasconade.

Gross as was the falsehood of La Touche Treville, it was not displeasing to the Emperor, who promoted his admiral to high honours, and promised him many more; but a sudden death, occasioned, as it was supposed, by fatigue in his too frequent visits to the signal posts, by anxiety and mortification, disappointed the hopes of the Emperor, and disarmed the resentment of Nelson. Admiral Villeneuve, on the death of La Touche Treville, was sent to command the Toulon fleet.

In the month of July the French received a very mortifying check from the boats of three British frigates, the Narcissus, Captain Donnelly, the Seahorse, Honourable C. Boyle, and Maidstone, Honourable G. Elliot. The boats, under the orders of Lieutenant John Thompson, went into Hieres bay, and attacked about 12 of their vessels lying at La Vaudour, and though most obstinately resisted by a heavy fire of great guns

and musketry, succeeded in destroying nearly the whole of them. Lord Nelson was highly delighted with the gallantry displayed by the Lieutenants Thompson, Parker, Lumley, and Moore. Lieutenant Lumley suffered the amputation of his left arm, at the shoulder joint, and, like his heroic chief, seldom came out of action without a wound. He died a captain some years after this exploit.

The events off Toulon for the remainder of the year are scarcely worth our attention. In the middle of November, Nelson heard of the capture of the Spanish squadron by that of England, under the command of Captain (now Sir Graham) Moore; but the orders which he received from home were cautiously worded respecting the Spaniards, with whom the British Government, it would seem, still hoped to preserve terms of friendship.

On the 17th of January, 1805, Villeneuve, in compliance with his urgent orders, took advantage of Nelson's absence to weigh and put to sea. His fleet amounted to 11 sail of the line, seven frigates, and two brigs, and had on board a body of between 3,000 and 4,000 troops. They were soon discovered by the Active and Seahorse British frigates, which, on the 19th, conveyed news of the event to Nelson, who lay at anchor with his fleet in Agincourt sound. Not a moment was lost: the fleet weighed, and ran through the narrow channel between the island of Biscie and Cape Ferro, which forms the Eastern side of the anchorage. The ships composing the fleet at this time were:—

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
The Victory	100	(Flag) Captain T. M. Hardy.
Royal Sovereign	100	Rear-admiral Sir R. Bickerton. Captain Steuart.
Canopus	80	Rear-admiral Sir Thomas Louis. Capt. F. W. Austen.
Belleisle	74	—— W. Hargood.
Conqueror	74	—— Israel Pellew.
Donegal	74	—— P. Malcolm.
Spencer	74	—— Hon. R. Stopford.
Superb	74	—— R. G. Keats.
Tigre	74	—— B. Hallowell.
Leviathan	74	—— Henry W. Bayntun.
Swiftsure	74	—— Mark Robinson.
Active	38	—— R. H. Mowbray.
Seahorse	38	—— Hon. C. Boyle.

It was dark before the British fleet could get out, which they accomplished with the utmost difficulty, and by the nicest skill, each following her second, the Victory leading, and the others

guided by her lights. This was a great enterprise of the great Nelson. The night was dark, the channel narrow, admitting but one ship at a time, and as the gale was fresh, it became very difficult to distinguish the breakers from the waves in deep water. Few officers, even of daring intrepidity and tried courage in action, would have ventured on this desperate effort to get to sea; but Nelson, having a soul adapted to every danger, boldly led the way, and got his fleet out in safety. He ran down the coast of Sardinia, on his way to Sicily: the wind backed round from N. W. to S. W., and blew with such extreme violence that the ships were reduced to their storm stay-sails. On the 22d he was joined by the Seahorse, which he had detached on the evening of the 19th, round the south end of Sardinia to gain information: she had been chased by the Cornelie, a French frigate, but had lost sight of her in the gale; the Seahorse was then ordered to Naples, and the Active to cruise off the island of Serpentina, at the south-west extremity of Sardinia. On the 26th, when off Cape Carbonara, he was joined by the Phœbe, commanded by the Honourable Captain Capel, from whom he learned that one French ship of the line, supposed to have been the Indomptable, was disabled and seen standing into the bay of Ajaccio, in Corsica, but no intelligence could be gained of the destination of their fleet. The anxious and indefatigable hero, revolving in his mind the various circumstances attending the departure of Villeneuve from Toulon, became convinced that Egypt alone was his object, and proceeded thither in search of him. His reasons for this important step are unanswerable, and are given in a letter to the late Lord Melville, then first Lord of the Admiralty. He had, after quitting Agincourt sound, proceeded with all possible haste to the Faro of Messina, through which he beat with a press of sail against a gale of wind that astonished even his experienced and daring followers.

"Having first seen that Sardinia, Naples, and Sicily were safe," he says, "the wind had blown strongly from the north-east to south-east a fortnight before they sailed; therefore they might without difficulty have gone to the westward. Secondly, they came out with gentle breezes at N.W. and N.N.W. Had they been bound to Naples, the most natural thing for them to have done would have been to run along their own shore to the eastward, where they would have had ports every 20 leagues to take shelter in. Thirdly, they bore away on the evening of the 18th, with a strong gale at N.W. or N.N.W., steering S. or S. by W. It blew so hard that the Seahorse went more than 13 miles an hour to get out of their way. Desirable as Sardinia is for them, they could get it without risk-

ing their fleet, although certainly not so quickly as by attacking Cagliari; however, I left nothing to chance in that respect, and therefore went off to Cagliari. Having afterwards gone to Sicily, both to Palermo and Messina, and thereby given encouragement for defence, and knowing all was safe at Naples, I had only the Morea and Egypt to look to; for although I knew one of the French ships was crippled, yet I considered the character of Bonaparte, and that the orders given by him on the banks of the Seine would not take into consideration winds or weather: nor indeed could the accident of even three or four ships alter, in my opinion, a destination of importance; therefore such an accident did not weigh in my mind, and I went first to the Morea and then to Egypt: the result of my inquiries at Coron and Alexandria confirms me in my former opinion."* This letter was written on the 14th of February, on Nelson's return from Egypt, when 100 leagues to the westward of Malta, and on the day that he received the account of the return of Villeneuve to Toulon. The French admiral soon after he had sailed met with a violent gale of wind from the westward, which dispersed his fleet and disabled his ships, and he was glad to get back to Toulon, after an absence of a few days. On the 27th of February, Nelson went to Cagliari for water. On the 10th of March he cleared the gulf of Palma, and got to the westward of Sardinia; and on the 12th, having got sight of Toulon, and seen the French fleet, he resumed his station off Cape St. Sebastian, the southern horn of the bay of Rosas, in Catalonia. On the 25th he returned to St. Pietro; and on the 27th anchored in the gulf of Palma, where he found his victuallers, and was joined by Rear-admiral Louis, in the Canopus. Having completed his ships, he returned once more to his station.

While Nelson was in the eastern part of the Mediterranean, two frigates of the fleet of Gantheaume remained at sea, and on the 4th of February they fell in with the Arrow sloop of war, commanded by Captain R. B. Vincent, and the Acheron bomb, Captain A. Farquhar. These vessels had with them a convoy of about 30 sail from Malta, bound to Gibraltar. The two captains gallantly resolved to defend their charge to the last against this very superior force. The first care of Captain Vincent, the senior officer, was to make the signal for his convoy to disperse, but owing to the very light winds the order could not be readily obeyed; and the master of one ship was so inexcusably negligent as to let his convoy signals and instructions fall into the hands of the enemy. No occurrence of any moment took place until the following morning, when

* Clerk and M'Arthur.

about half-past four one of the frigates hailed the Arrow, and desired the captain to hoist his boat out and go on board. This of course was declined; and on the Acheron coming up immediately after, a smart action commenced between the French frigate and the two British vessels, whose great object was to keep between the convoy and the enemy. The other frigate got into action about seven o'clock, and the sloops continued the unequal fight until the Acheron, by light and variable wind, was separated from her consort, and followed by the Hortense, which giving a parting broadside to the Arrow, greatly disabled her. She continued however to engage her opponent, the second frigate, for some time longer, till at length, completely overpowered, four of his guns dismounted, his rudder disabled, and his ship a wreck, with 13 men killed and 27 wounded, the gallant Captain Vincent was compelled to surrender, at half-past eight in the morning, to the French frigate L'Incorruptible, of 42 guns and 650 men, including troops. The defence of the Acheron was equally obstinate; being so long sustained by her commander, that as soon as the prisoners could be removed she was set on fire. The Arrow sunk very shortly after the action. Thus the British sloops of war having made a noble defence, were neither of them taken into port, and the enemy had no easy victory. They however took seven or eight sail of the convoy, and got safe into Toulon, where the Incorruptible was found so much damaged as to be unable to proceed to sea with Villeneuve in the following month. The Hortense had 48 guns, and as many troops as her consort. Both the British commanders were promoted to the rank of post-captain, and were afterwards deservedly decorated with an order of merit for their gallant conduct.

The Dey of Algiers having dismissed Mr. Falcon, the British vice-consul, from his dominions, Nelson sent Keats, in the Superb, to demand reparation for the insult. The affair was many months before it could be satisfactorily adjusted, although it never amounted to open hostility.

While Nelson, on the 27th of March, was refitting his ships at St. Pietro, Gantheaume was at the same moment making what the French call a "demonstration." With a fleet of 21 or 22 sail of the line, he ventured out of Brest as far as Bertheaume roads; but Lord Gardner, with 18 sail of the line, being close at hand, gave chase, and compelled him to seek safety again under his batteries.

The fleet at Toulon weighed nearly about the same time, under the command of Admiral Villeneuve, who in the battle of the Nile commanded the rear division of the French fleet, and escaped in the Guillaume Tell.

Equally fortunate in this instance, he so effectually eluded the pursuit of Nelson as to afford the longest chase recorded in history, a chase of nearly 7,000 miles, and which terminated in a battle equally remarkable.

On sailing from Toulon, about the 2d of April, Villeneuve was seen on the 4th by the Active and Seahorse frigates. The Active immediately proceeded in search of Lord Nelson, whom she found in the straits of Bonifacio; and the hero was very soon under sail in pursuit of him. But before we give an account of his proceedings, we shall follow the French admiral to the West Indies, and thence back to Cape Finisterre, where he was met and defeated by a British fleet, as we have related.

Villeneuve had under his orders 12 sail of the line, six frigates, two corvettes, and some transports, with a body of 8,000 or 9,000 troops, under the command of General Lauriston. Missiessy, with the Rochefort squadron, had sailed from Isle D'Aix on the 11th of January; he had with him five sail of the line and 2,000 troops, under the command of General La Grange. Had this squadron joined Villeneuve, it would have made a formidable combination; but this, as we shall see, did not take place. Villeneuve kept on the coast of Spain, and on the 7th was no farther advanced than Carthagena, where he expected to have been joined by six Spanish ships of the line, which however were either not ready, or the court of Madrid (not over zealous) was unwilling they should come out. Not wishing to spend much time in persuading them, Villeneuve took advantage of an easterly wind, and steered for the straits of Gibraltar, which he passed on the 9th, and raised the blockade of Cadiz, driving Sir John Orde from before that place; who, with six sail of the line, made the best of his way to join the Channel fleet, thus increased to 24 sail of the line, before the port of Brest.

Off Cadiz, Villeneuve was joined by L'Aigle, a French 74-gun ship, and two corvettes, which had been lying in that port. Gravina, with six sail of the line of Spanish ships, and 2,000 troops, came out immediately after; and the combined fleet, now consisting of 13 French and six Spanish, besides frigates and transports, steered to the westward, instead of going to Ferrol, as had been first intended. This plan was deferred; the West India islands were the first objects of attack, England the second. On the news of the sailing of this fleet, uncertain at the same time what had become of Missiessy, or what steps had been taken by Nelson, the Cabinet of St. James's must have felt no inconsiderable alarm.

We have observed that Napoleon had planned three naval expeditions: the first was that under Rear-admiral (now

Viscount) Missiessy, who, with the Rochefort squadron, was to relieve Martinique and Guadaloupe, take Dominica and St. Lucia, and carry succours to the city of St. Domingo.

The second expedition was that under Villeneuve, who was to retake Surinam and the other Dutch colonies (the conquest of which had then just been completed by Commodore Hood and Sir Charles Green; the particulars we shall soon relate); after this, if he could, he was to take Barbadoes.

The third expedition was to be formed by a detachment from the second, of two ships of the line, four frigates, and two brigs, under the command of an able officer, and to have on board a body of troops. These were to take St. Helena, and establish a cruising squadron there, then ravage all our settlements on the coast of Guinea, burning, destroying, or laying under contribution every one of them. Singular, says the Count de Dumas, that Bonaparte, on the eve of his coronation, should have been so intent on the capture of St. Helena! The sailing of Villeneuve and Missiessy naturally brings us to the West Indies, where, in the preceding year, events of some importance had occurred, and are now to be related.

On the coast of St. Domingo, the lieutenants Mullah and Lockyer, of the Tartar frigate, rowed up in the face of the enemy at noon-day, boarded a privateer of 10 guns and 50 men, regardless of their fire of great guns and musketry, and carried her; killing nine of her men, and wounding six others. Two Englishmen only were wounded in this affair.

Captain Mudge, of the Blanche frigate, watched the Caracol passage, the eastern entrance to the harbour of Cape François, by which the French kept up the communication with their neighbours, the Spaniards, on the east end of the island. What spot or hiding-place was there, on its coasts, into which our boats and small vessels did not penetrate in search of glory and prizes? An armed schooner, in November 1803, was seen coming out of this passage, and was instantly attacked by the long boat of the Blanche, under the command of Mr. John Smith, a master's mate; a contest of 10 minutes on her deck decided her fate, and she was brought out. She mounted a long nine-pounder, and had 30 men, and was one of that beautiful class of vessels called Balahou; she had one man killed, and five wounded; the boat had one killed and two wounded.

Sir Samuel Hood, ever mindful of what would most conduce to the honour of his country, spent much of his time in watching the island of Martinique and Fort-Royal Bay, the chief resort. Six miles to windward of this, and one mile from Cape Diamond, at the entrance of Marin Bay, lies the Dia-

mond Rock, in form very much resembling a round haystack; on one side overhanging its base, but having deep water all round it. To place a battery on the top of this rock would at first sight appear impracticable. Its altitude is about 450 feet;* a few bushes grow on the top (so they appear to the distant spectator); they consist of the wild fig-tree, whose roots by age have acquired a strength and connexion with the interstices of the rock, offering some security to the fastening of a cable. Having mounted its crumbling sides, rarely, perhaps never before trodden by man, our enterprising officers and men succeeded in carrying up a line, and, ultimately, a stream cable of the Centaur, which was firmly moored by the side of the rock; and with one end of this cable clinched round a projecting rock, and the other on board the ship, a communication was established from one to the other. To the cable a traveller was affixed, similar in principle to that which children put on the string of a kite; to this a 24-pounder was attached, and, by means of tackles, conveyed to the top of the rock, another followed, and at last their carriages, shot, powder, and tools, with every article requisite for the support of a commander, two lieutenants, and 120 men. The French from the island first beheld the work with contempt, and next with astonishment. Sir Samuel Hood gave it the name of the Diamond Rock Sloop of War, with the establishment of a vessel of that class.

The occupation of this rock gave the enemy much trouble, and caused them serious loss to regain it. This post, in conjunction with the cruisers, totally intercepted the trade between the south part of the island and Fort Royal; obliging the trade to pass outside the rock, the vessels became more exposed to capture. In addition to this, the Diamond Rock, as a signal post, was a place of no small advantage.

In March, 1804, a very spirited action was fought by the Osprey sloop of war, commanded by Captain Younghusband, and a French privateer of 36 guns and 260 men, called the Egyptienne. When seen by the Osprey she had three other vessels in company. After a close action of one hour and twenty minutes the enemy escaped by superior sailing, and her convoy flew different ways. The Osprey had one man killed and 16 wounded.

Six days after this the Egyptienne was again brought to action by the Hippomanes sloop of war, commanded by Captain Conway Shipley; after a chase of 54 hours, and a run-

* I have been mistaken in the altitude of this rock; it cannot be so high as I said in the first edition, where I called it 600 feet.—Vol. iii., p. 413.

ning fight of three more, the Egyptienne surrendered. Captain Shipley ascertained that, in the action with the Osprey, she had 8 men killed and 19 wounded. Both the British commanders acquired great credit for their gallantry.

In the month of April, 1804, Commodore Hood, and Lieutenant-general Sir Charles Green, with the naval and military forces (about 2,000 troops) under their respective commands, undertook the reduction of the Dutch settlements of Surinam, on the main land of South America. The forces assembled at Barbadoes, and on the 6th of April sailed for their destination. On the 25th they reached the shallow coast of the continent, and came to an anchor 10 miles from the shore, off the mouth of the river of Surinam. A strong detachment, under the command of Brigadier-general Maitland, and Captain C. Shipley, of the Hippomanes, was sent to make a landing at the mouth of the Warappa Creek, about 10 leagues to the eastward of Surinam River, where the enemy occupied a post. The object of this diversion was to obtain a communication by water with the Commewina River, and to procure plantation boats in sufficient numbers to transport the troops down that river into the rear of the fort of New Amsterdam, and also to cut off a considerable force of the enemy, stationed at Fort Brandwacht, on the Mud Creek.

On the same day the Emerald, Pandour, and Drake, went in to attack Braam's Point, where there was a fort of seven 18-pounders, which, after a few broadsides, they silenced, and a detachment of troops landed and took possession of it. This battery commanded the entrance of the river of Surinam, into which our frigates and small vessels entered. The commodore hoisted his broad pendant on board the Emerald, as the Centaur, from her draught of water, could not approach. Captain M. Maxwell, of the Centaur, and Captain Drummond, of the 60th regiment, were sent up, under a flag of truce, to summon the governor of Surinam to surrender. This his excellency refused to do, and no time was lost in preparing to compel him.

Nothing, says Sir Charles Green in his dispatch, can be more difficult of approach than the coast about Surinam; numerous and extensive shoals, an uncleared country, thick woods or jungle, extending to the water's edge, no landing but at high water, and at particular places, and from the swampy nature of the country, it is only to be penetrated by the rivers. The shores on each side of the river of Surinam are equally difficult of access, until you reach the battery of Frederici, with the exception of the plantation called Resolution. The enemy were therefore very strongly fortified with forts, ships of war,

and armed vessels, commanding the river. On the confluence of the Surinam with the Commewina river stands the fort of Amsterdam, mounting 80 pieces of cannon; Fort Leyden, near the same spot, on the right bank of the Surinam, has 12 heavy guns. This fort is opposite to, and commanded by, Fort Amsterdam, at the distance of 2,000 yards. The forts Frederici and Purmurent, lower down the river, occupy the right and left banks, with 10 and 12 guns each. The approaches to these forts are through swamps, marshes, and woods almost impracticable; and the fire of the works, crossing each other, completely commands the channel of the river.

The town of Paramaribo is defended towards the water by a battery of 10 guns, called Fort Zelandia. On the 28th the squadron, with the transports, moved up the river to attack Fort Purmurent. On the 29th Lieutenant-colonel Shipley, of the royal engineers, having ascertained that a path might be practicable through the woods, by which forts Leyden and Frederici could be attacked with success, a party of 200 soldiers and seamen, under the command of Brigadier-general Hughes, supported by the Captains Maxwell, Ferris, and Richardson, of the royal navy, landed between the hours of ten and eleven at night, and proceeded through the woods to the fort, led by the negro guides. Although a heavy fall of rain had rendered the paths (at all times difficult) almost impassable, such was the spirit and zeal of our countrymen that they overcame every obstacle with the assistance of their sabres and felling axes; and, after a tedious march of five hours, got into the rear of Fort Frederici, where, as they were forming into columns for the attack, they were received with a heavy fire of grape and musketry. Undaunted by this salute, our men pushed forward and entered the fort with fixed bayonets, the enemy flying to Fort Leyden; but in their retreat they fired a train, which blew up their magazine, and severely wounded many of our officers. Fort Leyden was next carried with the same invincible spirit, although the way to it lay along a narrow path, enfiladed by five heavy guns, whose discharges of grape, aided by volleys of musketry, could not arrest the progress of our troops. They entered the fort, and hoisted the British flag; the enemy called for quarter, which was nobly granted; the captain, some officers, and 120 men were made prisoners. From the position they had gained, the British found they could open a fire on Fort Amsterdam. The command of the Commewina river ensured them supplies, gave them possession of the finest part of the colony, and the means of joining General Maitland's corps, which was at the mouth of the Warappa creek. That gallant officer, having effected a

landing, had taken a battery, and on the 3d of May, a sufficient number of boats being procured, he came triumphantly down the Commewina, and formed the desired junction with the body of the army, now approaching very near to Fort Amsterdam.

The Dutch governor, on seeing their successes, sent out a flag, desiring to capitulate. The place was taken possession of on the 4th, and a Dutch frigate and brig fell into our hands: thus the rich colony of Surinam was added to the British dominions. All public property, and all Dutch ships or vessels in the colony, were given up to the captors.

The frigate taken was the Proserpine, of 32 guns, 18-pounders, and the corvette Pylades, of 18 guns. Our total loss on this occasion was five killed and eight wounded; among the former was Lieutenant Smith of the Centaur. The commodore, for this and his former brilliant services, was created a Knight of the Bath, and held the command till the following year, when he was succeeded by Rear-admiral the Honourable Sir Alexander Cochrane.

When Captain Maxwell arrived in England with the despatches, the news soon reached the Emperor Napoleon, who, incensed by these repeated disasters to the French and Dutch colonies, resolved to send forth his fleets and his armies to regain them. His orders and his plans, already referred to, show his anxiety on this subject. Gantheaume, Villeneuve, Missiessy, Grandelana, Magon, all the admirals, French and Spanish, and even Dutch, if they could get out, were ordered to be on the alert to escape; to go to the West Indies, and to ravage and destroy, to burn and to pillage, without mercy.

Sir Alexander Cochrane had the command off Ferrol, when in February, 1805, he heard of the sailing of Missiessy, and at the same time received orders to go in pursuit of him. He had with him six sail of the line; Northumberland, 74 (flag), St. George, 98, Eagle, 74, Atlas, 74, Spartiate, 74, and Veteran, 64. He called off Lisbon, Madeira, and St. Jago (Cape de Verds), for intelligence, but gaining none, proceeded to Barbadoes, where he arrived on the 3d of April. Here he learnt that Missiessy had been to Martinique and Dominica, and was supposed to have gone against Jamaica. Taking the Centaur under his orders, Sir Alexander proceeded to that island, where he arrived on the 19th of April; here nothing had been seen of Missiessy, and Rear-admiral Dacres, who had assumed the chief command on that station, detained all the ships except the Northumberland, in which Sir Alexander Cochrane returned to Barbadoes to assume the chief command on that station.

When off Antigua he heard of another and more formidable fleet having arrived at Martinique; this hastened his return to Barbadoes, where the Spartiate must have arrived nearly at the same time from Jamaica, and where he was soon joined by Lord Nelson.

Missiessy reached Martinique on the 20th of February, and having landed the ammunition and other stores destined for its relief, sailed on the following evening for Dominica, off which island he appeared before daylight on the morning of the 22d, and being close to Scot's Head, the southernmost point, his frigates received the fire of the batteries. As the day dawned, the squadron was found to consist of five sail of the line, three frigates, two brigs, and small craft. On board of them were embarked the General La Grange, with 3,000 troops. The ships had all British colours flying, and, as the fire opened upon them from Fort Young, they changed them to French. At the same time the boats put off with the troops, to effect a landing in the bay of Rousseau, under cover of their gun-boats and schooners. They first attempted to land on the left of the town, but were so gallantly received by Major-general (the late highly respected and much lamented Sir George) Prevost, and the 46th, with the first West India regiment, that they were compelled to seek a more favourable place to disembark. While this was passing, the fire of the whole squadron was poured incessantly into the town of Rousseau, which is unfortunately situated on the shore of a bay whose depth of water will admit a ship of any draught within musket-shot. Their fire was returned with much spirit and effect by the captains and crews of the merchant-ships in the bay, who manned ten 24-pounders, and three 18-pounders on the different batteries. The enemy at first retreated with loss and disorder, but soon rallying they made good their landing. Whether it was by accident, or by design of the enemy, or of some of the negroes, is not known; but the town soon took fire in several places, and being built of light and combustible materials, was nearly consumed to ashes. The major-general, after a most gallant and masterly defence, finding the force of the enemy was above anything he could muster, independently of their squadron, and seeing no hope of successful resistance, gave permission to the president to make terms of capitulation for the town, while he (the general) retreated with all the troops he could collect to the fort of Prince Rupert's Head, at the other extremity of the island, driving before him all the cattle and supplies he could procure. Having entered the fort he was summoned by General La Grange to surrender, but returned a positive refusal. As La Grange had no time to waste in the reduction of

the fort, and Missiessy no doubt expected to see the British squadron to windward, both were willing to shorten their visit; accordingly, having levied a heavy contribution, and destroyed or taken away most of the stores, they embarked at the end of five days, and steered for Guadaloupe, having lost about 300 men in killed and wounded. The loss of the islanders was not more than 40. At Guadaloupe the French admiral landed supplies, and sailed immediately after for Nevis, where he made the whole garrison prisoners, took all the merchant-vessels, levied a contribution, and sailed for St. Kitt's and Montserrat, repeating the same operation at both these islands. Thence he returned to Martinique, where he arrived on the 14th of March. Here he could not have remained long, as, on the 28th, he appeared, in pursuance of his orders, off the ill-fated city of St. Domingo, where the brave French general, Ferrand, with 2,500 French and Spanish troops, was closely besieged by the negroes on land, and blockaded by the British cruisers by sea. We cannot but admire the constancy, virtue, and military conduct of an enemy who could surmount so many pressing difficulties. On the 28th of March the French squadron, in a line drawn out to its utmost extent by the addition of the frigates and sloops, appeared before the city. The Generals La Grange and Claparede landed with their reinforcements; the blacks in their turn were attacked and defeated with immense loss, and the siege raised. Having left 1,000 men, 10,000 stand of arms, and 100,000 pounds of gunpowder, Missiessy immediately set sail for Europe, and arrived at Rochefort the 20th of May, four months and nine days after his departure. The last act of his voyage in the West Indies was more honourable than the others. He had relieved a garrison, which, without his assistance, must have fallen into the hands of a merciless enemy. Vice-admiral the Viscount Missiessy commanded at Toulon in 1818, where I was particularly indebted to him for a minute inspection of the dock-yard at that port, and for other acts of kindness.

Villeneuve, after taking his departure from Europe, reached Martinique on the 14th of May; and, without having sent any detachment to take St. Helena, or made the smallest effort to capture Surinam, or the four islands, which by his instructions he had been desired to attempt, he anchored with his fleet in Fort Royal bay, and seemed too happy to have escaped the pursuit of his invincible enemy.

In the mean time events of the highest importance were preparing: Napoleon had seized the iron crown of Lombardy, "*Dieu me la donne: garde qui la touche*," he said, as he placed it on his head. Russia had a vast army to act against

him. The Emperor of Austria was secretly his enemy. The Archduke Charles, who wished for peace, was displaced from the presidency of the Aulic Council. Austria again accepted the subsidies of England, which were conveyed up the river Elbe; and the third coalition was the last political act of the immortal Pitt, who lived to hear of the capitulation of Ulm, the battle of Trafalgar, and the death of Nelson.

The torture in which the mind of Napoleon was kept by his uncertainty as to the movements of Nelson, is shown by the numerous orders sent out to his admirals. Those to Villeneuve of the 8th of May, 1805, though written more than a month after his departure, are called "*Premier projet d'instruction à l'Amiral Villeneuve*;" these are given at length in the *Précis*, vol. xi. p. 247.

The admiral was first required, on his return from the West Indies, to form a junction with the Ferrol and Rochefort squadrons, which would give him a fleet of 34 sail of the line, *viz.* 19 French and 15 Spanish. He was to manœuvre so as to join Gantheaume, whose fleet he would find between Bertheaume and Camaret bay, moored under strong batteries, which, Napoleon says, he had caused to be erected. He was to make the Lizard, in order to avoid meeting our blockading fleet; and, if a battle was inevitable, he was to bring it as near as possible to Brest: "Your forces after this will be so considerable that you will steer for Boulogne, where *we shall be* in person. Should the wind favour you off the Lizard, you are at liberty to come on to Boulogne without going to Brest. This would give you three or four days' advance on the enemy, and if your presence renders us master of the seas for three days, we shall be able to complete our expedition of 160,000 men, embarked on board of 2,000 vessels. Cherbourg is armed and can protect you against any force. We have provisions for you at that place, Brest, and Boulogne, relying entirely on your zeal, experience, and local knowledge, to fulfil our intentions. From our knowledge of the enemy's force, we have reason to think that a fleet of more than 16 sail of the line before Boulogne will give us the superiority, provided the British fleet before Brest has been eluded and left astern. Our minister of the marine is charged to make such arrangements as shall ensure Admiral Gantheaume being acquainted with your motions."

By the second projet, every thing, on his junction with the Ferrol squadron, was to be left to Villeneuve's own discretion and zeal. "In short," says the Emperor, "so many things have occurred since your departure for Martinique, that the knowledge of the force gone in pursuit of you, the strength of

the Ferrol squadron, and of that which blockades it, together with the situation of your fleet, are the elements which must guide your ulterior destination," p. 250. "Our principal purpose is to obtain, for a few days, the superiority before Boulogne: masters of the Straits (of Dover) for four days, 150,000 men embarked in 2,000 vessels would complete the expedition. Immediately after your appearance at Ferrol, you will have the choice of four plans:—first, to join the Rochefort squadron and Brest fleet, which will give you 60 sail of the line; the second will be to leave the Rochefort squadron, which takes up as many English ships to guard it, and to lose no time in joining Gantheaume at Brest; the third will be to form your junction with the Ferrol squadron, to go to the north of Ireland, join the Texel fleet of seven sail of the line, and then come to Boulogne;" the fourth we give in the original:—

"*Le quatrième parti parait devoir être celui de diriger sur le cap Lezard, et à trente lieues au large de profiter du vent de ouest, pour longer le côte de l'Angleterre, éviter le rencontre de l'escadre qui bloque Brest, et arriver quatre ou cinq jours avant elle, devant Boulogne,*" &c. &c.*

Here we may observe, that 30 leagues from the Lizard, running up Channel, would, in the first instance, have run his fleet into the very centre of ours off Brest, or, what is worse, on the rocks of Ushant. We will not, however, dispute with such high authority. The Emperor says, "If you should decide upon going round Ireland, keep out of sight of land, and the enemy will think you have returned up the Mediterranean, and we shall not fail to spread such reports by every means!" Our Government, we believe, was sufficiently aware of the credit due to a French or a Brussels gazette.

In the event of the abortion of all these great projects Villeneuve was directed to proceed to Cadiz, to favour the return of the Carthagena squadron to that port, then to *occupy* the Straits of Gibraltar, to *ravage the bay, and supply himself with provisions there;* i. e., we conclude, in the town!

Had his Imperial Majesty commanded his admiral, on his way up the Channel, to anchor at Spithead for the same purpose, we might have supposed he really meant it, and should have made some allowance for his ignorance of "localities;" but that a soldier of such talent, who must have known what it cost France and Spain, in 1782, for daring to approach within gun-shot of that celebrated fortress, either by land or

* "The fourth plan should be that of steering for the Lizard, and 30 leagues to leeward of it; take advantage of a westerly wind, run along the coast of England; avoid meeting the squadron which blockades Brest, and arrive four or five days before it off Boulogne."

sea, should command his fleet to *victual* there and ravage the bay, makes us doubt whether we can have given the proper translation; the words are, "*Que vous ravagiez la rade de Gibraltar et que vous vous approvisionez là de vivres,*" p. 252.

The second Rochefort squadron, of four sail of the line, under the command of Rear-admiral Magon, sailed from Isle d'Aix, on the 1st of May, to join Villeneuve. Nelson received the news of Villeneuve's departure while lying in Agincourt sound: he still continued to think that Egypt was his destination; he therefore guarded the broadest and most obvious channel up the Mediterranean, placing himself between Sardinia and the coast of Africa. It was not till the 16th of April, that the Leviathan informed him that the French fleet had been seen off Cape de Gatte, and it was soon after ascertained that they had passed the Straits, and gone to the westward. Here, while it was evident that his enemy had gained on him a very great distance, contrary winds seemed to forbid a pursuit. He did not reach Gibraltar till the 30th, which Villeneuve had passed three weeks before; and Nelson learnt with grief and anxiety all that had happened at Cadiz,—the departure of Sir John Orde, and the escape of Gravina. The wind being strong from the westward, he took advantage of it to complete his water in Mazari bay, on the coast of Barbary, sending the Superb to Tetuan, to procure refreshments for his fleet. On the 5th of May, an easterly wind revived his sinking spirits, and gave him hopes of getting to sea. The Superb was recalled, the cattle and the vegetables left on the beach, and the fleet weighed and stood to the westward; but the wind again heading him from that quarter, he put into Lagos bay, where he very fortunately found some transports, laden with provisions, which had been sent out to Sir John Orde. Having taken advantage of this seasonable supply, he was ready to sail, but could make no progress before the 12th, on which day, when off Cape St. Vincent, he fell in with the expedition under Sir James Craig, escorted by two ships of the line; this force, having been refused admittance into the Tagus, had borne away for Gibraltar. Nelson added the Royal Sovereign for their protection, and parted company with them: the Queen and Dragon, being much worn out, were ordered to England: after which, when no stranger being in sight to report his motions, he bore away for Porto Sancto, with 10 sail of the line,—these were the Victory, Canopus, Spencer, Donegal, Belleisle, Tigre, Leviathan, Swiftsure, Superb, and Excellent; he made the Desertas on the 15th, but without stopping at Madeira, pushed on for Barbadoes, and on the 4th of June anchored with his fleet in Carlisle bay: here he found Rear-admiral Sir

Alexander Cochrane, in the Northumberland, and Captain Sir F. Laforey, in the Spartiate. After remaining a few hours, in the course of which he contrived to embark Lieutenant-general Sir William Myers, with 2,000 troops, for the protection of Tobago and Trinidad, he weighed, on the morning of the 5th, and steered for the last-named island. On the 8th, he anchored in the gulf of Paria, but saw no enemy. On the 9th, at daylight, he weighed again and steered for Grenada, communicated with Dominica on the 10th, and on the 12th with Montserrat. On the same evening he anchored at St. John's, Antigua, and his mind was relieved from all anxiety respecting the safety of the Windward Islands.

All that Villeneuve had been able to achieve was the recapture of the Diamond Rock, and the capture or destruction of part of a convoy from Antigua; after which, proceeding agreeably to his orders towards Cape Finisterre, he met with Sir Robert Calder, to dispute his passage in Ferrol.

Nelson learnt, on the 8th of June, that Villeneuve had been seen with his fleet at Martinique on the 4th, that he had threatened an attack on Grenada; this, however, could only have been a feint to induce him to work back with his fleet to that island, which would have occupied much time. The admiral obtained information on which he could more confidently rely, and which proved correct, that the French fleet had quitted the West Indies, and returned to Europe. Landing Sir William Myers and his troops at Antigua, and sending home the Curieux brig with dispatches, Nelson continued his pursuit of the fugitive French admiral, taking with him the Spartiate, and leaving Sir Alexander Cochrane in the Northumberland, with the command in the Leeward Islands. With 11 sail of the line he steered for St. Michael's, which he made on the 9th of July, and on the 17th he made Cape St. Vincent, while Villeneuve on the 22d was off Ferrol; so that if Nelson had steered for Cape Finisterre, it is probable that he would have reached it before his enemy: this, however, he could not know. His chase was unequalled, both for its length and the judgment by which it was guided; he had run 6,686 miles, and his name alone had been sufficient to drive an enemy of nearly double his numbers before him. All things considered, it was very fortunate that Lord Nelson, with such disparity of force, did not fall in with Villeneuve.

As the British fleet required every thing that a dock-yard could afford, the admiral bore away on the 17th of July for Gibraltar, ascertaining, no doubt, in his way, that the combined fleet was not in Cadiz. He anchored in Gibraltar Bay on the 19th, and went on shore, for the first time, since the 16th of June,

1803; and two years, except ten days, had elapsed since he had had his foot out of the Victory.

Four days sufficed for the anxious and zealous admiral to complete his repairs and his stores, taking in his water at Tetuan. He sailed once more on the 24th, in search of his enemy, reaching Cape St. Vincent on the 3d of August. He hauled away to the northward, and on the 15th joined Admiral Cornwallis off Ushant, from whom he must have learned the defeat of Villeneuve by Sir Robert Calder. Admiral Cornwallis, seeing how much the health of his friend had suffered by labour and anxiety, hurried him away to Spithead in the Victory, and directing the Superb to attend him, both ships arrived at that ancherage on the 18th, and Lord Nelson immediately set off for London.

CHAPTER V.

Nelson, reappointed to command the Mediterranean fleet, sails in the Victory—Arrives off Cape St. Mary's—Arrangements—Departure of Rear-admiral Louis and five sail of the line for Gibraltar—Junction of five others from England—Sir Robert Calder parts company for England—The combined fleets in Cadiz appear to be coming out—Preparations to receive them—The British fleet steers for the Straits of Gibraltar—Last interview between Nelson and Collingwood—The 21st of October—Forces of the contending fleets—Error which induced Villeneuve to sail—Nelson's order of attack—His appearance on deck, dress, and decorations — Prayer — Preparatory arrangements — The immortal signal, "England expects," &c.—The combined fleet veer at a quarter before eight o'clock—The action begins by the Royal Sovereign—Slaughter on board the leading ships Victory and Téméraire—on board the Redoutable and Fougueux—Advantage of small arms in tops rejected by Nelson—He falls wounded—His orders—Last moments and death — His character — Anecdotes — Redoutable is taken—View of the conduct of Collingwood in the Royal Sovereign—Destructive fire on the Santa Anna—She surrenders—The battle ends with a great victory—Nineteen sail of the line taken—Dumanoir escapes with four sail of the line—Gravina runs with the remainder of the fleet into Cadiz—Villeneuve made prisoner—Reflections on his conduct by French writers—Observations on his death made by Bonaparte—Gross falsehoods and publications in French journals—Official and correct statements by Admiral Collingwood—His public letters—List of killed and wounded—Names of flag-officers of the enemy—Anecdotes relative to the action and its succeeding events—Sequel to the battle of Trafalgar—Distinguished conduct of Captain Malcolm of the Donegal—Capture of El Rayo—Situation of Admiral Collingwood—Extract from Gibraltar Chronicle—Sinking of the Santissima Trinidad—Junction of Admiral Louis's squadron—Loss of the Donegal's officers and men in the Rayo—Conduct of Admiral Alava—Collingwood's letter to him—Letter of Captain Hallowell to Captain Infernet—The Victory joins the fleet and proceeds to Spithead—Funeral of Nelson—Honours and rewards to Collingwood and his officers—Grant of money in compensation for prizes—Patriotic fund—Capture of Dumanoir and his squadron by Sir Richard Strachan—Particulars—Public letters, and official returns.

Scarcely had Nelson paid his respects to his Sovereign and the Admiralty, and had the satisfaction of hearing a general and unanimous approval of his conduct in pursuing his enemy to the West Indies, when he was roused from his retirement at Merton, in Surrey,* to take the command of the fleet. Early

* The house which he occupied stood on the left hand going from London to Leatherhead; it was taken down about 15 years ago.

in September, Captain Blackwood, on his way from Portsmouth to London, called and informed him that Villeneuve, having refitted his fleet at Vigo and Ferrol, had arrived safe at Cadiz. No time was lost and no entreaties were required to induce the hero to accept of the important command. The Victory was again prepared for him, and he departed for Portsmouth. The coffin, which had been given to him by Captain Hallowell, was sent down and put on board with the rest of his luggage; from which it has been inferred he had a presentiment that his great career was drawing to its termination, and resolved that the last act of his life should be worthy of his former deeds, and carry the fame of his country to the highest pinnacle of naval glory.

He reached Portsmouth early in the morning of the 14th of September, and, according to Mr. Southey, crowds of people pressed round the hero to take a farewell look, shedding tears at his departure, as if conscious that he was never to return.

In this part of the history I am indebted to the valuable narrative of Dr. Beatty for much important information. Lord Nelson sailed from St. Helen's on the 15th of September. On the 18th he appeared off Plymouth, whence, being joined by the Ajax and Thunderer, he proceeded on his voyage. On the 27th he made Cape St. Vincent, and sent Blackwood ahead in the Euryalus, who had accompanied him from Portsmouth, with another letter to Admiral Collingwood, announcing his approach.

MY DEAR COLL., *Victory, Sept.* 25, 1805.

I sent your letters, which I knew Lord Barham intended to have sent you, by a cutter from Plymouth, as he desired me. I sat down at the Admiralty and wrote you a line, which Captain Lechmere has returned to me, and I send it with the others from the Thunderer by Euryalus; also I send forward to announce my approach, and I request that if you are in sight of Cadiz, that not only no salute may take place, but also that no colours may be hoisted; for it is as well not to proclaim to the enemy every ship which may join the fleet. I fell in with Decade on the 20th, 27 leagues S. W. from Scilly; it blew then very strong at S.W. I saw Captain Stewart for a moment. Sir Richard Bickerton was far from well. I shall of course send to Gibraltar as soon as possible after my joining. If Euryalus joins before I am in sight, I wish you would make something look out for us towards Cape St. Vincent, which I shall endeavour to make if the wind is to the northward of west. I would not have any salute, even if out of sight of land.

I am ever, my dear Coll., your faithful friend,

NELSON AND BRONTE.

His fleet, including the three ships which he had brought with him, amounted to 27 sail of the line. He joined on the 29th, off Cape St. Mary's. The blockade of Cadiz, which had been begun by Sir John Jervis in 1797, had no intermission from that time till the peace of Amiens, and on the renewal of the war it was recommenced with all its former rigour. The fleet was distant from the town about 15 miles; the combined fleets within the harbour, and the British in-shore squadron, under the command of Rear-admiral Louis, closely watching their movements, and reporting every indication of their disposition to come to sea. The Euryalus and Hydra were at the mouth of the harbour, for the purpose of intercepting any supply of provisions for the enemy. Nelson said he knew no more certain means of bringing them out than starvation.

Having completed these arrangements, the admiral retired with the body of the fleet to the neighbourhood of Cape St. Mary's, between 50 and 60 miles west of Cadiz, establishing a line of communication between himself and his advanced squadron, by means of three or four intermediate ships.

By keeping at this distance from Cadiz Nelson prevented the enemy from acquiring any accurate knowledge of his force, and ensured good sea-room in the event of a strong westerly gale.

My dear Coll., *Victory, Oct. 9, 1805.*

I send you Captain Blackwood's letter; and, as I hope Weazle has joined, he will have five frigates and a brig: they surely cannot escape us. I wish we could get a fine day, and clear our transports at least of the bread, and by that time water will come. Niger is with the transports. Sovereign's cables can go into the Malabar. I shall be glad to see you mounted in her. I send you my plan of attack, as far as a man dare venture to guess at the very uncertain position the enemy may be found in. But, my dear friend, it is to place you perfectly at ease respecting my intentions, and to give full scope to your judgment for carrying them into effect. We can, my dear Coll., have no little jealousies. We have only one great object in view, that of annihilating our enemies, and getting a glorious peace for our country. No man has more confidence in another than I have in you: and no man will render your services more justice than your very old friend,

Nelson and Bronte.

P. S. Keep Blackwood's letter: the schooner goes off Cadiz from you, and if you have not disposed of the papers of the 23d, send them to Blackwood.

My dear Coll., *Victory, Oct. 10, 1805.*

You will receive the commission and order as you desired. I think we are near enough for the weather if it is fine. If we are in sight

they never will move, and should it turn bad we may be forced into the Mediterranean, and thus leave them at liberty to go to the westward, although at present I am sure Mediterranean is their destination. I shall make the signal at half-past four or five, for boats to repair on board, and make sail under topsails, and perhaps foresails, supposing the wind to remain, stand into the latitude of Cadiz, and then wear to the southward for the night. Should the enemy move, I have directed the vessels coming with the information to fire a gun every three minutes, and burn a rocket from the mast-head every half hour. It is then probable that I shall make the signal to bear up and steer for the entrance of the Straits. I am not a little troubled about * * *. Durham has refused voluntarily to go home.*

Ever yours, faithfully,
NELSON AND BRONTE.

Rear-admiral Louis, in the Canopus, with the Spencer and Tigre under his orders, had long watched the enemy in-shore; from this arduous duty he was compelled to withdraw in consequence of wanting provisions and water. On the 2d of October he was ordered to Gibraltar, and parted company, taking with him, besides the three ships above named, the Queen and Zealous. Hearing on his way into port that the enemy was embarking troops, the rear-admiral, in the Canopus, with the Spencer, returned to the fleet; but, on the 4th, Lord Nelson, supposing he could spare them better than at any other time, dismissed Rear-admiral Louis, who, with these five ships, was not in the action. It is singular they were replaced between the 7th and 13th by the Royal Sovereign, Belleisle, Defiance, Agamemnon, and Africa, from England, and the Leviathan from Gibraltar. On the 13th, in the evening, Sir Robert Calder parted company in the Prince of Wales, of 98 guns, and proceeded to England to take his trial. On the 18th Nelson issued his memorable general order, of which the following is an exact copy:—

Victory, off Cadiz, October 18, 1805.

(General Orders.)

Thinking it almost impossible to bring a fleet of 40 sail of the line into a battle, in variable winds, thick weather, and other circumstances which must occur, without such a loss of time that the opportunity would probably be lost of bringing the enemy to battle in such a manner as to make the business decisive, I have, therefore, made up my mind to keep the fleet in that position of sailing, with the exception of the first and second in command, that the order of sailing is to be the order of battle, placing the fleet in two lines, 16 ships each, with an advanced squadron of eight of the fastest sailing

* He was subpœnaed as a witness on Calder's trial.

two-decked ships, which will always make, if wanted, a line of 24 sail on whichever line the commander-in-chief may direct; the second in command will, after my intentions are made known to him, have the entire direction of his line to make the attack upon the enemy, and follow up the blow until they are captured, or destroyed. If the enemy's fleet are seen to windward, in line of battle, and that the two lines and advanced squadron could fetch them, they will probably be so extended that their van could not succour their rear; I should therefore probably make the second in command a signal to lead through, about the 12th ship from their rear (or wherever he could fetch, if not able to get so far advanced). My line would lead through about their centre, and the advanced squadron two, three, or four ships ahead of their centre, so as to ensure getting at their commander-in-chief, whom every effort must be made to capture.

The whole impression of the British fleet must be to overpower two or three ships ahead of their commander-in-chief (supposed to be in the centre). To the rear of their fleet I will suppose 20 sail of their line to remain untouched, it must be some time before they could perform a manœuvre to bring their force compact to attack any part of the British fleet, or succour their own ships, which indeed would be impossible without mixing with the ships engaged. The enemy's fleet is supposed to consist of 46 sail of the line; British 40; if either is less, only a proportion of the enemy to be cut off. British to be one-fourth superior to the enemy cut off; something must be left to chance; nothing is sure in a sea-fight beyond all others. Shots will carry away masts and yards of friends as well as foes; but I look with confidence to a victory before the van of the enemy could succour their rear, and then that the British fleet would be ready to receive the 20 sail of the line, or pursue them, should they endeavour to make off. If the van of the enemy tacks, the captured ships must run to leeward of the British fleet. If the enemy wear, the British fleet must place themselves between the enemy and the captured and disabled ships; and should the enemy close I have no fear as to the result. The second in command will, in all possible things, direct the movement of his line by keeping them as compact as the nature of the circumstances will admit. Captains are to look to their particular line as a rallying point, but in case signals cannot be seen or clearly understood, *no captain can do wrong if he places his ship alongside that of an enemy.* If the enemy's fleet are discovered in line of battle to leeward, the divisions of the British fleet will be brought nearly within gunshot of the enemy's centre; the signal will most probably be then made for the lee line to bear up together; to set all their sails, even their steering sails, in order to get as quickly as possible to the enemy's line, and to cut through, beginning at the twelfth ship from the rear. Some ships may not get through their expected place, but they will always be at hand to assist their friends; if any are thrown in the rear of the enemy they will complete the business of twelve sail of the enemy: should the enemy wear together, or bear

up and sail large, still the twelve ships composing in the first position of the enemy's rear are to be the object of attack of the lee line, unless otherwise directed by the commander-in-chief, which is scarcely to be expected, as the entire direction of the lee line (after the intentions of the commander-in-chief are signified) is intended to be left to the admiral commanding that line.

The remainder of the enemy's fleet (34 sail of the line) are to be left to the management of the commander-in-chief, who will endeavour to take care that the movements of the second in command are as little interrupted as possible.

NELSON AND BRONTE.

The attention of this great master in the art of war was observable in the most minute particular. It is often difficult in the smoke of battle to distinguish a friend from an enemy. The British fleet has generally three different-coloured ensigns, according to the flag-officers of the red, white, or blue divisions present. Nelson, whose flag was white at the fore, ordered all his ships to fight under a St. George's ensign, and to hoist union jacks at their fore-topmast and top-gallant-stays. The iron hoops on the masts of the French and Spaniards were painted black. Nelson commanded that all his ships should paint theirs yellow.

On the 18th the Donegal, Captain P. Malcolm, was obliged to return to Gibraltar to refit. The ship, having been two years constantly at sea, was worn out by the severity of the service.

The convoy collected about this time at Gibraltar, bound to Malta and the higher parts of the Mediterranean, requiring a strong escort to protect them from a Spanish squadron of five sail of the line, at Carthagena, Rear-admiral Louis, with the same number of ships, was ordered to proceed with them, of which Villeneuve was accurately informed; but he knew not that while these ships were detached to the eastward, they were replaced by a like number from the west. He therefore supposed Nelson to have no more than 21 or 22 sail of the line, and under this error he sailed from Cadiz, beginning to move on the 19th of October. At half-past nine in the morning of that day, the Mars, Defiance, Colossus, and Agamemnon, being the repeating ships between the frigates and the admiral, made the signal that the enemy was coming out of port. The wind was light from S. by W., and the breezes partial. All sail was immediately made to the eastward, and at two o'clock the Mars and Colossus repeated the signal that the enemy was at sea. Both the rival admirals appear to have laboured under misapprehensions, which mutually produced the events of the subsequent days. Villeneuve, calculating on the supposed weakness of Nelson's fleet, hurried out to meet

him before he should be strengthened by reinforcements; and Nelson, supposing as Villeneuve sailed with a S.W. wind, that he was bound to Toulon, made all sail for the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar, off which he found himself on the morning of the 20th, the enemy not in sight. The British fleet then wore, and stood to the N. W., and at seven in the morning the Phœbe made the signal for the enemy bearing north, that is, close in with Cadiz. At eight o'clock the Victory hove to, when Collingwood went on board, and saw his illustrious friend for the last time. The wind, during the afternoon, increased from the S.W., and excited apprehensions that the enemy would return into Cadiz. Never was attention more rivetted than that of the British officers on the motions of the combined fleet. A little before sunset the Euryalus made the signal that the enemy appeared determined to go to the westward: "And that they shall not do, if in the power of Nelson and Bronté to prevent them," said Nelson, in his diary. The signal was then made to the Euryalus, that the admiral depended on Captain Blackwood's keeping sight of the enemy during the night. It was the admiral's command that the frigates having sight of the enemy should fire a gun every three minutes, and discharge a rocket from the mast-head every half hour. So well were these orders obeyed that darkness scarcely interrupted the communication. The combined fleet, being clear from the land, wore twice in the night. The British fleet stood to the southward till two in the morning, and then wore and stood to the N. W., under their topsails and foresails, and anxiously awaited the dawn of day. "When that period arrived," says Dr. Beatty, "the combined fleets were distinctly seen from the deck of the Victory, formed in close line of battle ahead on the starboard tack, standing to the southward; the wind was at W.N.W., the enemy twelve miles distant to leeward. They had 33 sail of the line, of which three were three-deckers, and one a 64. They had also four frigates and two brigs. Our fleet consisted of 27 sail of the line, of which seven were three-deckers, and three were sixty-fours, with four frigates."

The combined fleets had been ordered to sail on the 13th of September, but were prevented by some little insubordination among the officers, who refused to go to sea, and (it is said) signified their determination in a council of war. When the news of this event reached Paris, Admiral Rossily was ordered to Cadiz to take the command. Villeneuve hearing of this, contrived to get his fleet out, though with a S.W. wind; and probably the departure of the six sail of the line, viz. five with Rear-admiral Louis and the Donegal, with the

convoy, may have contributed to the sudden change of sentiment among the officers.

The British hero came on deck soon after daylight, on the morning of the 21st; his anxious mind had probably allowed little repose to a frame that required it so much: yet it was not for himself but his country that he watched and prayed. He was dressed in his usual frock coat, commonly called in the navy the undress; on his left breast were four stars, the honourable gifts of his own and the other sovereigns of Europe. These he always wore with his common apparel, and as the ship approached the enemy, the distinguishing marks on his person excited the most serious apprehensions among his officers and friends about him; but no one dared hint to him that by wearing them in action he exposed himself unnecessarily to the enemy's marksmen. Dr. Beatty would have done it, when he presented his daily report of the Victory's sick, but was ordered suddenly off the deck when the enemy began to fire.

Nelson, in the early part of the day, was in high spirits, and expressed great pleasure at the prospect of giving a fatal blow to the naval power of France and Spain. Confident of victory, he declared he would not be satisfied with capturing less than 20 sail of the line. It is singular, that he had often predicted the 21st of October would be the day. "It was," he said, "the happiest day in the year among his family."

Before the action began he retired to his cabin, and composed that remarkable prayer which, having been granted in its fullest extent, has so much endeared his memory to the British nation.

"May the great God, whom I worship, grant to my country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory; and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it; and may humanity after the victory be the predominant feature in the British fleet. For myself, individually, I commit my life to Him that made me; and may his blessing alight on my endeavours for serving my country faithfully; to Him I resign myself and the just cause which is intrusted to me to defend. Amen, amen, amen."

The British fleet, when the enemy was seen at daylight, on the morning of the 21st, was a good deal scattered; the Colossus and Africa were looking out in the S.W. but joined in time. At 15 minutes past six the admiral made the signal to form the order of *sailing* in two columns; at 30 minutes past, to bear up in succession. The Victory steering for the enemy's van, made the signal to the Royal Sovereign, that he meant to get between them and Cadiz. At 25 minutes past seven the admiral made the signal to the Britannia, Prince, and Dread-

nought, to take station as most convenient. These ships being heavy sailers were kept to windward of the fleet, and consequently, from light airs and their distance from the enemy, much retarded in getting into the action. At 30 minutes past eight the signal was made for the captains of the Euryalus, Naiad, Phœbe, and Sirius, who remained on board the Victory, till a few minutes before the action; at the same time to the Royal Sovereign, to form the lee line, and make more sail. Forty minutes past nine, to the Leviathan to take her station astern of the Téméraire; this she was not able to do, though every exertion was made by her captain to effect it. At 50 minutes past nine the Victory hailed the Neptune, and desired her to keep more open order. The Téméraire endeavouring to get ahead of the Victory, could not pass her, and was desired by signal to keep astern of her. At 55 minutes past nine the Royal Sovereign made the signal to the Achille to alter her course to starboard. Fifty-five minutes past ten, Victory to Africa, to make all possible sail. At 40 minutes past eleven the Victory made the telegraphic signal, "ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY." At 43 minutes past eleven the Royal Sovereign made the signal to the lee division to make more sail. At 46 minutes past eleven the Victory made the general signal to anchor as most convenient after the action at night.

Through the intercession of Captain Blackwood, the admiral had given his consent that the Téméraire should lead the weather-line, followed by the Leviathan, but neither of these ships could pass the Victory, unless Nelson would shorten sail; this no one dared to suggest to him, and although he had himself verbally commanded Captain Hervey to go ahead, he found fault with his own officers on the forecastle for not having the Victory's lower studding-sail set in time. After the *immortal signal*—"England expects every man will do his duty"—every ship crowded her utmost sail, and the spirit of Nelson pervaded the whole British fleet. The Royal Sovereign, just before the action began, made the signal that the enemy's commander-in-chief was in a frigate: this proved to be an error, but it was certainly true that the situation of the enemy's admirals was a matter of conjecture, as they never displayed their flags till the action was nearly over. The combined fleets extended in an irregular curve line from north to south; the French and Spaniards indifferently mixed: the French had 18, the Spaniards 15 sail of the line. At a quarter past eight the combined fleet had wore, and come upon the larboard tack, with their heads to the northward; this Nelson was sorry to see, as it was evidently done with a view of getting

into Cadiz in the event of a defeat; had they continued on the other tack, they must have drifted through the Straits of Gibraltar. The enemy was now upon a wind on the larboard tack, Cape Trafalgar bore E. S. E., distant seven leagues, Cadiz N. E., distant five leagues. The British fleet in two lines, with the wind on the larboard quarter, studding-sails and royals set, approached the enemy. Nelson, suspecting their van inclined to run for Cadiz, hauled his line two points more to the northward, to cut them off. This prolonged the chase in his division so much as to afford the Royal Sovereign, with the lee line, an opportunity of being the first to engage. When the enemy began to fire on her, "See," said Nelson, "how that noble fellow, Collingwood, takes his ship into action;" and, said Collingwood, almost at the same moment, "What would Nelson give to be here!"

At 30 minutes past eleven the enemy began to open their fire on the Royal Sovereign, and at 40 minutes past, that ship returned the fire of the Santa Anna. At present we must quit her to attend to the Victory, which, owing to the lightness of the wind and the heavy swell, slowly led her line towards the enemy. Eight or nine of their centre ships tried the range with single guns, but when a shot passed through the maintop-gallant-sail of the Victory, they all opened their broadsides upon her, and the slaughter became dreadful on the poop and quarter-deck. Mr. Scott, the public secretary, was killed by a gunshot as he stood in conversation with Captain Hardy: a double-headed shot cut down eight marines on the poop, and Nelson ordered Captain Adair, who commanded the party, to disperse his men round the ship. Another shot soon after passed between the admiral and captain, when Nelson observed with a smile, "This is too warm work, Hardy, to last long;" and declared, at the same time, that, in all the battles he had ever been in, he had never witnessed more cool courage than was displayed by the crew of the Victory on this occasion. Thus the position chosen by the commander-in-chief and his second had exposed them to the fire of more than half the enemy's line for many minutes before they returned a shot. The Victory had 20 men killed and 30 wounded, her mizen-topmast and her studding-sail-booms shot away, before she opened her fire; but at four minutes past twelve, she began on both sides, and tremendous was the execution.

Nelson broke through the enemy's line about the 10th ship from their van; Collingwood about the 12th from their rear, leaving 11 of their intermediate ships unoccupied. As they approached very near the Bucentaure, the French admiral's ship, the Redoutable, commanded by Captain Lucas, gallantly

resolved to interpose between his own admiral and the Victory, and ran upon the weather quarter of the French flag ship, where he remained in the most determined and honourable manner, and fell a sacrifice in the performance of his duty.

Captain Hardy observed to the admiral, that it appeared impossible to pass through the enemy's line without going on board of one of their ships. "I cannot help it," said the hero: "it does not signify which you run on board of; take your choice, go on board of which you please." The Redoutable had, therefore, the distinguished honour of stopping the Victory, which was laid on board of her on the larboard side; the French ship firing her broadside at the same time, let fall her lower-deck ports, and fired no more from that deck during the remainder of the action: their ports (it afterward appeared) were let down to prevent being boarded through them by the crew of the Victory, who kept up such a continued discharge into her unfortunate opponent with her starboard guns, that her decks were soon swept of her crew; but a few men plied the musketry from her tops, with which they poured down an incessant fire on the decks of the Victory. While these two ships lay as it were lashed alongside of each other, the Téméraire had in like manner run foul of the Fougueux, and fell on board of the Redoutable on the starboard side. Thus four ships lay in a tier; and it must be admitted, that whether accident or design had brought them together, the positions were far more favourable, in the general result of the day, to the enemy than to England, since two of our most powerful ships were occupied and withheld from exertion by two of the enemy of very inferior force: that these were very soon subdued is certain, but they were bought at a price infinitely above their value. Never since the naval empire was contended for by us, had a battle been fought with such determined courage, such undaunted contempt of death, as on this occasion appeared on both sides. Scarcely a person on the poop, quarter-deck, and forecastle of the Victory, but was either killed or wounded. The Victory for a time had ceased firing her great guns into the Redoutable, under an impression that that ship had surrendered; but the small-arm men from the tops still keeping up their fire, the great guns of the Victory began again, and were discharged into the sides of the Redoutable, with a diminished quantity of powder and three round shot; the officers on the middle and lower decks taking every precaution, by the depression of their guns, to avoid injuring the Téméraire, as she lay on the opposite side of the enemy. While the Victory was thus occupied with the Redoutable on her starboard side, she engaged for a considerable time the Santissima Trinidad,

and the Bucentaure, who were to windward of her on the larboard side.

The firemen of the Victory stood ready with their buckets, and at every discharge of a gun dashed a quantity of water into the holes which the shot had made in the side of the Redoutable. This ship was crushed under the weight of her opponents, her artillery silenced, her gallant captain lay mortally wounded on her deck, with between 300 and 400 of her crew; still a few men in her tops were doing, at every moment, the most fatal execution with their small arms. It was unfortunately a fixed opinion with the hero of the Nile, that small arms aloft were worse than useless, that there was danger of setting fire to the sails, and perhaps he thought that the duties aloft of trimming the sails were unattended to, while the enemy offered a mark for musketry. Certain it is, that the Victory had no small-arm men in her tops, nor do there appear to have been any in those of the Téméraire; so that as long as the masts of the Redoutable stood, the upper decks of the British ships were exposed to a cool and well-directed fire, which continued for one hour and a half, and presented the singular spectacle of a French 74-gun ship engaging a British first and second rate with small arms only. About half-past one the admiral was standing on the middle of the quarter-deck, and had just turned to walk aft, when a musket-ball from the mizen-top of the French ship struck him on the left shoulder, passed through the strap of the epaulet, and grazing the collar-bone, entered his chest, and lodged in one of the dorsal vertebræ. The lamented chief fell with his face upon the deck. Serjeant-major Secker, of the royal marines, and two seamen, flew to his assistance, and were raising him up when Captain Hardy, who was on the larboard side, turned round and saw that the admiral was wounded. In answer to the anxious inquiries of the captain, the gallant chief replied, "They have done for me at last, Hardy." "I hope not," said Hardy. "Yes," answered the dying hero; "my back-bone is shot through." From the situation whence the shot was fired, Dr. Beatty calculates the distance to have been about 15 yards; the mizen-top of the Redoutable being just abaft, and below the Victory's mainyard. The spot where he fell is now marked with a brass plate, about three inches square, inlaid in the deck.

While the attendants conveyed the wounded admiral to the cockpit, the hero was still mindful of the great duty he had to perform, and not regardless of minor cares, even in the agonies of death. As he passed the gun-room he saw that the tiller ropes, which had been shot away early in the action, were not

replaced, and commanded that it should be instantly done; and having delivered this order, he covered his face with his pocket handkerchief, that he might not be noticed by his crew. The cockpit was fast filling with the dead and the dying. Lieutenant Ram and Mr. Whipple, the captain's clerk, had just expired, when the surgeon, turning from them, was called to the admiral. Mr. Burke and Dr. Beatty received the feeble fainting frame of their beloved chief from the arms of those who had conveyed him to the cockpit, and placed him in one of the midshipmen's berths. The admiral observed to the doctor, "You can do nothing for me; I have but a short time to live; my back-bone is shot through." The surgeon soon discovered that the hero was indeed mortally wounded, but except from the captain and one or two surrounding friends, cautiously concealed the mournful fact until the day was decided. Nelson, now in the agonies of death, constantly and impatiently called for Hardy; but it was long before the captain could quit the deck, the duty of the commander-in-chief, during the action, having devolved upon him by the rules of the service. At length Hardy came, and Nelson inquired, "How the day went?" "Very well, my lord," replied the captain: "we have got 12 or 14 of the enemy's ships in our possession; but their van has tacked, and shows an intention of bearing down on the Victory; I have therefore called two or three of our best ships about us, and have no doubt of giving them a drubbing." The symptoms of approaching dissolution crept on with resistless power, as the hero lay surrounded by many brave officers and men similarly situated. The surgeon could do no more, and quitted him to afford his professional aid to less desperate cases. In 50 minutes after his first visit to the cockpit, Hardy returned, and congratulated the admiral on the capture of 14 or 15 sail of the line. "That is well," said Nelson, "but I bargained for 20;" and then he earnestly exclaimed, "Anchor, Hardy, anchor." To this Hardy replied, "I suppose, my lord, Admiral Collingwood will now take upon himself the direction of affairs." "Not while I live, I hope," said Nelson, as he ineffectually endeavoured to raise himself from his bed: "No, Hardy, do you anchor." "Shall I make the signal, Sir?" said Hardy. "Yes," answered Nelson; "for if I live, I will anchor." Shortly after this interesting dialogue, the captain returned to the quarter-deck, and Nelson, with his last breath, thanked God he had done his duty, and expired in the cockpit of the Victory, at 35 minutes past four o'clock in the afternoon; at the very moment the British and combined fleets were in the position described in the plate.

The sad tidings of his being wounded and without the hope

of recovery had been conveyed to Admiral Collingwood by Lieutenant Hills of the Victory. This officer was sent by Captain Hardy, soon after Nelson was wounded; and before the action was quite concluded, the captain himself went on board the Royal Sovereign, with the afflicting confirmation of the death of the Hero of the Nile. Dr. Beatty informs us, that Lord Nelson lived about two hours and fifty-five minutes after he received his wound.

Thus fell the greatest sea officer, of this or any other nation, recorded in history; his talents, his courage, his fidelity, his zeal, his love for his King and country, were exceeded by none. Never had any man the happy intuitive faculty of seizing the

Key to the annexed Plate.

	Names of Ships.	Guns.		Names of Ships.	Guns.
S 1	Neptuno	94	E 18	Minotaur	74
S 2	St. Augustine	74	E 19	Royal Sovereign	100
F 3	Formidable*	80	E 20	Euryalus	36
E 4	Leviathan	74	S 21	Santa Anna	112
F 5	Montblanc*	74	F 22	Le Neptune	74
F 6	Scipion*	74	S 23	St. Ildefonso	74
F 7	Du Guay Trouin*	74	F 24	Fougueux	74
E 8	Neptune	98	E 25	Téméraire	98
S 9	Santissima Trinidad	140	F 26	Redoutable	80
F 10	Intrépide	74	E 27	Dreadnought	98
E 11	Orion (Africa, 64, near her, but not visible)	74	E 28	Sirius	36
			S 29	Prince of Asturias	100
E 12	Conqueror	74	F 30	Achille	74
E 13	Colossus	74	S 31	San Juan	74
F 14	Bucentaure	80	E 32	Belleisle	74
E 15	Britannia	100	E 33	Naiad	36
E 16	Victory	100	E 34	Prince	98
E 17	Spartiate	74	E 35	Polyphemus	64

Note of the Draftsman.—"This is a rough sketch of the action, taken after the firing had ceased in the rear, and the enemy's van had wore to recover the prizes, but were so warmly received, that they were obliged to stand on, and with difficulty got away, leaving the Spanish Neptuno to her fate; she struck to the Spartiate and Minotaur. The St. Augustin, one that belonged to the van, bore up and was taken by the Leviathan to leeward.

"The ships not numbered are those whose names I could not find out."

N.B.—I am indebted to Captain George Acklom, who was first lieutenant of the Neptune, for this sketch; it was done by a young gentleman, a midshipman, on board of her, named Herbert, and whom I thank for this invaluable memorandum of that battle.

* The ships of Dumanoir's squadron.

moment of propitious fortune equal to Nelson. His whole career, from his earliest entrance into the service, offers to the youth of the British Navy the most illustrious examples of every manly virtue; whether we view him as a midshipman, a lieutenant, as the captain of a frigate, or as a commander-in-chief. In 1785, Nelson found, in time of profound peace, some object connected with his country's good, on which to employ his time and his professional knowledge. That he was the object of persecution among the West India planters, was the fault of the Government; Nelson did his duty to the best of his judgment, as an honest man, and if a difference of opinion could have existed at that time on the propriety of his conduct, there has been abundance of reason since to acknowledge that he saw our maritime and commercial interests in their true light.

We have seen Nelson, as captain of the Agamemnon, in Larma bay, writing his despatches while his ship lay aground in an enemy's port; we have seen him, as captain of a 74-gun ship, on the 14th of February, lay a Spanish first-rate and an 84-gun ship on board, and with his little band of heroes rush from ship to ship, and take them both. Equally great in the hour of defeat as of victory, see him at Teneriffe with his shattered arm going to the rescue of his companions and saving their lives, while every moment of delay increased the peril of his own by hemorrhage and exhaustion: see him walk up the ship's side, observe the coolness with which he commanded the surgeon to proceed to amputation, and the fortitude with which he bore the pain; follow him to the Nile, where his valour and judgment probably saved our Indian empire: at Copenhagen he broke up the great Northern Confederacy by his daring attack, and the unparalleled presence of mind with which he turned a probable defeat into a glorious victory. Despising personal danger and the heaviest responsibility, he dared to disobey the signal of recall because he knew his country would have been disgraced and ruined: see him in the midst of carnage sit down and write a letter to the Crown Prince of Denmark, which, while it gave a victory to his country, added to her glory by stopping the useless effusion of human blood. We have seen him the patient, watchful, and anxious guardian of our honour, in the Mediterranean, where, for two years, he sought an opportunity to engage an enemy of superior force. Three times we have seen him pursue the foes of his country to Egypt, and once to the West Indies. And these great steps he took entirely on his own responsibility, disregarding any personal consideration, any calculation of force, or any allurement of gain. Coming at last to

the termination of his glorious career, the end of his life was worthy of all his other deeds, and the battle of Trafalgar will stand, without the aid of sculpture or painting, the greatest memorial of British naval valour ever exhibited. No pen can do it justice, no description can convey an adequate idea of the glories of that day; and the event which deprived us of our favourite chief consummated his earthly fame, and rendered his name for ever dear to his country. Had not his transcendent virtues been shaded by a fault, I might have been accused of flattery. No human being was ever perfect; and however we may regret the blemish in the affair of Caraciolli, we must ever acknowledge that the character of Nelson, as a public servant, is not exceeded in the history of the world.

The conversation related by Clerk and M'Arthur, which took place between Lord Nelson and the late Vice-admiral Sir Henry Blackwood, is deeply interesting.

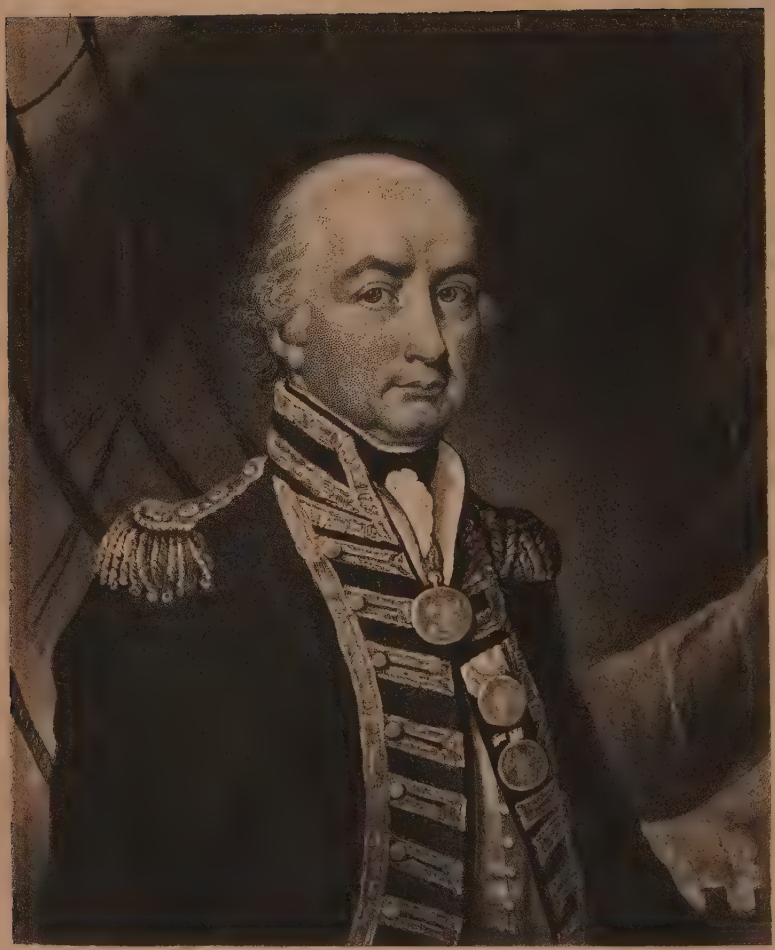
"I was walking with him on the poop, says Blackwood, when he said, 'I'll now amuse the fleet with a signal,' and asked me if I did not think there was still one wanting. These words were scarcely uttered, when his last well-known signal was made, 'ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY.' The shout with which it was received throughout the fleet was truly sublime. 'Now,' said Lord Nelson, 'I can do no more; we must trust to the great Disposer of all events, and the justice of our cause. I thank God for this great opportunity of doing my duty.'

"When Captain Blackwood was ordered, about half-past 11, to go on board of his own ship, Nelson said to him, 'God bless you, Blackwood; I shall never speak to you again.'"

Nelson's decision of character has been displayed in a thousand instances; the following one may be relied on as authentic, the officer to whom the advice was given being still alive.

When the Neapolitans were at war with the Algerines, in 1799, a young commander, in a sloop of war, was ordered with a convoy of Neapolitan vessels to Cagliari, where they were to load with corn, and return to the ports of Italy. The commander of the sloop,* feeling the importance of his trust, and knowing the extreme caution of our Government towards the states of Barbary, asked Lord Nelson what he should do in the event of the Algerines attacking his convoy: "Let them *sink you*," said the hero, "but do not let them touch the hair of the head of one of your convoy;—ALWAYS FIGHT, AND YOU ARE SURE TO BE RIGHT."

* The present Rear-admiral Sir Jahleel Brenton, Lieutenant-governor of Greenwich Hospital.



The following letter, which he addressed to the late Sir Evan Nepean, previous to his departure for Copenhagen, shows his character in a new, and if possible, a more brilliant light.

My dear Sir,

Trowbridge tells me you will have the goodness to give or lend me a set of charts of the Baltic: I only now long to be gone: time is precious, and every hour makes more resistance; strike quick, and home; and may we soon return victorious, is the fervent wish, and shall be the hearty exertion, of your faithful and obliged

To Sir Evan Nepean, Bart. Nelson and Bronte.

The Redoutable was not taken till a quarter of an hour after the admiral was wounded. Captain Adair, about 18 seamen and marines, were killed, and Lieutenant George Miller Bligh,* Mr. Palmer, midshipman, and about 20 seamen and marines, were wounded. The French ship, after having been twice on fire, had thrown some hand grenades on board the Victory, which had set fire to some ropes and canvass on the booms, but it was soon extinguished. The man who from the mizen-top had shot Lord Nelson, was himself killed by musketry from the Victory. Two men were all that remained in that part of the ship when Nelson received his wound; one of them was shot by a person from the poop of the Victory, while endeavouring to make his escape down the rigging; the other met the same fate from the hand of Mr. Pollard, a midshipman, and fell dead on the poop of the Redoutable.

We must now return to the Royal Sovereign, in which the brave Collingwood, leading the lee line, and larboard division of the fleet, had begun the action. In running down to engage, she had the van and rear of the combined fleet abaft her beam, before she was in action with the centre; a proof that their line was a curve, but so formed from the effect of accident, caused by the veering of the fleet together in the morning, when from the line ahead on the starboard tack it came to a very confused order of sailing or battle on the larboard tack.

As the Royal Sovereign approached, she found nearly the same obstruction in passing through the enemy's line as had been experienced by the Victory; their ships were so close as to offer no apparent opening. When this was pointed out to Collingwood, he replied, "Steer for the bowsprit of the Santa Anna." At this moment a Spaniard astern of that ship shivered his main topsail, and made a gap in the line, through which the Royal Sovereign passed under the stern of the Santa Anna, giving her nearly a broadside and a half in that position; then hauling on a wind under her lee, on the larboard

* Who died about a year ago in consequence of that wound.

tack, the yards of the two ships touched, as they engaged with the greatest fury and resolution: while this was going on with the guns below, the seamen on deck were employed taking in their studding-sails, and trimming the sails. The situation of the Royal Sovereign was now what might be called a very warm one, with the Santa Anna on her larboard side, a Spanish two-decker on her starboard bow, and another across her stern; she continued in this position 40 minutes, until Captain Tyler of the Tonnant came to her assistance, and took off the attention of another ship ranging up to assist the Santa Anna, who now, completely subdued by the Royal Sovereign, surrendered, having lost 540 men, killed and wounded, and Don Ignacio Maria Alava, the Vice-admiral, supposed to be mortally wounded. The flag of Gravina was in the Prince of Asturias; he was farther to leeward, and not so much engaged. The battle had, about three o'clock, assumed an appearance decidedly in our favour, when Gravina, seeing many ships dismasted, many surrendered, and some in our possession, collected all that could obey his signals, and with the frigates bore away for Cadiz, as had been foreseen from the beginning of the day.

The five headmost ships of the enemy's van were not able to avail themselves of this opportunity, their retreat being cut off by the interposition of our ships; they therefore made sail on the larboard tack, until they could weather our van, when they wore, and passed to windward, keeping up a heavy fire into every ship within their reach. This was the squadron of Rear-admiral Dumanoir, of which we are to speak hereafter. The only one of them whose flight was arrested, was the San Augustine, a Spanish 74, which, after a little firing, struck to the Spartiate and Minotaur; and the battle ended with the capture of 19 sail of the line, of which nine were French, and ten were Spanish; of the latter, two were first-rates, the Santissima Trinidad, and the Santa Anna. The Bucentaure, of 80 guns, bearing the flag of Villeneuve, the commander-in-chief, was taken possession of by the Conqueror: but the boat, which took out the French admiral, unable to regain her own ship, was picked up by the Mars, where Villeneuve remained till the 24th, when he was removed to the Neptune, and received by Captain Fremantle with every mark of respect and attention.

The Neptune, commanded by Captain Fremantle, had engaged the Santissima Trinidad, and entirely dismasted her; she was soon after taken possession of by the Prince, the Neptune being forced to prepare for the reception of the French van, which, having wore, engaged her for nearly an hour, when one of them ran to leeward and was taken. The other four, which passed to windward, we have already noticed.

In attempting to account for this signal defeat of their fleets, foreign writers adopt every mode of reasoning but the right one: it is vain to attribute the loss of the day to tactics, when tactics seem to have been disregarded; the order of battle, at the beginning of the action, was more favourable to the enemy than to the English. The Count de Dumas says the French admiral neglected to give to the officers under his orders particular instructions, relative to the various positions in which the combined fleet might find itself in the two cases of attack or defence. This is little more than unsupported assertion, and an unjust reflection on the memory of a brave but unfortunate officer: his orders were concise, his determination fixed; he did his duty both by precept and example. "*Celui qui ne serait pas dans le feu ne serait pas à son poste*" was almost equivalent to "England expects every man will do his duty;" and nearly a literal translation of the words of Nelson, "No captain can do wrong who lays his ship alongside of an enemy." Villeneuve evidently laboured under the displeasure of his master for many months previous to the affair of which we have been speaking; he was ordered to be superseded the moment he should appear before Brest, and Rossily had been sent to Cadiz to take the command of the combined fleet, when it put to sea with so much precipitation. On the return of this unhappy man to France, soon after the battle, he was found dead in his apartment, in the town of Rennes, on his way to the capital, and his death was imputed to the orders of Napoleon. Whether it was so, or that the stabs were inflicted by his own hand, I have no means of judging, nor do I wish to cast a reflection on the overloaded memory of Bonaparte; but that personage is made to say that "Villeneuve studied anatomy on purpose to destroy himself;" as if a French admiral knew not where his heart lay, without the assistance of anatomical plates to ascertain its position. This lame apology, and the order which Napoleon acknowledges he sent to him not to come to Paris, induce us to suspect rather than acquit the ungrateful Emperor. See *O'Meara, Napoleon in Exile*, vol. i. p. 56.

What could the gallant and unfortunate chief have had to fear from a court-martial, unless it were such a one as tried the Duke D'Enghien? Villeneuve's conduct in this action at least has been acknowledged by *all* present to have been that of a distinguished sea officer; and the state of the Bucentaure shows that he had no consideration for his own person. He would indeed have shifted his flag to another ship, and renewed the action, but he had not a boat that would swim; and when deserted by Gravina and Dumanoir, who took away with them

14 sail of the line, what more remained for Villeneuve but to submit to his destiny?

The voyage of Villeneuve to the West Indies had answered no reasonable purpose: he had done nothing, and the year had been suffered to glide away in idle dreams of great conquests, naval battles, and successful invasions; when the end of October, and the beginning of November, saw Bonaparte without a Channel or a Mediterranean fleet, and the flotilla in Boulogne rotting on the mud. How much he felt the loss of his fleet may be easily conceived; but no one could suppose it possible that an Emperor would dare to insult a nation with a false account of the action, pretended to have been taken from Admiral Collingwood's official letter, and circulated, and for a time believed, throughout the greater part of the Continent. The following, however, is a faithful extract from the *Journal de Paris*, 16 *Frimaire*, An XIV., 7th Dec. 1805. This was a kind of demi-official paper; and this lying document was inserted by order of the Government, and will be found to contain exactly as many falsehoods as lines:—

London, Nov. 26, 1805.

In the fashionable circles, at the theatres, or at balls, the ladies in full dress wear a crown of cypress, in memory of Lord Nelson.

The death of Lord Nelson is not the only loss which we have to deplore in the terrible battle which our fleet sustained, on the 21st of October, before Cadiz, against the combined fleet; we may judge of them by reading the following extract of a report sent by Vice-admiral Collingwood to the Admiralty.

State of the British squadron after the battle of the 19th and 21st of October.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Remarks.*
Victory	100	Entirely dismasted in cutting the line; Admiral Nelson wounded, died seven hours after.
Prince of Wales	98	Sunk. (*This ship was not in the action.*)
Britannia	100	Dismasted and sunk.
Neptune	98	Sunk. The masts of the first, and the tiller of the second, found on the coast of Conil.
Prince	98	
Dreagnante (Dreadnought)	98	Dismasted and sunk.
Téméraire	98	Boarded by the French ship L'Aigle, who killed many of her men.
Queen	98	Lost her topmasts, her hull in a very bad state at Gibraltar. (*Not in the action.*)
Canopus	80	Dismasted, and placed alongside the pontons at Gibraltar. (*Not in the action.*)
Spencer	74	Sunk. (*Not in the action.*)
Spartiate	74	Towed in by a frigate, and making signals for assistance.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Remarks.*
Defence . . .	74	Burnt by the squadron in the N. W. (Qy. What squadron?)
Swiftsure . . .	74	At Gibraltar, lost her mizen-mast.
Reine. (Qy. Queen? see above.) .	98	Dismasted on the coast of Africa. (We had no such ship.)
Zélé	74	Much injured, her hull at Gibraltar.
Conqueror . .	74	Under sail.
Revenge. . .	74	At Gibraltar, the latter without a top-sail yard.
Achille . . .	74	
Colossus . .	74	On shore on the coasts of Conil and San Lucar.
Minotaur . .	74	
Mars. . . .	74	Under sail, the last without her mizen-mast.
Bellerophon. .	74	
Polyphemus. .	64	
Le Carné . .	—	Under sail. (We had no such ship.)
Le Hardis, or Affronté . .	—	

Ships which joined the Fleet at Five o'Clock in the Morning of the 21st of October.

Duke of York .	90	Under sail. (We had no such ship.)
Royal Sovereign	110	Sunk, with £400,000 on board for Malta. (Commanded by the author in 1815.)
Le Leger . .	80	Towed by a frigate. (No such ship.)
Relampago . .	74	(No such ship.)
Achille . . .	74	*A la voile.* (Named above as being at Gibraltar without a top-sail yard).

"This report," says the editor, "is a brilliant homage paid to French valour." It would be insulting to the understanding of the English nation to attempt a refutation of it, farther than by pointing out the ships which were not in the action, or which did not exist at the time: I give it as a specimen of Imperial veracity, and leave the reader to compare it with the real facts as detailed in the admirable letters of Vice-admiral Collingwood. By these he will learn that no British ship was lost: he will see that the prayer of Nelson was heard; that humanity after the victory was the predominant feeling in the British fleet; and he will see how gloriously and effectually the officers and men exerted themselves to save their subdued enemy from the destructive elements, against which these people knew not how to contend.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Admiralty Office, Nov. 6, 1805.

Despatches, of which the following are copies, were received at the Admiralty this day, at one o'clock, A. M., from Vice-admiral

Collingwood, commander-in-chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels off Cadiz :—

Euryalus, off Cape Trafalgar,
October 22, 1805.

SIR,

The ever-to-be-lamented death of Vice-admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, who, in the late conflict with the enemy, fell in the hour of victory, leaves me the duty of informing my lords commissioners of the Admiralty that on the 19th instant it was communicated to the commander-in-chief, from the ships watching the motions of the enemy in Cadiz, that the combined fleet had put to sea. As they sailed with light winds westerly, his lordship concluded their destination was the Mediterranean, and immediately made all sail for the Straits' entrance with the British squadron, consisting of 27 ships, three of them sixty-fours, where his lordship was informed by Captain Blackwood (whose vigilance in watching and giving notice of the enemy's movements has been highly meritorious) that they had not yet passed the Straits.

On Monday the 21st instant, at daylight, when Cape Trafalgar bore E. by S. about seven leagues, the enemy was discovered six or seven miles to the eastward, the wind about west, and very light. The commander-in-chief immediately made the signal for the fleet to bear up in two columns, as they are formed in order of sailing; a mode of attack his lordship had previously directed, to avoid the inconvenience and delay in forming a line of battle in the usual manner. The enemy's line consisted of 33 ships (of which 18 were French and 15 Spanish, commanded in chief by Admiral Villeneuve, the Spaniards under the direction of Gravina), wore with their heads to the northward, and formed their line of battle with great closeness and correctness. But, as the mode of attack was unusual, so the structure of their line was new; it formed a crescent convexing to leeward, so that, in leading down to their centre, I had both their van and rear abaft the beam before the fire opened; every alternate ship was about a cable's length to windward of her second ahead and astern, forming a kind of double line, and appeared, when on their beam, to leave a very little interval between them, and this without crowding their ships. Admiral Villeneuve was in the Bucentaure in the centre, and the Prince of Asturias bore Gravina's flag in the rear, but the French and Spanish ships were mixed without any apparent regard to order of national squadron.

As the mode of our attack had been previously determined on, and communicated to the flag officers and captains, few signals were necessary, and none were made, except to direct close order as the lines bore down. The commander-in-chief, in the Victory, led the weather column, and the Royal Sovereign, which bore my flag, the lee. The action began at 12 o'clock, by the leading ships of the columns breaking through the enemy's line; the commander-in-chief about the tenth ship from the van; the second in command about the twelfth from the rear, leaving the van of the enemy unoccupied; the succeeding ships breaking through in all parts, astern

of their leaders, and engaging the enemy at the muzzles of their guns. The conflict was severe: the enemy's ships were fought with a gallantry highly honourable to their officers; but the attack on them was irresistible, and it pleased the Almighty Disposer of all events to grant his Majesty's arms a complete and glorious victory. About three, P. M., many of the enemy's ships having struck their colours, their line gave way; Admiral Gravina, with 10 ships joining their frigates to leeward, stood towards Cadiz. The five headmost ships in their van tacked, and standing to the southward, to windward of the British line, were engaged, and the sternmost of them taken; the others went off, leaving to his Majesty's squadron 19 ships of the line (of which two are first-rates, the Santissima Trinidad and the Santa Anna), with three flag-officers, viz., Admiral Villeneuve, the commander-in-chief; Don Ignacio Maria d'Alava, vice-admiral; and the Spanish Rear-admiral Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros.

After such a victory it may appear unnecessary to enter into encomiums on the particular parts taken by the several commanders; the conclusion says more on the subject than I have language to express; the spirit which animated all was the same: when all exert themselves zealously in their country's service, all deserve that their high merits should stand recorded; and never was high merit more conspicuous than in the battle I have described.

The Achille, a French 74, after having surrendered, by some mismanagement of the Frenchmen, took fire and blew up; 200 of her men were saved by the tenders. A circumstance occurred during the action, which so strongly marks the invincible spirit of British seamen when engaging the enemies of their country, that I cannot resist the pleasure I have in making it known to their lordships: the Téméraire was boarded, by accident or design, by a French* ship on one side, and a Spaniard on the other; the contest was vigorous; but in the end the combined ensigns were torn from the poops, and the British hoisted in their places.

Such a battle could not be fought without sustaining a great loss of men. I have not only to lament in common with the British navy and the British nation, in the fall of the commander-in-chief, the loss of a hero whose name will be immortal, and his memory ever dear to his country, but my heart is rent with the most poignant grief for the death of a friend, to whom, by many years of intimacy, and a perfect knowledge of the virtues of his mind, which inspired ideas superior to the common race of men, I was bound by the strongest ties of affection; a grief to which even the glorious occasion in which he fell does not bring the consolation which perhaps it ought. His lordship received a musket ball in his left breast, about the middle of the action, and sent an officer to me immediately, with his last farewell, and soon after expired. I have also to lament the loss of those excellent officers, Captain Duff, of the Mars, and Cooke, of the Bellerophon: I have yet heard of none others.

I fear the numbers that have fallen will be found very great when

* Subsequent information has proved this statement wanted confirmation.

the returns come to me; but it having blown a gale of wind ever since the action, I have not yet had it in my power to collect any reports from the ships. The Royal Sovereign having lost her masts, except the tottering foremast, I called the Euryalus to me, while the action continued, which ship, lying within hail, made my signals,—a service Captain Blackwood performed with very great attention. After the action I shifted my flag to her, that I might the more easily communicate my orders to and collect the ships, and towed the Royal Sovereign out to seaward. The whole fleet were now in a very perilous situation—many dismasted—all shattered—in 13 fathom water, off the shoals of Trafalgar; and, when I made the signal to prepare to anchor, few of the ships had an anchor to let go, their cables being shot. But the same good Providence which aided us through such a day preserved us in the night, by the wind shifting a few points, and drifting the ships off the land, except four of the captured dismasted ships, which are now at anchor off Trafalgar, and I hope will ride safe until those gales are over.

Having thus detailed the proceedings of the fleet on this occasion, I beg to congratulate their lordships on a victory which I hope will add a ray to the glory of his Majesty's crown, and be attended with public benefit to our country.

I am, &c.

(Signed) C. Collingwood.

William Marsden, Esq.

GENERAL ORDER.

Euryalus, Oct. 22, 1805.

The ever-to-be-lamented death of Lord Viscount Nelson, Duke of Bronté, the commander-in-chief, who fell in the action of the 21st, in the arms of Victory, covered with glory, whose memory will be ever dear to the British navy and the British nation, whose zeal for the honour of his King and for the interest of his country will be ever held up as a shining example for a British seaman, leave to me a duty to return my thanks to the right honourable rear-admiral, the captains, officers, seamen, and detachments of royal marines, serving on board his Majesty's squadron, now under my command, for their conduct on that day. But where can I find language to express my sentiments of the valour and skill which were displayed by the officers, the seamen, and marines, in the battle with the enemy, where every individual appeared a hero on whom the glory of his country depended? The attack was irresistible, and the issue of it adds to the page of naval annals a brilliant instance of what Britons can do when their King and their country need their service.

To the Right Honourable Rear-admiral the Earl of Northesk, to the captains, officers, and seamen, and to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of the royal marines, I beg to give my sincere and hearty thanks for their highly meritorious conduct, both in the action, and in their zeal and activity in bringing the captured ships out from the perilous situation in which they were, after their

surrender, among the shoals of Trafalgar, in boisterous weather. And I desire that the respective captains will be pleased to communicate to the officers, seamen, and royal marines, this public testimony of my high approbation of their conduct, and my thanks for it.

(Signed) C. Collingwood.

To the Right Hon. Rear-Admiral the Earl of Northesk, and the respective Captains and Commanders.

GENERAL ORDER.

The Almighty God, whose arm is strength, having of his great mercy been pleased to crown the exertions of his Majesty's fleet with success, in giving them a complete victory over their enemies, on the 21st of this month, and that all praise and thanksgiving may be offered up to the throne of grace for the great benefit to our country and to mankind, I have thought proper that a day should be appointed of general humiliation before God, and thanksgiving for his merciful goodness, imploring forgiveness of sins, a continuation of his divine mercy, and his constant aid to us, in defence of our country's liberties and laws, and without which the utmost efforts of man are nought; and direct therefore that be appointed for this holy purpose.

Given on board the Euryalus, off Cape Trafalgar,
October 22, 1805.

(Signed) C. Collingwood.

To the respective Captains and Commanders.

N. B.—The fleet having been dispersed by a gale of wind, no day has yet been able to be appointed for the above purpose.

Sir, *Euryalus, off Cadiz, Oct.* 24, 1805.

In my letter of the 22d I detailed to you, for the information of my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, the proceedings of his Majesty's squadron on the day of the action, and that preceding it, since which I have had a continued series of misfortunes, but they are of a kind that human prudence could not possibly provide against, or my skill prevent.

On the 22d, in the morning, a strong southerly wind blew with squally weather, which, however, did not prevent the activity of the officers and seamen of such ships as were manageable from getting hold of many of the prizes (13 or 14), and towing them off to the westward, where I ordered them to rendezvous round the Royal Sovereign, in tow by the Neptune; but on the 23d the gale increased, and the sea ran so high that many of them broke the tow-rope, and drifted far to leeward before they were got hold of again; and some of them, taking advantage in the dark and boisterous night, got before the wind, and have perhaps drifted upon the shore and sunk. On the afternoon of that day the remnant of the combined fleet, 10 sail of ships, which had not been much engaged, stood

up to leeward of my shattered and straggled charge, as if meaning to attack them, which obliged me to collect a force out of the least injured ships, and form to leeward for their defence: all this retarded the progress of the hulks, and the bad weather continuing determined me to destroy all the leewardmost that could be cleared of the men, considering that keeping possession of the ships was a matter of little consequence, compared with the chance of their falling again into the hands of the enemy; but even this was an arduous task in the high sea which was running. I hope, however, it has been accomplished to a considerable extent; I intrusted it to skilful officers who would spare no pains to execute what was possible. The captains of the Prince and Neptune cleared the Trinidad, and sunk her. Captains Hope, Bayntun, and Malcolm, who joined the fleet this morning from Gibraltar, had the charge of destroying four others. The Redoutable sunk astern of the Swiftsure while in tow. The Santa Anna I have no doubt is sunk, as her side is almost entirely beat in; and such is the shattered condition of the whole of them, that, unless the weather moderates, I doubt whether I shall be able to carry a ship of them into port. I hope their lordships will approve of what I (having only in consideration the destruction of the enemy's fleet) have thought a measure of absolute necessity.

I have taken Admiral Villeneuve into this ship. Vice-admiral Don Alava is dead.* Whenever the temper of the weather will permit, and I can spare a frigate (for there are only four in the action with the fleet, Euryalus, Sirius, Phœbe, and Naiad; the Melpomene joined the 22d, and the Eurydice and Scout the 23d), I shall collect the other flag-officers, and send them to England with their flags (if they do not go to the bottom), to be laid at his Majesty's feet.

There were 4,000 troops embarked, under the command of General Contamin, who was taken with Admiral Villeneuve in the Bucentaure.

I am, Sir, &c.
(Signed) C. Collingwood.

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Admiralty Office, Nov. 27, 1805.

Copy of a letter received last night by the Hon. Captain Blackwood, from Vice-admiral Lord Collingwood, commander-in-chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, to William Marsden, Esq.

Queen, off Cape Trafalgar, Nov. 4, 1805.

Sir,

On the 28th ult. I informed you of the proceedings of the squadron to that time: the weather continuing very bad, the wind blowing from the S.W., the squadron not in a situation of safety, and seeing little prospect of getting the captured ships off the land, and great

* This was an erroneous report brought to the admiral. I dined on board the Santa Anna, in Cadiz, with Don Alava, in August, 1809.

risk of some of them getting into port, I determined no longer to delay the destroying them, and to get the squadron out of the deep bay.

The extraordinary exertion of Captain Capel, however, saved the French Swiftsure; and his ship, the Phœbe, together with the Donegal, Captain Malcolm, afterward brought out the Bahama. Indeed nothing can exceed the perseverance of all the officers employed in the service. Captain Hope rigged and succeeded in bringing out the Ildefonso: all of which will, I hope, have arrived safe at Gibraltar. For the rest, sir, I enclose you a list of all the enemy's fleet which were in action, and how they are disposed of, which, I believe, is perfectly correct.

I informed you, in my letter of the 28th, that the remnant of the enemy's fleet came out a second time, to endeavour, in the bad weather, to cut off some of the hulks, when the Rayo was dismasted and fell into our hands; she afterward parted her cable, went on shore, and was wrecked. The Indomptable, one of the same squadron, was also driven on shore, wrecked, and her crew perished.*

The Santa Anna and Algeziras, being driven near the shore, off Cadiz, got such assistance as has enabled them to get in; but the ruin of their fleet is as complete as could be expected under the circumstances of fighting them close to their own shore: had the battle been in the ocean, still fewer would have escaped. Twenty† sail of the line are taken or destroyed; and of those which got in, not more than three are in a reparable state for a length of time.

Rear-admiral Louis, in the Canopus, who had been detached with the Queen, Spencer, and Tigre, to complete the water, &c., of those ships, and to see the convoy in safety a certain distance up the Mediterranean, joined me on the 30th.

In clearing the captured ships of prisoners I found so many wounded men, that, to alleviate human misery as much as was in my power, I sent to the Marquis de Solana, governor-general of Andalusia, to offer him the wounded to the care of their country, on receipts being given; a proposal which was received with the greatest thankfulness, not only by the governor, but by the whole country, which resounds with expressions of gratitude. Two French frigates were sent out to receive them, with a proper officer to give receipts; bringing with them all the English who had been wrecked in several of the ships, and an offer from the Marquis de Solana of the use of their hospitals for our wounded, pledging the honour of Spain for their being carefully attended.

I have ordered most of the Spanish prisoners to be released; the officers on parole, the men for receipts given, and a condition that they do not serve in war, by sea or land, until exchanged.

By my correspondence with the Marquis, I found that Vice-admiral D'Alava was not dead, but dangerously wounded; and I

* Fifteen hundred in number, her own and Bucentaure's.

† By a subsequent account it appears that the number of ships of the line taken and destroyed was 19.

wrote to him a letter, claiming him as a prisoner of war, a copy of which I enclose, together with a statement of the flag-officers of the combined fleet.

I am, &c., &c.

C. COLLINGWOOD.

A list of the combined fleet of France and Spain in the action of the 21st of October, 1805, off Cape Trafalgar, showing how they were disposed of.

1. Spanish ship, San Ildefonso, of 74 guns, Brigadier Don Joseph de Varga, sent to Gibraltar.
2. Spanish ship, San Juan Nepomuceno, of 74 guns, Brigadier Don Cosme Cherruca, sent to Gibraltar.
3. Spanish ship, Bahama, of 74 guns, Brigadier Don A. D. Galiano, sent to Gibraltar.
4. French ship, Swiftsure, of 74 guns, Monsieur Villemadrin, sent to Gibraltar.
5. Spanish ship, Monarca, of 74 guns, Don Teodoro Argumosa, wrecked off San Lucar.
6. French ship, Fougueux, of 74 guns, Monsieur Beaudouin, wrecked off Trafalgar, all perished, and 30 of the Téméraire's men.
7. French ship, Indomptable, of 84 guns, Monsieur Hubart, wrecked off Rota, all perished: said to have had 1,500 men on board.
8. French ship, Bucentaure, of 80 guns, Admiral Villeneuve, commander-in-chief, Captains Prigny and Magendie, wrecked on the Porques, some of the crew saved.
9. Spanish ship, San Francisco de Asis, of 74 guns, Don Luis de Flores, wrecked near Rota.
10. Spanish ship, El Rayo, of 100 guns, Brigadier Don Henrique Macdonel, taken by Donegal, and wrecked near San Lucar.
11. Spanish ship, Neptuno, of 84 guns, Brigadier Don Cayetano Valdes, wrecked between Rota and Catalina.
12. French ship, Argonaute, of 74 guns, Monsieur Epron, on shore in the port of Cadiz. (By subsequent account, not lost.)
13. French ship, Berwick, of 74 guns, Monsieur Camas, wrecked to the northward of San Lucar.
14. French ship, Aigle, of 74 guns, Monsieur Courage, wrecked near Rota.
15. French ship, Achille, of 74 guns, Monsieur de Nieuport, burnt during the action.
16. French ship, Intrépide, of 74 guns, Monsieur Infernet, burnt by the Britannia.
17. Spanish ship, San Augustin, of 74 guns, Brigadier Don Felipe X. Cagigal, burnt by the Leviathan.
18. Spanish ship, Santissima Trinidad, of 140 guns, Rear-admiral Don Baltazar H. Cisneros, Brigadier Don F. Uriarte, sunk by the Prince and Neptune.

19. French ship, Redoutable, of 74 guns, Monsieur Lucas, sunk astern of the Swiftsure; Téméraire lost 13, and Swiftsure five men in her.
20. Spanish ship, Argonauta, of 80 guns, Don Antonio Parejo, sunk by the Ajax.
21. Spanish ship, Santa Anna, of 112 guns, Vice-admiral Don Ignacio d'Alava, Captain Don Joseph de Gardoqui, taken, but got into Cadiz in the gale, dismasted.
22. French ship, Algeziras, of 74 guns, Rear-admiral Magon (killed), Captain Monsieur Bruaro, taken, but got into Cadiz in the gale, dismasted.
23. French ship, Pluton, of 74 guns, Monsieur Cosmao, returned to Cadiz in a sinking state.
24. Spanish ship, San Juste, of 74 guns, Don Miguel Caston, returned to Cadiz, has a foremast only.
25. Spanish ship, San Leandro, of 64 guns, Don Joseph de Quevedo, returned to Cadiz, dismasted.
26. French ship, Le Neptune, of 84 guns, Monsieur Maistral, returned to Cadiz, perfect.
27. French ship, Le Héros, 74 guns, Monsieur Poulain, returned to Cadiz, lower masts standing, hoisted Admiral Rossily's flag.
28. Spanish ship, Principe de Asturias, 112 guns, Admiral Gravina, Captain Don Antonio Escano, returned to Cadiz, dismasted.
29. Spanish ship, Montanez, Don Francisco Alcedo, returned to Cadiz.
30. French ship, Formidable, 80 guns, Rear-admiral Dumanoir, escaped to the southward, with the three following:—
31. French ship, Mont Blanc, 74 guns, Monsieur Villegris.
32. French ship, Scipion, 74 guns, Monsieur Barouger.
33. French ship, Du Guay Trouin, 74 guns, Monsieur Toufflet.

Abstract.

At Gibraltar	4
Destroyed	15
In Cadiz	10
Escaped	4
Total	33

The order in which the ships of the British squadron attacked the combined fleet on the 21st of October, 1805, with the names of the flag-officers and captains:—

Van, or Weather Column.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*	*Killed.*	*Wounded.*
Victory	100	Vice-ad. Viscount Nelson Captain T. M. Hardy	51	75
Téméraire	98	Eliab Harvey	47	76
Neptune	98	T. F. Fremantle	10	34

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.	Killed.	Wounded.
Conqueror	74	Israel Pellew	3	9
Leviathan	74	H. W. Bayntun	4	22
Ajax	74	Lieutenant J. Pilfold*	0	9
Orion	74	Edward Codrington	1	23
Agamemnon	64	Sir Edward Berry	2	7
Minotaur	74	C. J. M. Mansfield	3	22
Spartiate	74	Sir F. Laforey, Bart.	3	20
Britannia	100	Rear-ad. Earl Northesk Captain Charles Bullen	10	42
Africa	64	Henry Digby	18	44
		Total	154	383

Frigates.

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.
Euryalus	36	Hon. H. Blackwood.
Sirius	36	William Prowse.
Phœbe	36	Hon. T. B. Capel.
Naiad	38	T. Dundas.
Pickle	12	Lieut. J. R. Lapenotiere.
Entreprenante cutter	12	Lieut. R. B. Young.

Rear, or Lee Column.

Ships.	Guns.	Commanders.	Killed.	Wounded.
Royal Sovereign	100	Vice-admiral Collingwood Captain E. Rotherham	47	94
Mars	74	George Duff	29	69
Belleisle	74	William Hargood	33	93
Tonnant	80	Charles Tyler	26	50
Bellerophon	74	John Cooke	27	133
Colossus	74	J. N. Morris	40	160
Achille	74	Richard King	13	59
Polyphemus	64	Robert Redmill	2	4
Revenge	74	R. Moorsom	28	51
Swiftsure	74	W. G. Rutherford	9	7
Defence	74	George Hope	7	29
Thunderer	74	Lieutenant J. Stockham*	4	16
Defiance	74	P. C. Durham	17	53
Prince	98	Richard Grindall	0	0
Dreadnought	98	John Conn	7	26
		Total	289	844

* Lieutenants Pilfold and Stockham were acting for Captains W. Brown and W. Lechmere, absent on Sir R. Calder's trial; the Lieutenants W. P. Cumby, of the Bellerophon, and W. Hannah, of the Mars, having their captains killed: the whole of these officers, with Lieutenant Quillam, first of the Victory, were made Post immediately.

List of the names and rank of the flag-officers of the combined fleets of France and Spain in the action of the 21st of October, 1805:—

Admiral Villeneuve, commander-in-chief, Bucentaure, taken.
Admiral Don Frederico Gravina, in the Principe de Asturias, escaped into Cadiz, wounded in the arm.
Vice-admiral Don Ignacio Maria Alava, Santa Anna, taken, wounded severely, but escaped into Cadiz.
Rear-admiral Don Baltazar Hidalgo Cisneros, in the Santissima Trinidad, taken.
Rear-admiral Magon, Algeziras, killed.
Rear-admiral Dumanoir, in the Formidable, escaped.

The heavy gales of wind, blowing from the S.W., which immediately succeeded the action, rendered the service, after the 21st of October, more laborious and dangerous, and more fatal in its consequences, than the battle itself. The nature of this danger is ably and fully explained in Admiral Collingwood's letter of the 24th of October; there are, however, many particulars which could not be detailed in the confined limits of a public letter, but which are, nevertheless, highly deserving of our notice.

The following private letter from Admiral Collingwood to his father-in-law gives a supplementary account of the action, and shows his amiable domestic habits, so ornamental to the character of a true-born Englishman:—

MY DEAR SIR, *Queen, Nov. 2, 1805.*

I wrote to my dear Sarah a few lines when I sent my first despatches to the Admiralty, which account I hope will satisfy the good people of England; for there never was, since England had a fleet, such a combat. In three hours the combined fleets were annihilated, upon their own shores, at the entrance of their port, amongst their own rocks. It has been a very difficult thing to collect an account of our success; but, by the best I have, 23 sail of the line surrendered to us, out of which, three, in the furious gale we had afterwards, being driven to the entrance of the harbour of Cadiz, received assistance and got in: these were the Santa Anna, the Algeziras, and Neptune (the last since sunk and lost); the Santa Anna's side was battered in. The three we have sent to Gibraltar are, the San Ildefonso, San Juan Nepomuceno, and Swiftsure; 17 others we have burnt, sunk, and run on shore, but the Bahama I have yet hope of saving; she is gone to Gibraltar. Those ships which effected their escape into Cadiz are quite wrecks; some have lost their masts since they got in, and they have not a spar or a store to refit them. We took four admirals; Villeneuve, the commander-in-chief, Vice-admiral D'Alava, Rear-admiral Cisneros, Spanish, and

Magon, the French admiral, who was killed; besides a great number of brigadiers (commanders). D'Alava, wounded, was driven into Cadiz in the Santa Anna; Gravina, who was not taken, has lost his arm (amputated, I have heard, but not from him). Of men, their loss is many thousands; for I reckon, in the captured ships, we took 20,000 prisoners (including the troops). This was a victory to be proud of; but in the loss of my excellent friend, Lord Nelson, and a number of brave men, we paid dear for it. When my dear friend received his wound, he immediately sent an officer to me to tell me of it, and give his love to me. Though the officer was directed to say the wound was not dangerous, I read in his countenance what I had to fear; and before the action was over, Captain Hardy came to inform me of his death. I cannot tell you how deeply I was affected; my friendship for him was unlike anything that I have left in the navy—a brotherhood of more than 30 years. In this affair he did nothing without my counsel; we made our line of battle together, and concerted the mode of attack, which was put in execution in the most admirable style. I shall grow very tired of the sea soon: my health has suffered so much from the anxious state I have been in, and the fatigue I have undergone, that I shall be unfit for service. The severe gales which immediately followed the day of victory ruined our prospect of prizes; our own infirm ships could scarce keep off the shore; the prizes were left to their fate, and as they were driven very near the port, I ordered them to be destroyed, by burning and sinking, that there might be no risk of their falling again into the hands of the enemy. There has been a great destruction of them; indeed I hardly know what, but not less than 17 or 18—the total ruin of the combined fleet. To alleviate the miseries of the wounded, as much as in my power, I sent a flag to the Marquis Solana, to offer him his wounded. Nothing can exceed the gratitude expressed by him for this act of humanity; all this part of Spain is in an uproar of praise and thankfulness to the English. Solana sent me a present of a cask of wine, and we have a free intercourse with the shore. Judge of the footing we are on, when I tell you he offered me his hospitals, and pledged the Spanish honour for the care and cure of our wounded men. Our officers and men, who were wrecked in some of the prize ships, were received like divinities; all the country was on the beach to receive them; the priests and women distributing wine, and bread, and fruit amongst them. The soldiers turned out of their barracks to make lodging for them, whilst their allies, the French, were left to shift for themselves, with a guard over them to prevent their doing mischief. After the battle I shifted my flag to the Euryalus frigate, that I might the better distribute my orders; and when the ships were destroyed, and the squadron in safety, I came here, my own ship being totally disabled: she lost her last mast in the gale. All the northern boys, and Graydon, are alive; Kennicott has a dangerous wound in his shoulder; Thompson wounded in the arm, and, just at the conclusion of the action, his leg was broke by a splinter; little Charles is unhurt, but we have lost a good many youngsters. For myself, I am in so

forlorn a state, my servants killed, my luggage, what is left, is on board the Sovereign, and Clavell* wounded. I have appointed Sir Peter Parker's grandson,† and Captain Thomas, my old lieutenant, post-captains; Clavell, and the first lieutenant of the Victory, made commanders; but I hope the Admiralty will do more for them, for in the history of our navy there is no instance of a victory so complete and so great. The ships that escaped into Cadiz are wrecks, and they have neither stores nor inclination to refit them. I shall now go, as soon as I get a sufficient squadron equipped, and see what I can do with the Carthagenians. If I can get at them, the naval war will be finished in this country. Prize-money I shall get little or none for this business; for, though the loss of the enemy may be estimated at near £4,000,000, it is most of it gone to the bottom. Don Argumosa, who was formerly captain of the Isedro, commanded the Monarca, one of our captures. He sent to inform me he was in the Leviathan, and I immediately ordered, for our old acquaintance sake, his liberty on parole. All the Spaniards speak of us in terms of adoration; and Villeneuve, whom I had in the frigate with me, acknowledges that they cannot contend with us at sea. I do not know what will be thought of it in England, but the effect here is highly advantageous to the British name. Kind remembrances to all my friends. I dare say your neighbour, Mr. ———, will be delighted with the history of the battle; if he had been in it, it would have animated him more than all his daughter's chemistry; it would have new-strung his nerves, and made him young again. God bless you, my dear sir; may you ever be happy. It is very long since I heard from home. I am, ever, your most truly affectionate

CUTHBERT COLLINGWOOD.

I have ordered all the boys to be discharged into this ship; another such fight will season them pretty well. Brown is in perfect health. We had 47 killed, 94 wounded.

The Donegal, Captain P. Malcolm, was lying in Gibraltar Mole, refitting, when the enemy put to sea, but she sailed on the 22d, and worked through the Straits in a gale of wind, with her fore-yard, for a part of the time, towing alongside; on the 23d she fell in with the Victory and Téméraire, both of them, of course, disabled, the gale continually blowing, with a heavy sea. At daylight, in the morning of the 24th, Captain Malcolm bore up to assist a hulk, and sent some men on board of her; after which he ran down to another. This last was lying at anchor off the shoals of San Lucar, and had Spanish colours flying. On a shot being fired at her, she hauled down her colours and surrendered. The Donegal came to an anchor

* Captain John Clavell, then first lieutenant of the Royal Sovereign.

† The late lamented Sir Peter Parker, Bart., who fell in the Chesapeake, in 1814, when Captain of the Menelaus, leading his men against the Americans.

alongside of her, and, sending an officer to take possession, found it was the Rayo, of 100 guns, which had sailed the second time with Gravina, as stated in Admiral Collingwood's letter of the 28th of October, so that the unfortunate Spanish admiral had better have remained in port; but, if it be true that Gravina had lost his arm, it is not probable that he was on board the Prince of Asturias on this occasion. At this time Rota Point bore S. E., distant 14 miles, and Point Regla E. by S., distant nine miles. In the course of that and the following day the Donegal received on board 490 Spanish prisoners. One of the hulks, being on fire, blew up; the weather at this time was very tempestuous. The Rayo drove, but brought up again. The Donegal reefed her courses, ready for any accident, and endeavoured to bend the sheet cable, but the sea ran too high to open the hawse-holes. Four hulks now lay at anchor on the coast, in sight of the Donegal. At one o'clock, on the 25th, the Rayo drove from her anchors, but brought up five miles farther in shore. On the 26th the weather became more moderate; all the hulks had the signal of distress flying. On Sunday, the 27th, the Royal Sovereign anchored near the Donegal, in 17 fathoms water, having lost all her masts and bowsprit. The Mars anchored also, with the loss of bowsprit, foremast, and topmasts. The Euryalus to windward, with Vice-admiral Collingwood's flag flying; ten sail of the line in company. The Melpomene anchored near the Donegal; when the latter hoisted out all the boats, and sent them to take the officers and crew out of the Argonauta, a Spanish prize, which had been taken possession of by the Defiance. On Monday, the 28th, it blew strong again, when, at 10 o'clock in the morning, the Rayo drove again from her anchors, and went on shore seven or eight miles N. N. W. of San Lucar, where the ship was totally lost, and numbers of Spaniards, with some of the English officers and crew, perished in her. The sequel of the services of the Donegal may be found in the "Gibraltar Chronicle" of the 9th of November, 1805; and, if it be more honourable to save than to destroy, Captain Malcolm had his full share of the glory of the battle of Trafalgar.

The lives of many others of the unfortunate people in the prizes could not be saved by all the seamanship and generous exertions of our countrymen. A man fell overboard from the Donegal in a gale of wind on this occasion; the usual cry was raised, when some one thoughtlessly called out "He is only a Spaniard." "Suppose he is only a Spaniard," said a gallant English seaman, seizing the end of a rope, and darting into the sea at the same time "no reason the poor —— should be

drowned." Happy am I to say, from the information of Sir P. Malcolm, that both men were picked up.

The loss of the Santissima Trinidad was not to be prevented, driving down as she did upon the coast that had been fatal to the others. The officers of the Prince and the Neptune, by the most persevering efforts, had nearly got all the wounded men out of her, by lowering them down in cots from the stern and quarter-gallery windows. We trust and hope that none of these unfortunate people were left behind, but a doubt seems to exist. Night came on—the swell ran high—*three* lower-deck ports on each side were open, and in a few minutes the tremendous ruins of the largest ship in the world were buried in the deep! The waves passed over her, she gave a lurch, and went down.*

On the 30th two French frigates and a brig came out of Cadiz, as cartels, to receive the wounded prisoners.

On the same day Rear-admiral Louis, who had been detached to the eastward with convoy previously to the action, joined the commander-in-chief. The ships that came with him were the Canopus (flag), Spencer, Tigre, and Queen; these ships, with the Donegal, stood in towards Cadiz, when the Queen fired a broadside into one of the enemy's dismasted line-of-battle ships, which had anchored at the entrance of Cadiz harbour; the fire was not returned.

On the 31st the Donegal and Leviathan were closer in shore, near Cadiz, when the former received her cutter from San Lucar, bringing on board Lieutenant Grenville, four midshipmen, and eight seamen, from the wreck of the Rayo. Lieutenant Firneyhough, of the marines, Mr. Ellis, the carpenter of the Donegal, Mr. Bell, midshipman, 17 seamen, and two marines, with a vast number of Spaniards, were drowned in the wreck. After contemplating the fate of the Rayo and the Trinidad, who is there that will not rejoice to learn that the Santa Anna, of 112 guns, with the wounded Admiral Alava, and his unfortunate crew, arrived safe in Cadiz? That ship was completely in the possession of the British officers and men from

* My friend the late Captain John Pilfold, who was first lieutenant and acting captain of the Ajax in this battle, informs me that no one was suffered to perish in the Santissima Trinidad; and, as a proof of it, that he was in the last boat which left the ship; that they were so far from being hurried, that when the boat put off from the starboard quarter, a cat, the only living animal aboard, ran out on the muzzle of one of the lower-deck guns, and by a plaintive mew seemed to beg for assistance; the boat returned and took her in. Sailors have a superstitious respect for the life of a cat: a gale of wind is always supposed by them to be the punishment of throwing one overboard. It is singular that I cannot reconcile the discrepancies in the two different accounts, both given by respectable officers. On the loss of the Santissima Trinidad, Captain Pilfold asserts that she went down in shoal water, close in shore. I think two different ships are spoken of by my two informants.

the Royal Sovereign; but, finding it impossible to keep the sea, they consented to run the ship into Cadiz, on condition that they should be considered at liberty to return to their ship; this offer was thankfully accepted, and the generosity of the Spaniards to their brave and skilful deliverers knew no bounds.

Alava, though defeated and taken, was not dishonoured until he declined delivering himself up as a prisoner to Vice-admiral Collingwood, agreeably to his parole of honour. Alava had been severely wounded, and his dissolution was considered so near, that a message was sent to Lord Collingwood, with his sword, in token of submission, requesting that he might be allowed to die in peace on board the Santa Anna. The request was readily granted, but when Collingwood heard of his safe arrival in port, and that he was rapidly recovering, he sent him the following letter:—

SIR, *Euryalus, off Cadiz, Oct.* 30, 1805.

It is with great pleasure I have heard that the wound which you received in the action is in a hopeful way of recovery, and that your country may still have the benefit of your services. But, sir, you surrendered yourself to me, and it was in consideration only of the state of your wound that you were not removed into my ship: I could not disturb the repose of a man supposed to be in his last moments; but your sword, the emblem of your service, *was delivered to me* by your captain, and I expect that you consider yourself a prisoner of war until you shall be regularly exchanged by cartel.

Alava did not reply to this letter in the true spirit of Spanish chivalry, but lost the esteem of the great Collingwood by denying that the sword was his own. He was very severely wounded in the head; and the affair seems to have been arranged for him by the captain: but I cannot justify the admiral, who, I think, when recovered, should have gone out to Lord Collingwood, and received his parole.

The Victory reached Gibraltar on the 28th of October, and in one week she was made capable of undertaking a voyage to England. She sailed on the 4th of November, in company with the Belleisle; joined Admiral Collingwood on the 5th off Cadiz; and parted company the same day for England, having on board the remains of the lamented chief. The body was preserved in brandy and spirits of wine.

The ship did not reach Spithead till the following month: on the 11th of December she sailed for the Nore, carrying round the body of Nelson, which, having been taken out of the spirits, was rolled in bandages from head to foot, and then laid in a leaden coffin filled with brandy, holding a strong solution of camphor and myrrh. The body was afterward, on being

removed from the Victory, apparelled in a uniform dress of the late admiral, and laid in the coffin presented to its occupier seven years before by Captain Hallowell; this was placed in another coffin, very richly ornamented, and on the 22d of December the body was conveyed in a yacht to Greenwich, where it lay in state for three days, after which it was taken to the Admiralty; and, on the 9th of January, 1806, was interred in St. Paul's, at the public expense. It was conveyed to the consecrated spot in a triumphal car, constructed for the purpose, the front representing the head of the Victory, the hinder part the stern; the coffin was exposed to view at the sides; a canopy, with plumes of ostrich feathers, surmounted the car. The Prince of Wales (his late gracious Majesty), with all the princes of the blood-royal, attended the funeral; nearly 10,000 troops lined the streets with arms reversed, resting their heads on the butts of their pieces. With the royal family followed the nobility, members of both Houses of Parliament, military and naval officers, 48 seamen and marines of the Victory, and the admiral's barge's crew.

A monument in St. Paul's Cathedral was voted by Parliament to the memory of this illustrious officer, and a similar honour was paid to him by the corporate bodies of Dublin, Portsmouth, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and many other towns in Great Britain.*

At a meeting of Parliament, on the 21st of January, 1806, the speech from the Lords Commissioners, who represented his Majesty, was chiefly a eulogium on the late victory.

"The pursuit and attack of the different squadrons of the enemy (said the Lord Chancellor), and every encounter, have terminated to the honour of the British flag, and the diminution of the naval force of the powers with whom his Majesty is at war; but the victory obtained over the combined fleets of France and Spain off Cape Trafalgar has manifested, beyond any exploit recorded even in the annals of the British navy, the skill and enterprise of his Majesty's officers and seamen; and the destruction of so large a proportion of the naval

* In visiting the palace and magnificent apartments of Windsor Castle, I have been much struck with the appropriate compliment paid by our Sovereign to the memory of his favourite naval hero. In the armoury stands, on the right hand, the bust of Wellington, facing that of Marlborough: on the left, and in the centre of the recess, at the head of the room, surrounded by a neat iron rail, stands the bust of Nelson on a portion of the foremast of the Victory. The nature of the pedestal, the *black* hoops which bind it together, and the tremendous shot-hole with which it is perforated, all combine to give it an indescribable interest in the museum of a British monarch; nor will the nautical observer overlook the *horse-shoe* nailed on the fore part of the foremast: this is ever done by sailors either for "good luck," or, as I have heard some of them say, "to drive away the witches."

strength of the enemy has not only confirmed in the most signal manner the maritime superiority of this country, but has essentially contributed to the security of his Majesty's dominions."

Vice-admiral Collingwood, for his services, was created Baron Collingwood, of Caldburn and Hethpool, in the county of Northumberland, with a pension of £2,000 per annum, and at his death £1,000 a year to Lady Collingwood, and £500 a year to each of his two daughters, should they survive him.

On the 28th of January Lord Hawkesbury moved the thanks of the House of Lords to Lord Collingwood, the Earl of Northesk, the captains, officers, seamen, and marines, for their conduct in the battle of Trafalgar.

The Duke of Norfolk wished the resolutions to include the thanks of the House to Sir Robert Calder, but this was opposed by the Earl of St. Vincent: the motion itself was, however, a proof that his conduct was viewed by some in a different and more favourable light than by others.

The blockade of Cadiz still continued; fresh ships were sent out to relieve those disabled in the action; and the British fleet, after the most decisive and bloody engagement ever fought at sea, remained in complete command of the ocean.

It will be remembered that Dumanoir escaped with four sail of the line, standing to the southward, until he was lost sight of by our fleet. Why he did not run through the Straits and go to Toulon is not known; perhaps he feared to encounter the squadron of Rear-admiral Louis, which he knew had gone to the eastward. Dumanoir steered away to the westward, and then northward towards Cape Finisterre, hoping, no doubt, to reach Ferrol or Vigo, to land his wounded men and repair his damages; but off Ferrol he was intercepted, and brought to action in a very masterly style, by one of our keenest and most experienced cruisers.

Sir Richard Strachan, then captain of the Cæsar, had the command of a squadron of five sail of the line and four frigates, stationed off Ferrol and in the bay of Biscay, for the purpose of intercepting the Rochefort squadron. A set of ships under that designation had haunted the seas during the early part of the war, and, though their depredations were numerous, they had never hitherto been seen by any of our fleets or squadrons.

On the evening of the 2d of November, the Phœnix, commanded by Captain T. Baker, having been chased by Dumanoir, made known to Sir Richard Strachan that the enemy was near; and from that moment Sir Richard scarcely lost sight of them, but kept up an unwearied pursuit, which ended in an action and a complete victory.

The conduct of Sir Richard and his squadron speaks for itself. The frigates behaved admirably, and were highly instrumental in the glorious result of the day, by keeping sight of the enemy during two nights of the chase.

By some unfortunate accident, in the night of the 3d, the Bellona missed the squadron, and never afterward joined them.

At daylight on Monday, November 4, the enemy's squadron was seen, consisting of four two-decked ships, about five miles ahead. At half past nine the Santa Margaretta and Phœnix occasionally fired on the enemy, who returned their stern chase guns, hoisting French colours with a rear-admiral's flag. At noon, moderate weather, the wind S. E., the course N. 30 E., distance 115 miles, lat. obs. 46° 25′ N., long. 6° 18′ W. At a quarter past 12 the Cæsar opened her fire on the ship bearing the admiral's flag; the Hero and Courageux likewise commenced on the two ships astern of the admiral, which was immediately returned; at half-past 12 the headmost ship, in luffing up to get the Cæsar between two fires, came round; the Cæsar, observing this, luffed and passed her close to windward; the other ships tacked to support her. At a quarter before one the Æolus stood across the headmost ship and opened her fire on her, and, getting nearly becalmed under her lee, remained in that situation some time, the Phœnix and Æolus keeping up a constant and heavy fire on her, and their whole line receiving their fire in return. The Révolutionnaire now came up; the Cæsar, Hero, and Courageux, about this time having got round, as well as the Namur, which had just joined, the action recommenced, and became general. The Æolus, with the Révolutionnaire and Phœnix, got under the stern of one of the line-of-battle ships, which was separated from the rest, having lost her mizenmast and fore-topmast. She fired her stern chase guns till about three, when, her mainmast falling, she struck, and was taken possession of by the Révolutionnaire. The admiral's ship struck nearly about the same time, having lost her mainmast. The other ships still in action with the Cæsar and Hero struck soon after, all their lower masts (with the exception of one ship's foremast) going over the side nearly at the same moment; the Æolus took possession of the Mont Blanc, which struck to the Cæsar.

On taking possession of these ships, it was immediately ascertained that they were a part of the combined fleet at Trafalgar; and when we reflect that they must have had a very considerable share in that battle, and that, consequently, the spirits of both the officers and men were severely depressed by the events which they had so recently witnessed, we shall allow Admiral Dumanoir and his captains full credit

for their gallant defence. The British squadron consisted of four sail of the line, well appointed; one of them, the Cæsar, an 84-gun ship; besides four good frigates, whose active assistance has been noticed.

With all these allowances in favour of the French, the action was exceedingly admired for its neatness, for the vigilance and seamanship of the Commodore and his brave associates; and, to crown the deed in the estimation of people on shore, all the four prizes were brought safely into port.

Sir Richard Strachan, two days before his despatches reached the Admiralty, had been promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the blue; and the captains who served with him subsequently received marks of royal approbation.

The following is an extract of his letter to Admiral Cornwallis.

Cæsar, west of Rochfort 264 miles,
Nov. 4, 1805, wind S. E.

SIR,

Being off Ferrol, working to the westward, with the wind westerly, on the evening of the 2d, we observed a frigate in the N. W. making signals; made all sail to join her before night, and, followed by the Cæsar, Hero, Courageux, Namur, Bellona, Æolus, and Santa Margaretta, we came up with her at 11 at night; and at the moment she joined us, we saw six large ships near us. We were delighted. I desired him to tell the captains of the ships of the line astern to follow me, as I meant to engage them directly; and immediately bore away in the Cæsar for the purpose, making all the signals I could, to indicate our movements to our ships; the moon enabled us to see the enemy bear away in a line abreast, closely formed; but we lost sight of them when it set, and I was obliged to reduce our sails, the Hero, Courageux, and Æolus, being the only ships we could see. We continued steering to the E. N. E. all night, and in the morning observed the Santa Margaretta near us; at nine we discovered the enemy, of four sail of the line, in the N. E., under all sail. We had also every thing set, and came up with them fast; in the evening we observed three sail astern; and the Phœnix spoke me at night. I found that active officer, Captain Baker, had delivered my orders, and I sent him on to assist the Santa Margaretta in leading us up to the enemy. At daylight we were near them, and the Santa Margaretta had begun in a very gallant manner to fire upon their rear, and was soon joined by the Phœnix.

A little before noon the French, finding an action unavoidable, began to take in their small sails, and form in a line, bearing on the starboard tack; we did the same, and I communicated my intention by hailing to the captains "That I should attack the centre and rear," and at noon began the battle; in a short time the van ship of the enemy tacked, which almost directly made the action close

and general; the Namur joined soon after we tacked, which we did as soon as we could get the ships round, and I directed her, by signal, to engage the van; at half past three the action ceased, the enemy having fought to admiration, and not surrendering till their ships were unmanageable. I have the honour to be, &c.

R. J. STRACHAN.

Hon. W. Cornwallis, Admiral of the White, and Commander-in-chief, &c. &c. &c.

French Line.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Du Guay Trouin	74	Captain Toufflet.
Formidable	80	Rear-admiral Dumanoir.
Mont Blanc	74	Captain Villegris, 63 killed, 96 wounded.
Scipion	74	——— Barouger, 111 killed and wounded.

British Line.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*	*Killed.*	*Wounded.*
Hero	74	Hon. A. H. Gardner	10	51
Namur	74	L. W. Halsted	4	8
Cæsar	80	Sir R. J. Strachan	4	25
Courageux	74	Richard Lee	1	13

British Frigates.

Santa Margaretta	32	William Rathbone	1	1
Révolutionnaire	38	H. Hotham	2	6
Phœnix	36	T. Baker	2	4
Æolus	32	Lord William Fitz-Roy	0	3
		Total	24	111

CHAPTER VI.

North America.—Action between Cleopatra and Ville de Milan—Capture and recapture of the Cleopatra, and capture of the Milan by the Leander—Lieutenant Pigot, of the Cambrian, enters the river St. Mary's, and takes merchantmen.
West Indies.—Action between Curieux and Dame Ernouf—Action between Renard and General Ernouf—Capture of the Blanche by a French squadron—Capture of two of that squadron by the Goliath.
Cape of Good Hope.—Second reduction of that colony by the British forces, under the command of Captain Sir Home Popham and Major-general Sir David Baird.

The events in North America, since the renewal of the war in 1803, had been very unimportant, and afforded nothing particularly interesting until the month of February, 1805, when Rear-admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell, K.B., commanded on the Halifax station.

Captain Sir Robert Laurie, in the Cleopatra, a frigate of 32 guns, 12-pounders, was cruising near the Bermudas, on the 16th of February, in lat. 28° N., and long. 67° W., when he fell in with a French frigate. The Cleopatra made every sail in chase, and the French frigate as much to get away. Squalls of wind and a heavy sea carried away the studding-booms and yards during the night: in this condition the British frigate continued the chase, and at daylight of the 17th the enemy was about four miles ahead. The swell still continued, with a fresh breeze, and at half-past ten the enemy took in his studding-sails and prepared for battle, hauling more to the wind: the Cleopatra, when within three quarters of a mile of her opponent, took in her studding-sails also, and steered for his quarter. Both ships having their colours flying, the action began by the bow chase guns of the British frigate, which were returned by those of the stern from the enemy. Nothing was done till half past 12, when the French frigate, luffing close to the wind, gave the Cleopatra two broadsides, which were returned at the distance of 100 yards, and a close and severe action lasted till five o'clock, when the enemy's main-topsail-yard was shot away, and the Cleopatra forged ahead so fast as to render it necessary to shorten sail; but this she was unable

to do more than to back the mizen-topsail. Her clew-garnets, braces, and bowlines being shot away, Captain Laurie could not haul up his courses or square his main-yard; in this difficulty he thought it best to haul to the wind, across the bow of his adversary, in preference to being raked by exposing the stern to a broadside. At the important moment a shot struck the wheel of the Cleopatra and rendered it immovable, while at the same time the rudder was choked below by splinters and by pistols placed near it in the gun-room. The French captain, instantly perceiving the embarrassment of his enemy, who was to leeward of him, put his helm up, and ran on board the Cleopatra, passing his bowsprit over her quarter-deck, just abaft the main rigging, and attempting to board under a heavy fire of musketry and musketoons, but was driven back. The advantage, however, which they had gained, they determined to keep. The enemy, from superior height, commanded the decks of the Cleopatra, and from her tops, well filled with musketry, did much mischief: the Cleopatra could only oppose two guns, the shot from which went no higher than the enemy's lower deck; and the sea running high, the momentary concussions of the heavy French ship, built for a 74, threatened to sink the little Cleopatra under her. Still Sir Robert Laurie and his brave companions were unsubdued, and they attempted to hoist the fore-topmast-staysail to get clear of her; the spritsail was also ordered to be set at the same time, but every man sent on this service was knocked down by the musketry of the enemy, who, at a quarter past five, succeeded in boarding, and took possession of the well-defended Cleopatra. The frigate which made this conquest was called La Ville de Milan, mounting 46 guns, 18-pounders, manned with 350 men, besides officers and passengers; she was commanded by Monsieur Reynard, capitaine de vaisseau, who was killed in the action, and succeeded by Monsieur Gillet, capitaine de frégate, who was severely wounded. The moment the Cleopatra had surrendered, her mast fell, leaving her with only her mizenmast and bowsprit standing, and Sir Robert Laurie fully expected her to founder before she could be got clear of the Ville de Milan. It would not be easy for the most skilful officer to say how more could have been done to defend his Majesty's ship. The Milan was nearly double the force of her enemy in every respect; she was 1,200 tons, the Cleopatra little more than 700; she had near 400 men, the Cleopatra not 200; her metal French eighteens, the Cleopatra English twelves; yet with these mighty odds against her, she fought near five hours, and was taken with honour. The loss on board the Cleopatra was 22 killed, including two who died immediately after the action,

and 36 wounded; being more than one-fourth of her complement.

This, it must be owned, was a hard-earned prize for the Milan, and I have been more than usually minute, because the defence offers a fine specimen of British valour and skill. I will not presumptuously say, that the Cleopatra would have subdued an enemy so much her superior, if the accident had not happened to her tiller; but I will say, that a better action was never fought, and that when the British frigate at last surrendered, she was scarcely worth taking into port. The valour of Captain Laurie soon had its reward, by causing both the prize and her conqueror to fall an easy prey to a very gallant and very fortunate officer.

Captain John Talbot, of the Leander, on the 23d of the same month, fell in with the Cleopatra under jury-masts, and soon after saw the Milan also under jury-masts. As the Leander came up with the small frigate, the other closed to support her, but soon after separated; one going before the wind, the other keeping it on her larboard quarter. The Cleopatra struck, on the Leander firing a shot over her. It was very soon discovered by Captain Talbot what ship he had taken; and finding that there were Englishmen enough on board to secure her, he lost no time in going after the Milan, desiring the Cleopatra to follow him. One hour's chase brought him alongside of the enemy, who, incapable of resistance, instantly surrendered, without firing or receiving a shot. This frigate was from Martinique, bound to France with despatches, and the officers declared that they did every thing in their power to avoid an action with the Cleopatra. Sir Robert Laurie, though no longer captain of the ship, took charge of the Cleopatra by desire of Captain Talbot, and the three ships proceeded to Bermuda, whence, on the 7th of March, Captain Talbot dates his letter to Sir Andrew Mitchell.

Sir Robert Laurie, when tried by a court-martial for the loss of his ship, was most honourably acquitted, and appointed to the command of the Ville de Milan, which was purchased into the service.

Captain (now Sir John P.) Beresford commanded the Cambrian frigate, on the same station; cruising to the southward, he captured a schooner, the command of which he gave to Mr. Pigot, one of his lieutenants. This young officer proceeded off the mouth of the river St. Mary, in which he had obtained information that some enemy's vessels lay at anchor. On the 7th of July he ran 12 miles up a narrow river, and got within gun-shot of a ship, a brig, and a schooner, lying moored across the stream. After an hour's fighting he took them all;

then turning his guns on the militia, who had come, to the number of 100 men, with a field-piece, he routed them; and though wounded in two places, he never quitted the deck for three weeks, except to have his wounds dressed. Two of his men were killed, and 14 wounded. The ship was called the Golden Grove, and the brig, the Ceres of London, taken by the schooner, which was a Spanish privateer of six guns and 70 men. The ship was armed with eight 6-pounders, six swivels, and 50 men. The Spaniards had 30 killed, among whom were five Americans, and 22 wounded. This was a most gallant and daring enterprise, and concludes our active operations on the North American coast for the year 1805.

Previously to the arrival of Lord Nelson in the West Indies, two very fine actions had been fought by the British cruisers; one to windward, the other to leeward, or on the Jamaica station.

The first in order of time was that between the Curieux, a brig of 16 guns, and 100 men, and the Dame Ernouf, of 16 guns, and 120 men. The British vessel was commanded by Captain George E. Byron Bettesworth, a youth, whose professional talents, and career of glory, were too transcendent to promise the attainment of old age. The action was fought about 20 leagues to windward of Barbadoes. The Curieux sustained the fire of the enemy, from the time of coming within point-blank shot, until she ranged up close to her weather quarter, when she opened her fire in return, and both vessels fought with obstinacy for 40 minutes. The enemy having got on the weather quarter of the Curieux, Captain Bettesworth dexterously putting his helm a-starboard, caught the enemy's jib-boom between the foremast and the aftermost fore-shroud of the Curieux, and kept him in that position until, with great guns and musketry, he had completely cleared his decks, when the vessels separated, and the Frenchman surrendered.

Captain Bettesworth was himself wounded, with three of his men. Mr. Maddox, the purser, and four seamen were killed. The enemy had the incredible number of 30 killed and 40 wounded.

It was a curious coincidence that while the Dame Ernouf was thus defended to windward, the General Ernouf, about the same time, was still more unfortunate to leeward. On the 20th of March Captain Coghlan, of the Renard sloop of war, of 18 guns, on the Jamaica station, fell in with the General Ernouf privateer, of nearly the same force in number of guns, but having 160 men; about double the complement of the Renard. The Frenchman waited the attack, and Captain

Coghlan very soon brought him to close action, by running down and placing his vessel within pistol-shot on the weather bow of his enemy. After engaging him 30 minutes, the Frenchman took fire and blew up, and the British seamen instantly flew to the rescue of the unfortunate survivors floating on the wreck; of these they saved about 50. The loss on board of the Renard was only nine men wounded. Captain Coghlan is the same officer who, in 1800, cut out the Cerbère, from the harbour of Port Louis, with such peculiar gallantry as to merit and receive a sword from the hand of the Earl of St. Vincent, his commander-in-chief.

On the 8th of October Captain George Tobin, in the Princess Charlotte, captured the Cyane, formerly in his Majesty's service, a ship-sloop, mounting 20 6-pounders, and six 12-pound carronades. This vessel, and the Naiad, a corvette of 16 guns, were just from Martinique, victualled and stored for three months, and bound on a cruise: the Naiad was taken a week after by Captain W. B. Champain, in the Circe, of 32 guns.

In the month of July Captain Zachary Mudge, of his Majesty's ship the Blanche, of 36 guns, fell in with a squadron of the enemy's vessels, consisting of La Topaze, of 38 guns, and 410 men, Le Département des Landes, 20 guns, 9-pounders, and 236 men, La Torche, 18 guns, corvette, and 213 men, and La Faune, 16 guns, and 123 men. The force and number of men are taken from Captain Mudge's official letter, except that he calls the Topaze a 44, to which we have no objection, if it be also admitted that the Blanche mounted 42 guns; certain it is, however, that the force opposed to the British ship was about three to one against her. To escape by sailing, Captain Mudge thought was impossible, and therefore made every disposition for action, which began at 11 o'clock, and lasted about 45 minutes; the frigates close alongside of each other, two of the brigs astern, and the corvette on her starboard quarter. The Blanche thus surrounded was very soon disabled, her standing and running rigging cut to pieces, her foremast, with 10 shot in it, was expected to fall, seven of her guns dismounted, and her crew reduced to 190 men. Thus situated, the captain and officers of the Blanche considered farther resistance unavailing, and at noon the colours were struck. She had eight men killed, and 13 wounded. At six o'clock, when the Blanche was reported to be sinking, the French very wisely set her on fire. As Captain Mudge, his officers, and crew, were honourably acquitted by the sentence of a court-martial, I have no reason to doubt that every thing was done which could be effected for the preservation of the

ship, and that the British flag lost no honour on the occasion. Had Captain Mudge made all sail *from* the enemy, as soon as he discovered their superiority, it is probable they would not all have got into action at the same time; or that, being cruisers in search of our merchantmen, they would not have continued the pursuit of a ship of war, naturally supposing she would lead them in sight of others, or by obstinate resistance disable them, and occasion their unseasonable return to port. If, therefore, this much-injured officer had declined fighting, instead of boldly meeting his enemies, he might have escaped capture, and the unmerited censure of a contemporary writer, by whom he has been cruelly treated.*

In the month of August following, two of those vessels, the Torche and the Faune, were taken by Captain Barton, in the Goliath, of 74 guns, off Cape Finisterre. They had many of the Blanche's crew on board.

In the fall of the year 1805, an expedition was planned against the Cape of Good Hope, which, at the peace of Amiens, had been delivered up to the Dutch. A squadron, under the command of Captain Sir Home Popham, sailed from England, having a body of troops on board, under the command of Major-general Sir David Baird. Putting into St. Salvador for water and refreshment, in November, they sailed on the 26th of that month; on the 3d of January, 1806, they made the Table Land; and on the 4th anchored to the westward of Robben Island, which lies at the entrance of Table Bay.

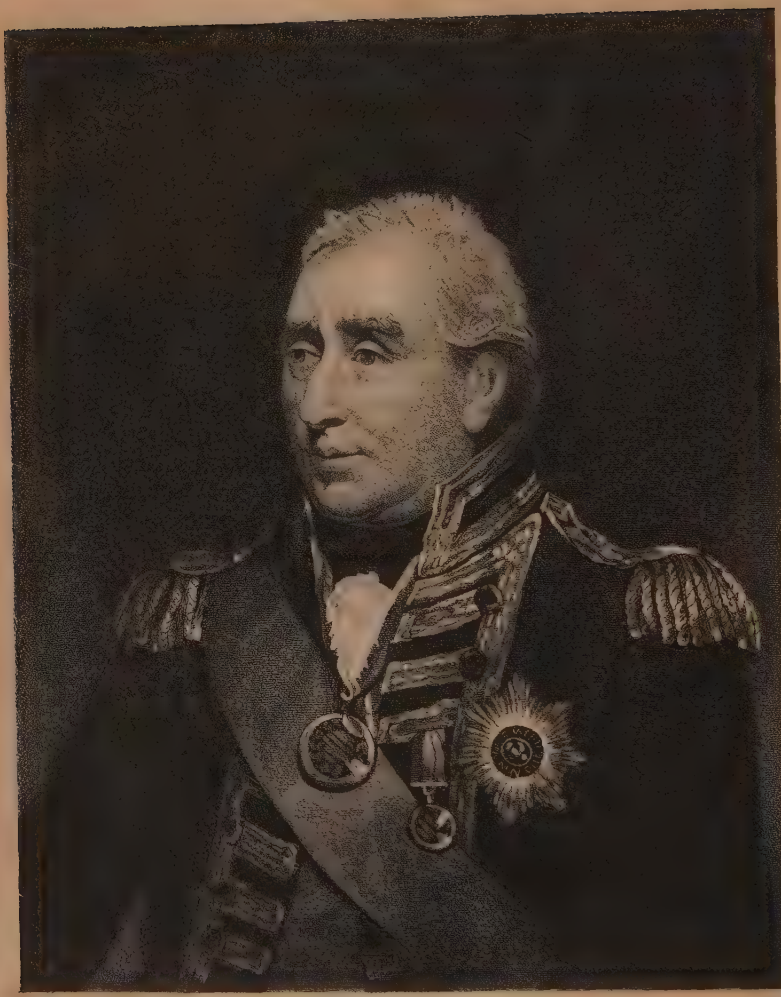
On the 5th, at three o'clock in the morning, the troops were in the boats, and prepared to land, but the surf ran so high as to prevent their approaching the shore. The capture of a colony, having been once related, affords little variety of incident to attract notice in its detailed operations on a second invasion; the same valour, the same skill and seamanship were displayed on this occasion as when it was taken by Sir George Elphinstone, Sir James Craig, and Sir Alured Clarke.

A detachment of troops was sent round to Saldanha Bay, under the command of Brigadier-general Beresford, escorted by the Diomède. On the morning of the 6th, the Highland brigade, composed of the 71st, 72d, and 93d regiments, effected a landing in Lospard's Bay, under the command of Brigadier-general Ferguson. The surf ran with tremendous violence, and the loss of one boat, with 35 men, of the 93d regiment, although a severe misfortune, was trifling to what might have been expected. The fire of the enemy's sharp-shooters, from the heights, was perfectly harmless. With the active assist-

* The late Mr. Joseph James, who was, however, no judge of naval merit.

ance and co-operation of the navy, the troops, to the number of 4,000 men, consisting of the 24th, 59th, 71st, 72d, 83d, and 93d regiments, completed their landing on the 7th, with two howitzers and six light field-pieces, and moved on towards the Cape Town. Ascending the Blue Mountains, they discovered the enemy drawn up in two lines, and prepared to receive them; they had about 5,000 troops, with some cavalry, and 23 pieces of cannon, yoked to horses. This formidable array was almost instantly borne down by the impetuosity of our troops, headed by Brigadier-general Ferguson. The charge of our infantry was irresistible, and the enemy fled with precipitation, losing in the action about 700 men. Our army, with all its valour, would have been deplorably situated, but for the exertions of Sir Home Popham and Captain Byng (now Lord Torrington), who commanded the marine brigade. By these officers their supplies were forwarded in defiance of every obstacle of surf, burning sands, and privation of water. The battering train not having landed, the army took a position on the Salt River to wait its coming up; and while in this situation, a flag of truce from the enemy announced a desire to capitulate. The loss of our army was 15 killed, and about 190 wounded. The detachment sent to Saldanha Bay did not arrive in time to share in the battle.

Captain Hugh Downman, whose services in the Mediterranean have been mentioned, landed at the head of the bay on the 6th, with the marines of the squadron and two field-pieces, to await the arrival of Sir David Baird. The field-pieces and howitzers were landed by the boats of the Belliqueux and Raisonnable. The Diadem, Leda, and Encounter gun-brig, covered the landing by an admirably well conducted fire of their great guns. Captain William Butterfield commanded the transports, and the Captains Cameron, Christopher, and Moring, of the Honourable Company's ships Duchess of Gordon, Sir William Pulteney, and Comet, shared the dangers and the honours of the landing. Thus the Cape of Good Hope became again a British colony, and has so continued ever since. The despatches announcing the conquest were brought to England by Captain Downman, and were received at the Admiralty on the 27th of February, 1806.



CHAPTER VII.

Desperate effort of Napoleon in the West Indies with the Rochefort squadron—Keats and the Superb—Sir John Duckworth sails for and arrives off Cadiz—Hears of the Rochefort squadron, and goes in pursuit of it—List of ships which accompanied him—He falls in with it, chases, and is compelled to quit, and rejoin his own ships—Sends home despatches—Orders the Powerful to the East Indies, and steers for Barbadoes—Arrives there—Goes to St. Kitt's—Joins Sir A. Cochrane and hears of the enemy—Activity and zeal of Captain N. D. Cochrane—Sir J. Duckworth goes in pursuit and falls in with the enemy—Battle of St. Domingo—Capture of three ships of the line—Destruction of two others—Letter of Sir J. Duckworth—Official returns—Remarks—Rewards to the officers.

ALTHOUGH the important victory obtained at Trafalgar had destroyed for a time the naval power of our enemies, France still possessed a few ships, with which, like a desperate gambler, Napoleon was resolved to make one hazard: if he succeeded, he had so much to gain; if he failed, he could not be in a worse condition on the ocean than he was at the end of November, 1805.

It will be remembered that, on the 18th of August, the Superb, after having shared the cruises of Nelson off Toulon, from the beginning of the war to his return from the West Indies, accompanied the hero to Spithead, where her captain, the late Admiral Sir R. G. Keats, was ordered to refit with all possible speed, and to rejoin Lord Nelson off Cadiz, as soon as her repairs were completed. It was late in the year before she was ready, although no means had been neglected to accelerate her equipment. The Rochefort squadron, that constant torment of our ministers and our commerce, was again at sea, and, with its usual good fortune, seemed to bid defiance to the most diligent search of its pursuers.

The Superb sailed from Portsmouth, and on her way down Channel called at Plymouth, where the Royal George had been preparing for the flag of Sir John Duckworth, who was to join Lord Nelson off Cadiz; but the ship not being ready, Captain Keats was directed to receive the vice-admiral's flag, and proceed with him to his destination; under these

orders the Superb sailed alone, from Plymouth Sound, on the 2d of November, four days before the account of the battle of Trafalgar reached London. On the 15th she arrived off Cadiz. Lord Collingwood was then refitting his ships at Gibraltar, and Sir John Duckworth took upon him the command of the few ships he found off Cadiz, and continued to cruise there until the 1st of December, when the Lark sloop of war brought him information that the Rochefort squadron had recently fallen in with, and dispersed or taken, a small convoy, off the Salvages, a cluster of rocks between Madeira and Teneriffe. The vice-admiral, taking with him the Superb as his flag-ship; Canopus,* 80 guns, Rear-admiral Sir Thomas Louis, Captain F. W. Austen; Spencer,† 74 guns, Honourable R. Stopford; Donegal,† 74 guns, Pulteney Malcolm; Powerful, 74 guns, R. Plampin; and Agamemnon, 64 guns, Sir Edward Berry; Acasta, R. D. Dunn, and Amethyst frigates—quitted the coast of Spain and ran for Madeira; made and communicated with that island on the 5th, with Teneriffe on the 15th; made the Cape de Verds, and continued till the 25th in those latitudes, looking for the enemy; when, at day-break, in latitude 30° 45′ N. and longitude 19° 48′ W., six sail of the line and two frigates were seen in the E. S. E. directly to windward, and on the larboard tack, the tops of their hulls just seen on the horizon from the decks of our ships. The signal for a general chase was immediately made, but the enemy had the advantage of the breeze, while our squadron was nearly becalmed, and increased their distance. The chase continued with unremitting perseverance till 20 minutes past one P. M. on the 26th, the British squadron losing and gaining sight of them occasionally, and the Superb still keeping the lead. The enemy now attempted a *ruse de guerre*. During the night, when their ships of the line were out of sight from ours, they sent a frigate to leeward, to make signals in an opposite direction to that in which they were running, but Sir John Duckworth and his captain, knowing how to reason on such conduct, continued the chase, and gained rapidly on them. Unfortunately none of the British ships sailed as well as the Superb, which had got within five miles of the enemy, when the Spencer and Amethyst were as many astern of her, the Agamemnon nearly hull down, and only one other ship in sight from the mast-head. Under these circumstances the admiral felt it his duty to give up the chase, and to collect his squadron, which he fortunately effected about five o'clock. The com-

* Detached, previously to the battle of Trafalgar, with convoy.
† Fitting at Gibraltar at that time.

puted distance between the Superb and the sternmost ship of her squadron in this chase was about 45 miles, by meridian observation. Sir John Duckworth remained a short time in the situation where the enemy was first discovered, after which he despatched the Amethyst to England, and the Powerful to the East Indies, to reinforce the squadron in that part of the world; and, having done this, he steered with all the sail he could carry for Barbadoes, where he arrived on the 12th of January, 1806, looked into Martinique on the 16th, and arrived at St. Kitt's on the 20th. Here he was joined by Sir Alexander Cochrane, in the Northumberland, of 74 guns, and Captain Pym, in the Atlas, of 74 guns. The water was immediately completed; and never indeed was celerity more required, or more successfully employed. The enemy, after having eluded the pursuit of Sir John Duckworth, had also gone for the West Indies. A Danish schooner had arrived at St. Thomas's, and the master stated that he saw them steering for the city of St. Domingo. The Scotch house of King and Company, at St. Thomas's, with very laudable zeal, instantly forwarded the important intelligence to Tortola, where it fortunately reached Captain Nathaniel Dey Cochrane, of his Majesty's sloop the Kingsfisher, whose vessel was at the time in all the confusion of a refit; this made no difference to the youthful captain, who, in *ten minutes,* was under sail. He left Tortola at 11 at night, and was so much favoured by the wind, which suddenly, and contrary to the usual course, changed from east to west, that he reached Antigua in 30 hours. Here Captain Cochrane learnt that Sir J. Duckworth was at St. Kitt's; and, did we not know the facts, and the honour of the gallant young officer, we should be almost afraid to state that the wind now as suddenly changed again to east, in favour of the Kingsfisher. Young Cochrane immediately made all sail for St. Kitt's, where he found the vice-admiral, and was the happy means, by his vigilance and good fortune, of leading the way to another brilliant victory. Sir John Duckworth sailed immediately for the island of St. Domingo; and at daybreak, on the 6th of February, the city of St. Domingo was discovered, and the enemy at an anchor. Their force was five sail of the line and two frigates; they had one ship of 120 guns, and two of 84 guns. Our squadron consisted of seven sail of the line, viz., one of 80, five of 74 guns, and one of 64 guns, two frigates, and a brig. A recollection of the battle of the Nile, no doubt, determined the French admiral to weigh, and, if he should be unable to effect his retreat without fighting, to give battle under sail.

The action was begun by the Superb (at the head of the

weather division) closing on the weather bow of the Alexandre, then leading the French line before the wind, and engaging her till the French ship sheered off; and the vice-admiral, closely supported by the Rear-admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, and the Captains Stopford and Sir Edward Berry, who with their respective ships composed the weather line, boldly laid the Superb alongside the Impérial, of 120 guns. Rear-admiral Sir Thomas Louis, in the Canopus, with the Donegal and Atlas, seconded this spirited attack; and soon after 10 o'clock the action became general. Captain Malcolm, after giving his passing broadsides to two of the French ships, ran on board of the Jupiter, receiving her bowsprit over the Donegal's larboard quarter, where she was immediately secured. For two hours the battle raged with great fury. The English fought with skill, the effect of long practice, united to their usual valour; the French had valour, but not equal seamanship. The fire from the French first-rate was well kept up; the main and mizen masts of the Northumberland were shot away as she lay alongside the Impérial; but the Superb, Canopus, Atlas, and Agamemnon, were still engaged with that ship and the Diomède. At noon, the action, which was one of the most splendid for the numbers engaged, had entirely terminated, with the loss or capture of all the enemy's ships of the line; their frigates escaped. The public letter of the admiral explains some particulars, which I have not therefore mentioned; although, in detailing his proceedings, he has not distinctly stated where, and at what time, he received the intelligence which induced him to steer from St. Kitt's to St. Domingo: this I have shown was from Captain Cochrane, whom Sir John Duckworth, after the action, thus addressed on board the Superb: "I thank you, sir, in this public manner, on the quarter-deck, for your having brought us to the French squadron, and enabled us to gain this glorious victory; and I shall despatch you home in consequence."

The following is a copy of the public despatch of the vice-admiral, which reached the Admiralty on the 24th of March, 1806, brought home by Captain N. D. Cochrane, in the Kingsfisher, who was most deservedly made Post for his incomparable diligence and good fortune.

Superb, to leeward of the town of St. Domingo about 12 leagues, Feb. 7, 1806.

SIR,

As I feel it highly momentous for his Majesty's service that the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty should have the earliest information of the movements of the squadron under my command, and as I have no other vessel than the Kingsfisher that I feel jus-

tified in despatching, I hope neither their lordships nor Vice-admiral Lord Collingwood will deem me defective in my duty towards them or his lordship by addressing you on the happy event of yesterday; and, as you will receive my letter of the 3d instant herewith, I shall only say, I lost not a moment in getting through the Mena passage; and on the 5th, in the afternoon, was joined by the Magicienne, with a farther corroboration, from various vessels spoken, of the enemy's force, of 10 sail of the line, with as many frigates and corvettes, being in these seas. I therefore continued under easy sail for the night, in my approach off the town of St. Domingo; having given orders to Captain Dunn, of the Acasta, to make sail with the Magicienne, Captain M'Kenzie, two hours before daylight, to reconnoitre; when, at six o'clock, the Acasta, to our great joy, made the signal for two of the enemy's frigates, and, before seven, for nine sail at an anchor; at half past, that they were getting under weigh; the squadron under my command then in close order, with all sail set, and the Superb, bearing my flag, leading, and approaching fast, so as to discover, before eight o'clock, that the enemy were in compact line, under all sail, going before the wind, for Cape Nisao, to windward of Ocoa bay. As they consisted of only five sail of the line, two frigates, and a corvette, I concluded they were endeavouring to form a junction with their remaining force. I shaped my course so as to render such intention abortive, which was completely effected by a little after nine, so as to make an action certain. I therefore telegraphed the squadron that the principal object of attack would be the admiral and his seconds, and at three quarters past nine for the ships to take station for their mutual support, and engage the enemy as they got up, and a few minutes after to engage as close as possible; when, at a short period after ten, the Superb closed upon the bow of the Alexandre, the leading ship, and commenced the action, but after three broadsides she sheered off. The signal was now made for closer action, and we were enabled to attack the admiral in the Impérial (formerly the Vengeur), the fire of which had been heavy on the Northumberland, bearing the Honourable Rear-admiral Cochrane's flag. By this time the movements of the Alexandre had thrown her among the lee division, which Rear-admiral Louis happily availed himself of, and the action became general, and continued with great severity till half past eleven, when the French admiral, much shattered, and completely beat, hauled directly to the land; and not being a mile off, at 20 minutes before noon, ran on shore. His foremast, then only standing, fell immediately; at which time the Superb, then only in 17 fathoms water, was forced to haul off to avoid the same evil; and not long after the Diomède, of 84 guns, pushed on shore near her admiral, when all her masts went; and I think it a duty I owe to my character and my country to add (from the information of Sir Edward Berry), after she had struck, and the Agamemnon desisted from firing into her, from the captain taking off his hat and making every token of surrender; and Captain Dunn assures me both ensign and pendant were down: to comment on which I leave to the world. About fifty

minutes after eleven the firing ceased, and upon the smoke clearing away I found Le Brave, bearing a commodore's pendant, the Alexandre, and Le Jupiter, in our possession.

The vice-admiral pays very just compliments to the Rear-admirals Cochrane and Louis, and to all the captains of his squadron, particularly to Captain Keats, whose ship, the Superb, bore the flag on that day. The number of killed and wounded in the British ships was as follows:—

Weather Division.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*	*Killed.*	*Wounded.*
Superb	74	R. G. Keats	6	56
Northumberland	74	Rear-admiral the Hon. Sir A. Cochrane	21	79
Spencer	74	Hon. R. Stopford	18	50
Agamemnon	64	Sir Edward Berry	1	13

Lee Division.

Canopus	80	Rear-admiral Sir T. Louis, Capt. Francis Wm. Austen	8	22
Donegal	74	Pulteney Malcolm	12	33
Atlas	74	Samuel Pym	8	11
		Total	74	264

As soon as the prisoners and the wounded men could be removed from the Impérial and the Diomède, the ships were set on fire by Captain Dunn, and burnt. This service was the more difficult to perform in the midst of a high surf, in which the boats were exposed to imminent danger of being upset.

The imputation cast by Sir John Duckworth on Captain Henry, of the Diomède, for having run his ship on shore after he had surrendered, appeared to have been founded in error, and was honourably and satisfactorily explained by the vice-admiral in a subsequent letter, dated Port Royal, February 16. It appeared that, when Captain Henry presented his sword to Captain Keats, the latter officer, on account of the reports of Sir Edward Berry and Captain Dunn, indignantly refused it. This excited the keenest sensation in the breast of Captain Henry, who demanded an explanation from the commander-in-chief. Upon referring to his officers and ship's company, and from other concurring testimony, it was proved that the ensign was shot away, and that the pendant was flying until the mainmast fell; and, consequently, that Captain Henry had defended his ship as became a man of honour, and did not surrender until she was on shore.

The French squadron consisted of the following ships, which are here named in the order they occupied in the line:—

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*	*Killed and Wounded.*
L'Alexandre. .	84	Captain Garreau	300
L'Impérial . .	120	Rear-admiral Le Siegle. . / Captain Pigot	not known.
Le Diomède . .	84	Captain Henry	not known.
Le Jupiter . .	74	Captain Laignel. . . .	about 200.
Le Brave . .	74	Captain Condé	about 200.

La Félicité, frigate, escaped.
La Cornette, do. do.
La Diligence, corvette, do.

This squadron had sailed from Rochefort early in the year.

After the action, Sir Alexander Cochrane, with the Northumberland and Agamemnon, returned to Barbadoes. The admiral then sent the rest of the squadron and the prizes to Jamaica, and soon after followed them in the Superb. The prizes, being in some degree repaired, were sent to England, under the charge of Rear-admiral Sir Thomas Louis, in the Canopus, with the Spencer and Donegal. The Brave foundered on her passage home, but the crew were saved.

Sir John Duckworth still continued his flag on board the Superb, and, having completed her repairs at Port Royal, he took the Acasta with him, and proceeded to the coast of Spain, which he had quitted on the 1st of December, and to which he returned triumphant, joining Lord Collingwood, off Cadiz, on the 29th of April, after an absence of five months, during which he had certainly made the best use of his time. Lord Collingwood, who took no rest himself, but was always mindful of the repose of others, ordered Duckworth to England. He arrived in Cawsand Bay on the 13th of May, when the Superb again became a private ship, and her indefatigable Captain, Keats, joined the Channel fleet off Ushant, under the command of the Earl of St. Vincent.

The vice-admiral, the two rear-admirals, the captains, officers, and men, received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament; and Sir John Duckworth was presented by the Assembly of Jamaica with a valuable service of plate, in commemoration of the glorious battle of St. Domingo.

Taking into consideration the difference in number of ships in favour of the British squadron, we might at first say that the French could not expect to gain the day; but a moment's reflection will convince us of the disproportion between a French three-decked ship and a British 74; so great, indeed, that two of these could scarcely be a match for one of the first.

We have seen the Orient, with two broadsides, nearly blow the Bellerophon out of the water; and the Impérial dismasted and almost destroyed the Northumberland, and did very great execution against the Superb and Spencer. The French 84-gun ships, of which there were two in the action, are formidable opponents to our seventy-fours; their scantling, calibre, and number of men, make a difference not to be overlooked.

The French fought well, it must be admitted; and our gallant countrymen deserved as much honour for their bravery in action, as for their humanity and generosity when it was over.

Had this squadron eluded the vigilance of our officers, the Leeward Islands would have undergone such another visitation as they received from Missiessy in the preceding year.

In so small a squadron as ours it is remarkable that three admirals were present, while in Sir Richard Strachan's action of November, 1805, there was no British admiral present when a French admiral and four sail of the line were taken.

The battle of St. Domingo rewarded Sir Thomas Louis, and the Captains Keats, Malcolm, and Stopford, for their disappointment at Trafalgar. Medals were given to the admirals and captains for this and the two preceding actions, and the first lieutenants of all the ships engaged were promoted to the rank of commanders.

CHAPTER VIII.

1. State of the enemy's marine and naval resources in 1806—Timber and seamen's registry—Effects of the blockading system on our navy—Increase of the enemy's ships of war, and commerce, after the battle of Trafalgar—Cause of the Berlin and Milan decrees—England benefited by them—Complication of the neutral carrying system—American jealousy—Activity and services of the British navy—Bonaparte turns to the Danube—Prussia accepts the terms offered by Napoleon, and shuts her ports against us—Rigid blockade of the Continental ports.
2. *Channel.*—Earl St. Vincent commands the Channel fleet—Disposition of his ships—Capture of the Marengo and Belle Poule—Achievements of Lord Cochrane—Prussian vessels ordered to be detained—Earl St. Vincent meets the Privy Council in London—L'Egyptienne takes a French privateer out of Muros—Mulcaster takes vessels out of Finisterre bay—Sibley in the Garonne—The Mars takes Le Rhin—Sir Thomas Louis takes Le Président—Sir S. Hood takes four frigates—Earl St. Vincent goes to Lisbon—His object there—Letter to Lord Howick—Negotiations for peace—Death of Captain Burrows.
3. *Mediterranean.*—Resources of France in the South—Martello towers—Arduous war on the coast—Prouse in the Sirius—Other actions—Russians and English land in the bay of Naples—Re-embark—The King driven from the throne—Operations on the coast of Italy—Battle of Maida—Surrender of Gaeta—Loss of the Athénienne—Admiral Willaumez's squadron separates—Jerome Bonaparte chased into Concarneau—Anecdote of him.
4. *Hostility of America.*—Order in Council—Stoppage of trade—Impressment of seamen—Affair of the Leander and John Pearce—Trial and acquittal of Captain Whitby.
5. *West Indies.*—Various actions—Brisbane in the Arethusa takes the Pomone—Dashwood takes the Raposa—Dacres in the Bacchante attacks Santa Martha—Rushworth in the Supérieure attacks Batibano.
6. Capture of the Volontaire—Actions in the East Indies—Gallant conduct and success of Captains Rainier and Trowbridge—Expedition to Buenos Ayres—Capture and recapture of the city—Immense booty—Dissatisfaction of Government—Recall and trial of Sir Home Popham—General Beresford and his army taken—Expedition of Miranda.

The battle off St. Domingo, following the splendid victory of Trafalgar, seemed to have completed the ruin of the French navy. The history of nations has few examples of such a series of successes as those obtained by the fleets of Great Britain between the 22d of July, 1805, and the 6th of February, 1806. In that time the enemy had lost 34 sail of the line; and their crews, which were either destroyed or made prisoners,

amounted to 25,000 men. Their merchant marine had long since been nearly annihilated; their colonial trade was carried on by neutrals; rarely under a hostile flag, unless in fast-sailing vessels, or frigates equipped and manned at a great expense; and of these it will be shown that the greater part were conducted to British ports. Viewing these splendid exploits of our navy, we might be led to a conclusion that Great Britain had no longer an enemy to cope with on the ocean, and that she might have disarmed her fleets, and confined her naval operations to small squadrons with active officers, harassing the enemy's coasts, and preventing the revival of commercial intercourse.

But, when the ample and almost boundless resources of the extended empire of France are considered, it becomes evident that no relaxation could be allowed to our naval energies; that the blow which had been given must be followed up, or its effects would be lost on the power of our gigantic enemy. France, in the possession of the Texel, the Scheldt, Cherbourg, Brest, L'Orient, Rochefort, Toulon, Port Espezia, Genoa, Venice, and Corsica, with the extensive forests of ship timber either contiguous to or within water-carriage of these places, still possessed the means of building ships. Her forest laws were all subservient to the public good, without much reference to individual right. Where the "*marteau national*" (national hammer) had imprinted on a tree the mark of its appropriation to the service of the dock-yards, it became from that moment sacred; the owner was indemnified by an arbitrary valuation, and was answerable for its safety. By these means the register of the Minister of the Marine contained an account of all the timber necessary for his purpose; and, though the expedient was incompatible with a free government, it answered the purpose of a despot, and gave him that immediate power which a British monarch and a British parliament could not attain. Another navy, as if by magic, sprang forth from the forests to the sea-shore, manned by the authority of a maritime conscription, exactly similar in principle to that by which the trees were appropriated to the building of ships. Such a navy, however, wanted the life, the vigour, and animation of a British spirit; a combination only to be found and formed in the land of real rational liberty.

In France the merchant service is divided into what are technically called "*le grand et le petit cabotage;*" the first is the foreign, the latter the coasting trade. Though it has been proved that France could have had little or no communication under her own flag directly with her colonies, or with distant nations, yet in spite of all our endeavours she enjoyed

a very considerable coasting trade, which, together with her seamen sailing under neutral flags, furnished her at a short notice with a sufficient number of hands to man her fleets; and however inefficient, the ships had at least that appearance of equipment and readiness which required a naval force on our part equally numerous to watch them, allowing for the necessary number of our ships in port refitting, or detached. The seamen of France have long been subject to the regulation of a registry; moving only by permission, and their places of residence and mode of occupation being always known to the municipality of the arrondissement, or district, in which they were domiciliated. In this manner they were permitted to follow their individual callings until the service of the State required their appearance at the naval head-quarters of their department. By this arbitrary power the Government could form a naval militia, which could not fail to give us some cause for alarm; though, for want of practice and habits of discipline, it was never so effective as our own. Thus, while the enemy's marine decreased in strength, and her commerce disappeared, the duties of the blockade, for these very reasons, became more tedious, holding out no prospect of either honour or reward, at the same time that the expense of our marine was undiminished. Bonaparte, by this semblance of a fleet, waged a war against our finances, and paralysed a large portion of our navy. Our men, it is true, had the advantage of constant practice, while those of France were condemned to the narrow limits of their own harbours; an advantage not overlooked by the immortal Nelson, and justly considered by him, in a national point of view, as more than equivalent for the loss of masts, or the destruction of shipping. After these observations the reader will not be surprised to find that in the course of a few years Bonaparte had nearly 90 ships of the line in the different ports of his empire; and though he had long decided that the attempt to invade England could only end in mortification and disaster to himself, and had relinquished the project, yet he knew that the flotilla, if only kept in view of the coast of England, would answer all the purposes of intimidation to one part of the nation, and of expense to the whole. In fact, Boulogne was watched, during many years, with a British force far exceeding the importance of the object; at the same time the best ships of the enemy were employed in cruising in small squadrons, to our considerable annoyance.

We find from official returns laid before the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in the years 1810 and 1812, the following total of enemy's ships of the line: in the Texel, eight; Antwerp, 17; Helvoet, one; Cherbourg, two; Brest, one;

L'Orient, one; Rochefort, three; Toulon, 17; Genoa, one; Naples, one; Venice three; amounting to 58 sail of the line, and 51 frigates; besides 29 sail of the line building in the ports of France, or her tributary states. Such was the maritime vitality of this revolutionary hydra, and such the enormous difficulties against which the British navy contended for so many years, and over which she finally triumphed; thus confirming to the United Kingdom the well-earned title of Mistress of the Seas. In the exercise of her mighty power, Great Britain had effectually excluded from the ports of France those articles of colonial produce which habit had rendered indispensable to the comforts of the French people. Sugar, coffee, cotton, indigo, spices, and other commodities, were obtained only at such a price as confined their use to the upper classes. By them so much was the want of sugar felt, that the National Institute, under the direction of Napoleon, offered rewards for the discovery of a substitute; and beet-root was declared to contain the same properties as the sugar-cane. Under the encouragement afforded by the Government, considerable quantities were at length produced; though it is not to be supposed that the beet-root sugar can ever compete with the cane-sugar, in the price of production.

But that which keenly mortified Napoleon was the conviction that France alone was deprived of these luxuries, while the other nations of the continent enjoyed them at a trifling advance of price. Hence his Berlin and Milan decrees; hence his impotent threats against British commerce; the confiscation of our produce wherever it could be found, however legally imported. This was a part of the continental system which he hoped would bring the British Government suppliant at his feet; but the fallacy of these hopes was soon displayed in the reaction caused by his own injustice. A strict and universal blockade, as it regarded the enemy's colonial property, from Memel to the ports of the Adriatic, soon taught him that the loss was entirely his own. England became the mart to which the carrying merchant resorted to purchase his cargo; and France, through the ports of her allies, received from us that colonial produce which, having in its transit conferred a considerable benefit on England, went to her with our permission. Here, however, began a new cause of complaint with the neutral carrier, under the numerous flags with which the states bordering on the German Ocean abounded. America, too, which engrossed so large a share of colonial carrying trade, felt, and loudly complained of, the injury done to her commerce. England would not recede from her rights; if she did, she was lost; and the crisis, for her, was a fearful one.

Before I proceed to detail the naval operations of the year, it will be necessary to take a brief view of the political; and if, in tracing the outline of military positions, I may appear to depart from our proper element, it must be remembered that this is no deviation from the original plan, but rather a continuation of it—a view of the contending empires, and military transactions of the belligerent states of Europe, in order to show the relative value and effect of our naval co-operation. Did the armies of France cross the Vistula—a British fleet met them in the Baltic; did they approach the banks of the Elbe or the Scheldt—our navy cruised on the dangerous Flemish banks, even in the dead of winter, or on the north coast of Holland. If the States of Verona, if Istria or Dalmatia were the scenes of action, our squadrons met them in the Adriatic, with the harbours and creeks of which our officers were as well acquainted as the natives themselves. And I have already shown that the attempts of France to reach our Indian possessions were met by a British squadron in the Red Sea, and a British army from India, intersecting the route described by the sacred historian as that by which the Israelites fled from the hosts of Pharoah.

The Count de Dumas, in his *Précis des Evènemens Militaires*, vol. xi. p. 52, makes some observations which are not inapplicable to this subject, and which I therefore subjoin. "The Emperor, Francis II., renouncing the title of Emperor of Germany, now become an empty sound, took that of hereditary Emperor of Austria. To this arrangement, indeed, Francis was compelled to submit; but he received very coldly the notification of the accession of the Emperor Napoleon, or more properly speaking, his assumption of the imperial crown of France. The Emperor of Russia refused to acknowledge him, nor was the murder of the Duc d'Enghien the only motive which guided Alexander in this decision; he seized with avidity every opportunity of obtaining that influence in the affairs of Europe which the house of Austria had lost by the treaty of Luneville. Embracing the system of Catharine II., agreeing with England, and secretly attached to Prussia, under the mask of neutrality, he revived the hopes of, and prepared a powerful protection for, the humbled princes of Bourbon."

In the thirty-ninth chapter of our last volume we left the formidable army of Bonaparte encamped on the heights of Boulogne, awaiting with anxious expectation the result of a battle between Villeneuve and Lord Nelson; ready to cross the Channel the moment the defeat of our fleet was announced, and to fulfil the long-suspended threat of invasion. The arro-

gance and futility of such a project began to be clearly seen: the defeat of the combined fleet off Trafalgar had no share in changing the views of Napoleon; his camp was broken up before the disastrous account had reached him. A powerful diversion, planned by our Ministers, began to develop itself; and the warlike preparations of Austria and Russia called the legions of France to the banks of the Danube. The object of Mr. Pitt had been to form a league among the states of Europe; to force the French troops to evacuate Hanover and the north of Germany; to obtain the independence of Holland and Switzerland; the re-establishment of the King of Sardinia in Piedmont; the integrity of the kingdom of Naples; the evacuation of Italy; and the establishment of such an order of things in Europe as should oppose a solid barrier to future usurpations. The Emperor of Austria declined for some time to become a party to this design, but at length acceded to it, as did also the King of Sweden.

The hesitation of Francis was contrasted with the activity of Alexander, who acted under the instigation of England. Squadrons from Revel and Cronstadt cruised in the Baltic; another, of nine sail of the line, and several frigates, passed the Sound, and proceeded to the Mediterranean, to join the fleet in the Black Sea. Five expeditions sailed from Sevastopol, the finest harbour of Russia in the Crimea, passed the Dardanelles, and landed 8,000 men in the Ionian Islands. Induced by similitude of language and religion, the Greeks, on the southern coast of Illyria, were shaken in their allegiance to the Porte. Russian officers formed regular corps of Montenegrins, and no longer concealed their intention of making, in concert with the English, some diversion on the coast of Lower Italy. The rupture between France and Russia became certain. General Hedouville, the French ambassador, quitted St. Petersburg. Gustavus of Sweden recalled his minister from Paris, without deigning to answer the official notification of the accession of Napoleon. He united himself with Russia and England; recruited his marine; concluded a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the enemies of France, and accepted the subsidies offered by the Cabinet of St. James's.

The acknowledgment of Napoleon, as Emperor of France, met the same obstacles at Constantinople, owing to the efforts of England. The Ottoman Government, beset by two parties, England and Russia, being unable to preserve her neutrality, placed herself under the protection of her ancient rival; and the Bosphorus was thrown open to the naval forces and convoys of Russia. She refused to acknowledge Napoleon; and

Marshal Brune, after six months' fruitless application to obtain the acknowledgment, demanded his passports, and quitted Constantinople.

Pressed by the imminence of the danger, the English Government redoubled its efforts and its sacrifices to induce the great powers to declare against France. The Emperor Alexander had, on the 11th of April, 1805, signed a treaty with England, which, no longer occupied with her own defence, recommenced offensive operations at all points, and drew into her policy all the sovereigns of Europe. In a demi-official answer to the declaration of the allied powers, the Ministers of Napoleon declared, "That France had as much right to prescribe limits to the conquest of Russia as Russia had to France. After the partition of Poland, France had a right to Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine. Russia took the Crimea, Caucasus, and the mouth of the Phasis. France had a right to an equivalent in Europe ; her interest and her self-preservation demanded it. Let the powers of Europe place at the disposal of Congress all they have taken within the last 50 years; let Poland be re-established ; let Venice be restored to the Senate; Trinidad to Spain; Ceylon to Holland; the Crimea to the Porte; let Russia renounce the Phasis and the Bosphorus; restore Caucasus and Georgia ; let Persia breathe after so many misfortunes ; let the empire of the Mahrattas and the Mysore be restored, and be no longer the exclusive property of England; then, and not before, France will return to her ancient limits." Neither the Emperor of Russia, nor the King of England, feeling disposed to listen to such pretensions, Mr. Pitt raised a third coalition, in which Russia, England, and Sweden were the first to join. Austria hesitated too long, but at length acceded. Prussia stood neuter, and declared she would remain so; but her neutrality was of a timid, cautious, and even treacherous character. The Elector of Bavaria threw himself at once into the arms of France. Such was the result of Mr. Pitt's attempt to bring about his third coalition.

The Aulic Council had stationed its grand army of 80,000 men in Swabia, and given the command to General Mack, whose character seems to have been justly appreciated by the great Nelson. Napoleon, turning from the ocean to the Rhine, appeared at Strasburgh on the 29th of September, preceded by his best generals, Murat, Ney, Marmont, and Davoust; the latter with the army from Boulogne. These corps crossed the Rhine between the 27th of September and the 1st of October, in the neighbourhood of Huningen, Spires, Strasburgh, and Mayence, and marched towards Aschaffenburg. Bernadotte, with 36,000 men, violated the neutrality of Prussia by passing through

Anspach, on his way from Wurzburg. Against this the King of Prussia feebly remonstrated, and permitted a Russian army to pass through Silesia, to join the allies in Swabia. Had he resolutely supported this measure by a declaration of war, and an order for his own troops to join the allies, he would have saved himself and his country from disgrace and ruin.

The stupendous events of the campaign of 1806 are well known. The defeat of the Austrians, the capitulation of Ulm, and the entrance of the French armies into Vienna, were followed by the death of Mr. Pitt, and a general consternation in England. Prussia joined with France, and our difficulties seemed hourly to increase.

Gustavus IV., King of Sweden, having accepted of a British subsidy, and placed an army of 12,000 men in Pomerania, under the orders of the Russian general Count Tolstoy, who, with 24,000 Russians, was to dispossess Prussia of Hanover, which she so dishonourably held, by the permission of Napoleon, as the price of a base neutrality; this army was conducted to Stralsund, whence, on the 20th of October, it set out through Mecklenburgh to join the Hanoverian Legion raised in England. Mack in the mean time concentrated his forces on either bank of the Danube, in and about Ulm; Napoleon crossed the Rhine on the 1st of October; Davoust, on the 6th, crossed the Danube at Newburgh; and Munich was entered by Bernadotte. Soult crossed at Donawert, and marched upon Augsburg, which he entered on the 8th. Thus was a junction effected by those skilful warriors, and 100,000 soldiers, almost at the same hour, appeared on the right bank of the Danube. The effect of these movements was to cut off the retreat of the Austrian army into Bavaria, and enclose it in Swabia, between the mountains of the Tyrol and the Danube. The Marshals Ney, Lannes, and Murat, with their corps, joined the army of Napoleon, whose head-quarters were at Donawert: Murat was sent with 7,000 cavalry to cross the Lech, and cut off the communication between Ulm and Augsburg. Disconcerted by the rapidity of these movements, Mack found himself suddenly surrounded, without a hope of relief, except from the Russians under Kutuzoff, calculated by the sagacious Napoleon to be at that time one month's march from the scene of action. Gunsburg was taken, and 12,000 men killed, wounded, or made prisoners. The Archduke Ferdinand, and General Mack, with 55,000 men, shut themselves up in Ulm and its suburbs. Ney defeated the Austrians at Elchingen; the city became completely surrounded and invested, an attack was made, and the French repulsed, when Bonaparte, looking down from the heights of Michaels-

burg, ordered his troops to fall back out of the reach of fire, while they loudly clamoured to be led to the assault. The city was already crowded with more troops than were required for its defence. The Archduke Ferdinand marched out with 25,000 men, but, pursued by Murat, lost nearly the whole of them. Mack, who, like an unskilful general or a treacherous partisan, had thus collected his powerful army in a place where they had not room to manœuvre, thought, or affected to think, that resistance was useless; and therefore surrendered: 30,000 men marched out of this place with the honours of war, and flung their arms indignantly from them. It was here and on this occasion that Napoleon, seated by a bivouac fire on the pinnacle of a rock, and surrounded by his talented staff, saw for five hours the garrison defile before him: then it was that he uttered that memorable saying, "I want nothing more on the Continent: I only want ships, commerce, and colonies." The victory of Trafalgar, gained only two days after, rendered it a by-word of contempt and derision.

True, the unexpected success of his armies did for a while make the Aulic Council tremble: they hoped for the junction of the corps under Kutuzoff, Mack, and the Archduke Ferdinand, whom they sought by every means to reinforce. The Archduke Charles, who, with the Austrian army in Italy, had received orders to cross the Adige and the Mincio, and lay siege to Mantua, received counter orders, and was directed to send the whole of his infantry through the Tyrol to join the Archduke Ferdinand; but this was prevented by the French, and the Archduke Charles was obliged to remain on the left bank of the Adige between Verona and Legnano. On the 28th of October Massena received the news of the capitulation of Ulm. The terrible battle of Caldiero succeeded; the Austrians were beaten, and the Archduke effected his retreat through Vicenza, fighting his way for three days until the 4th of November, when he crossed the Brenta and the Piave, pursued by the intrepid Massena, until the French halted at Treviso. The Archduke, forced to abandon the Venetian States, left at the same time a very strong garrison at Venice under General Bellegarde, and pursued his way to the Tagliamento, hoping to join the Russians in Upper Austria, but Massena again overtook and gave him a severe check at the bridge of Valvasone. The Archduke arrived at Isenza about the 13th of November: the Russian army under Kutuzoff, had in the mean time reached the Inn. The Archduke was prevented joining him by the skill and watchfulness of Napoleon at Augsburg. Ney was ordered to conquer the Tyrol, and Augereau, who had been ordered with his army

to embark at Brest, on board of Gantheaume's fleet, was ordered back to support him. Prussia, after the violation of her neutrality, became inimical to France. The Emperor Alexander, in consequence, went to Berlin, and the treaty of Potsdam was signed on the 3d of November, 1806. Alexander and the King of Prussia, joining their hands at midnight on the tomb of the great Frederick, swore an eternal friendship to each other. Early in November the Emperor Alexander, quitting Berlin, passed through Saxony and Bohemia to Brunn in Moravia, where he found the Emperor Francis. Having excited his hopes and concerted farther operations, he set off to join his second army in Gallicia; and late in November Lord Harrowby arrived in Berlin with full powers to regulate the payment of subsidies.

Bonaparte allowed no time to mature these combinations, but crossed the Inn in great force, and on the 29th and 30th of November the French army, having gained possession of Brannau and Altheim, prepared a flotilla to cross the Danube. The bridge of Lintz fell into the hands of Murat, and the allies fell back to the gates of Vienna. Bonaparte, holding his court at Lintz, decreed the formation of the army of the North under the orders of Prince Louis, his brother, and commanded the Spanish division of 12,000 men under the Marquis de la Romana (the last of the Spaniards) to pass through France and repair to Lubeck.

The army of Kutuzoff coming out of Bavaria, down the right bank of the Danube, fought its way with valour, and gave the French a bloody day at Amstettin and Mariazell, crossing the river at the noble bridge of Crems. Kutuzoff came on the left bank, and the bridge, the finest on the river, was burnt. Murat by treachery gained the bridge of the Danube at Vienna, which city the French entered on the 14th of November. The Emperor Francis retreated to Brunn, and Napoleon established his head-quarters at Schoenbrunn. Thus in six weeks from the day on which he crossed the Rhine, this mysterious scourge of the human race gained possession of the capital of the German empire, and seated himself in the palace of its emperors. Massena about the same time pursued the Archduke Charles, who, having recrossed the Tagliamento, evacuated Palma-Nova and Udino, crossed the Isenza, and entirely evacuated Italy, with the exception only of the city of Venice. The French holding Leghorn prepared for a siege, while an army of Russian and British troops of 24,000 men assembled in Sicily to invade the kingdom of Naples, at that time bound in a treaty of neutrality with France. The French took possession of Trieste on the 19th November, driving out the

Austrian garrison, which followed the Archduke Charles. General St. Cyr, having left Leghorn in October, went to Ancona and Pescara, then threatened by the Russians in the Seven Islands. Having provided for the security of these places he returned to the blockade of Venice, and defeated a gallant attempt of the Prince de Rohan, who, with 10,000 Austrians, had wonderfully escaped out of the Tyrol, in hopes to raise the siege of that place; but the Archduke Charles having marched to Laybach, and his brother the Archduke John to Klagenfurth, Bellegarde evacuated Venice, and with his division joined them at Prevald. The French entered Fiume, and remained completely masters of Upper Italy and both shores of the Adriatic. Mr. Pitt had in the mean time been preparing another diversion for the French armies in Italy: he contrived that a body of English and Russian troops should land in the bay of Naples, supported by a strong squadron of our ships of war.

On the promulgation of the King of Prussia's decree for shutting the ports of the German Ocean against the English, dated the 28th of March, 1806, his Britannic Majesty, who had borne with patience the invasion of his Electoral dominions, caused an immediate embargo to be laid on all Prussian vessels in the ports of his empire; and on the 16th of May an order in council was issued, by which the ports of the continent, from the Elbe to Brest inclusively, were directed to be blockaded. But this order was more formidable in appearance than reality; the exceptions were too numerous, and so weakened the whole as to leave naval officers in much doubt and perplexity: the order did *not* extend to property *not* belonging to the enemy, or not being contraband of war, except to the ports from Ostend to the river Seine (inclusively), which no vessels were permitted to enter. Other places they were only permitted to enter under the certainty of their not having loaded at an enemy's port; nor could a vessel sailing from any of these ports be permitted to pass, unless bound to a friendly port, and affording proof of not having violated the blockade. In the course of the year exceptions were granted to the Elbe and Weser, the blockades of which were raised. Prussia was allowed to import into France articles of innocent merchandise; indulgences were granted to the Spanish ports in the West Indies, trading to our colonies; and Spain was permitted to be supplied with grain. The questions of maritime right and blockade became more complicated than ever, and finally involved us in a war with America, which ended without settling the disputed points.

We now proceed to the detail of Naval operations. Rear-

admiral Allemande, with the Rochefort squadron, early in this year had sailed from Basque Roads, and committed most serious ravages on the commerce of Great Britain. He captured, in September, the Calcutta, of 54 guns and 350 men, commanded by Captain D. Woodriff. This gallant officer was returning home from St. Helena, with the Indus, East Indiaman, and four whalers under his convoy. Being chased by five sail of the line and four frigates, in the true spirit of Nelson's counsel, "Let them sink you, but do not let them touch a hair of the head of one of your convoy," Captain Woodriff first sought the safety of the charge confided to him; for which purpose he threw himself between the chasing ships of the enemy and the British merchant vessels; engaging the Armide, a frigate of 44 guns and 350 men, and afterwards the Magnanime, of 74 guns, for 50 minutes: having occupied the attention of the enemy until all his convoy, except one brig from the West Indies, were in safety, and finding the remainder of the enemy's squadron approaching, his ship disabled, and of course no prospect of escape, Captain Woodriff surrendered. On his return from France he was honourably acquitted by the sentence of a court-martial. Admiral Allemande took many other valuable prizes, besides the Calcutta. He captured the British sloop of war Ranger, Captain Charles Coote, and 52 sail of merchant vessels of different nations; for the French of that day were never very scrupulous on the article of neutrality. He landed about 1,200 prisoners in the month of December at the isle of Aix, after a cruise of 161 days, during which the value of property taken from Great Britain only is said to have amounted to £750,000.

The squadron of Allemande consisted of—

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Men.*	*Commanders.*
Le Majestueux	116	1,150	Admiral Zacharie Jaques Théodore Allemande.—First Captain, Etienne Joseph Willaumez.——Second Ditto, Charles Auguste Fourre.
Le Magnanime	74	700	Captain Pierre François Violette.
Le Lion	74	700	—— E. J. N. Soleil.
Le Jemappe	74	700	—— J. N. Pettit.
Le Souffren	74	700	—— A. Gilles Fronde.
L'Armide	44	350	—— A. F. Loveil.
La Gloire	44	350	—— E. M. I. Bonami.
La Thétis	44	350	—— I. Piuson.
Le Palinure	18	120	—— P. F. Jauce.
La Sylphe	18	120	—— J. J. J. Langlois.

When Captain Woodriff was a prisoner on board the Majestueux, the officers of that ship extolled all her good qualities, but observed that she would not steer.—"Will you allow me," said the British captain, "to place some of my men at the wheel?" The proposal was agreed to, and, calling one or two of his seamen, he desired them to steer the ship: from the moment they took her in hand, she seemed like a well-trained horse that knew his rider; they brought her to a small helm, or to half a spoke, as we say, and the French officers admitted that she needed nothing but good helmsmen: to use a British sea-phrase, they could make her do any thing but speak. One would almost question the patriotism of giving such a lesson to an enemy, and yet we cannot help feeling proud of the superior skill of our countrymen. Poor Woodriff, the sad wreck of what he once was, is now one of the captains in that noble retreat for worn-out and disabled seamen, Greenwich Hospital.

In the beginning of the year 1806, Admiral Cornwallis held Gantheaume blocked up in the harbour of Brest, and it is a remarkable fact, that the French admiral never was able to elude the vigilance of our fleets, and escape by sea from that port. He went some time after by land to Toulon, where he took the command; and, although he did get to sea from thence, never did any thing worthy of commemoration. For 13 months the indefatigable Cornwallis kept his station off Brest; but in the month of February, 1806, the Earl of St. Vincent was ordered by His Majesty, in person, to hoist the union at the main, and take the command of the Channel fleet. His lordship obeyed the royal commands on the 8th of March, and on the 12th sailed in the Hibernia, of 110 guns, for his station off Ushant. He had under his command 42 sail of the line and 15 frigates, besides sloops and other small vessels. He immediately detached Rear-admiral Sir Richard Strachan in the Cæsar, with six sail of the line, to watch Ferrol, and to intercept the squadron expected home under the command of Willaumez. Captain Sir Joseph Sydney Yorke, in the Barfleur, of 98 guns, was ordered with four other ships of the line to cruise for the same purpose 50 leagues west of Belleisle; Rear-admiral Eliab Harvey was sent, with a squadron, off Cape Finisterre. Captains Lawford of the Impétueux, and Oliver of the Mars, were ordered to anchor off the Black Rocks; a crowd of small vessels were kept in shore to watch and report the slightest movement of the enemy from Ushant to Bilboa. One great object of this vigilance was to intercept the supply of provisions from the outports reaching the French fleet in Brest. Admiral Cornwallis served under Earl St.

Vincent, as second in command; and never was the British fleet in every respect better officered, manned, and equipped.

In the account of the naval transactions of the preceding year, we left the French Admiral Linois off the Cape of Good Hope, after his unsuccessful attack, and fortunate escape from Sir Thomas Trowbridge in the Blenheim. Returning from India in the Marengo, with the Belle Poule, a large frigate, M. Linois was so unfortunate as to encounter a squadron under the command of Rear-admiral Sir J. B. Warren, who had his flag in the Foudroyant, of 84 guns. The London, of 98 guns, commanded by Captain Sir Harry Burrard Neale, the Ramillies, 74, Captain Francis Pickmore, and the Amazon frigate, Captain (now Rear-admiral Sir William) Parker, with some other ships, were in company. On the 13th March, at half-past three in the morning, the London being to windward, got sight of the enemy, and gave the requisite information by signal to the admiral, who immediately went in chase. The London soon brought the Marengo to action, and as daylight appeared, they were seen in close conflict; while Captain Parker, in the Amazon, was equally fortunate with the Belle Poule. The ship of the line having contended with the London, surrendered, on receiving a few broadsides from the Ramillies; and the Belle Poule, in 10 minutes after, to the Amazon. The Marengo mounted, at the time of her capture, 74 guns, and had 740 men; the Belle Poule, 44 guns, with 320 men. The London had 11 men killed and 15 wounded; the Amazon lost her first lieutenant, Richard Seymour, an officer of uncommon professional merit; also her lieutenant of marines, Mr. Edward Prior, and two seamen; five more were wounded. The loss on board the captured ships, though not stated, was very severe. Linois was himself wounded. He was, on the whole, a most unfortunate although a very gallant officer. His victory at Algeziras, if such it may be called, in 1801, was more the effect of accident than skill; and in every subsequent attack or engagement, whether with the Centurion on the coast of Coromandel, the East India fleet off Pulo A'or, or with the London off the Western Islands, Linois was defeated. In this last action he showed much bravery, and yielded to superior numbers. On his arrival in England (unwilling to trust himself in the presence of Napoleon) he retired on his parole to Bath, where he remained a considerable time; but, having at length made his peace with the Emperor, he returned to France.

In detailing the actions of single or detached ships, those of the Pallas, or the Impérieuse, commanded by that distinguished and promising officer Lord Cochrane, stand pre-eminent.

The career of this young nobleman had been marked by a series of actions useful to his country, and honourable to himself. Their value was always greatly enhanced by the skill and judgment with which they were executed; the effect of this was particularly observable on reference to his lists of killed and wounded. No officer ever attempted or succeeded in such arduous enterprises with so little loss. In his attacks on the enemy, the character of *vigilans et audax* was entirely his. Before he fired a shot, he reconnoitered in person, took soundings and bearings, passed whole nights in his boats under the enemy's batteries, his lead line and spy glass incessantly at work. Another fixed principle with this officer was never to allow his boats to be unprotected by his ship, if it were possible to lay her within reach of the object of attack. With the wind on shore, he would veer one of his boats in by a bass halser (an Indian rope made of grass, which is so light as to float on the surface of the water); by this means he established a communication with the ship, and in case of a reverse or check, the boats were hove off by the capstan, while the people in them had only to attend to the use of their weapons.

At the breaking out of the Spanish war in 1805, his lordship was appointed to the Pallas, a new frigate of 32 guns, which he fitted for sea, and manned with a celerity peculiar to himself, at a time when seamen for other ships could rarely be procured. Having got off the Western Islands, he soon returned to Plymouth with prizes to an enormous amount. In April, 1806, Lord Cochrane was stationed in the Bay of Biscay, under the orders of Vice-admiral Thornborough. Off the Gironde he obtained information of an enemy's corvette being in the mouth of that river. After dark, in the evening of the 5th of April, he anchored his ship close to the Cordouan light-house, and sending his boats in, they boarded the vessel, and brought her out, although she lay 20 miles above the intricate shoals, and within two heavy batteries. This enterprise was conducted by Lieutenant Haswell of the Pallas. Daylight and the tide of flood found this gallant officer and his prize still within the probability of recapture. Another French corvette weighed, pursued, and brought him to action, but was defeated, and only saved from capture by the rapidity of the tide. The prize which had been so nobly acquired, and so bravely defended, was called La Tapageuse, mounted 14 long 12-pounders, and had 95 men.

While the officers and a part of the ship's company of the Pallas were away on this duty, Lord Cochrane perceived three vessels approaching him. He weighed, chased, and drove

them all on shore; and with the injury only of three men wounded, furnished to the admiral the following surprising result of this enterprise:—

Vessels taken.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Men.*
La Tapageuse	14	95
La Pomone (a merchant brig).		
Another ditto (burnt).		
And two chasse-marées.		

Vessels wrecked.

Ships.	*Guns.*
La Malicieuse	18
Impérial	24
Impérial (also) a ship of	22
And a chasse-marée.	

In the month of May following, his lordship, finding himself much annoyed by the signal-posts on the French coast, conveying intelligence of all his movements, determined to interrupt their communication. He landed and destroyed two at Point de la Roche; one at Caliola; and one at Ance de Repos: the flags were all brought away; the houses burnt; the batteries destroyed, guns spiked, and shot and shells thrown into the sea. The battery and signal-post of L'Equillon shared the same fate. After these exploits the Pallas cruised off L'Ile d'Aix, when, on the 14th of May, a frigate and three brigs came out to engage her, and a smart action against this unequal force took place under the fire of their own batteries, while the Pallas was working to windward among the shoals of the Pertius d'Antioche: the action had continued from half-past 11 till 1 o'clock. One of the brigs was disabled; and the Pallas, by the skill and courage of her captain, having got between the frigate and the battery of Aix, gave her a few vigorous broadsides, which silenced her fire, and then ran her on board; the guns of the Pallas were driven in by the shock; she also carried away her jib-boom, fore and main top-sail yard, sprit-sail yard, bumpkin, cathead, chainplates, fore-rigging, and bower anchor; "with which last," says his lordship, "I intended to hook him." Yet, with his ship a perfectly helpless wreck, he still would have made another effort, but two more frigates being sent out by the admiral, the hero retired to the offing to repair his damages, with the loss of only one man killed and two wounded.

On the 8th of April orders were received to detain and bring in, provisionally, all Prussian vessels. This measure was dictated by the strange vacillating policy of the King of Prussia, Frederick III., as alluded to in a former part of this chapter.

On the 11th of June Sir Samuel Hood was sent, in the Centaur, of 74 guns, to relieve Rear-admiral Thornborough, in the Pertius d'Antioche. On the 17th Sir Charles Cotton, with six sail of the line and some frigates, was left off Brest, while Lord St. Vincent and Admiral Cornwallis returned into port. His lordship arrived at Spithead in the Hibernia, and, on the 23d of June, attended the Privy Council in London, still retaining his command, and issuing orders to the fleet. He returned to Portsmouth on the 3d of July, hoisted his flag again in the Hibernia, and sailed immediately for his station. On his arrival off Brest, he detached Captain Keats, with six sail of the line, to relieve Rear-admiral Stirling, on the station which had been occupied by Sir Joseph Yorke, 50 leagues westward of Belleisle. The summer passed away with very few naval occurrences of any note. Many, indeed, could not be expected after the disasters experienced by the enemy in the preceding winter.

Captain the Honourable Charles Paget, in the Egyptienne, had, in the month of March, sent his boats into the harbour of Muros, whence they cut out, by boarding under the batteries, a large frigate-built privateer, pierced for 34 guns. The affair was conducted by Captain Handfield, who, having been first-lieutenant of the Egyptienne, had been promoted to the rank of commander, and volunteered his services on this occasion.

Rear-admiral Eliab Harvey held the command of the squadron off Cape Finisterre. Captain George Ralph Collier, in the Minerva, of 32 guns (one of the squadron), had the duty of watching the enemy between Ferrol and Vigo. On the 23d of June he sent his boats into Finisterre Bay, under the command of Lieutenant William Howe Mulcaster, who landed and stormed a fort of eight guns, 24 and 12-pounders, carrying it with the pike and bayonet before the guard could raise the drawbridge, or discharge a 12-pounder, which they had placed opposite to the gate. Having spiked the guns, Lieutenant Mulcaster brought out five Spanish luggers, loaded with wine, for the fleet in Ferrol, and returned to his ship without a man hurt.

Commodore Sir Samuel Hood was off Rochefort in the Centaur, of 74 guns, and, by his officers and boats' crews, another brilliant enterprise was performed. The Gironde, or mouth of the river at Bordeaux, takes that name only from the confluence of the Dordogne and the Garonne a little below the city; it is full of dangerous shoals, rendered still more so by the rapidity of the stream. This river and the city of Bordeaux form the great mart of trade between France and

America; and an intercourse mutually advantageous was carried on by means of fast-sailing vessels, in the construction and management of which the Americans are peculiarly skilful. Schooners of 150 or 200 tons have been known to convey from France in one voyage to the value of £60,000 sterling in jewellery, clocks, watches, silks, laces, wines, brandy, oil of olives, and drugs. These, on their return voyages, frequently rewarded the labour of our cruisers. Their cargo from America consisted usually of tobacco, coffee, flour, rice, and cotton.

In the month of July two corvettes were lying in the Gironde, with a large convoy of traders; and the commodore gave permission to Captain John Tremayne Rodd, of the Indefatigable, to cut them out if possible. For this purpose each ship in the squadron furnished a boat well manned. All assembled alongside the Indefatigable, and the command of them was given to Lieutenant Edward Reynolds Sibley, first of the Centaur, who, proceeding to Verdun Roads, boarded and carried the Cæsar, of 18 guns, and 86 men; a vessel not only well prepared, but most honourably and obstinately defended; the victors and the vanquished were alike covered with renown, the decks of the prize being strewed with dead and dying. Lieutenant Sibley himself received no less than seven wounds; six of his followers were killed, and 36 wounded. One of the boats of the Revenge, owing to the strength of the tide, was taken with 21 of her people, who, long afterwards, regained their liberty.

Captain Lavie, in the Blanche, of 36 guns, having been sent to protect the whale fishery in the northern seas, fell in, off the Feroe Islands, with the French frigate La Guerrière, of nearly equal force with himself in point of guns and men; which, after an action of 50 minutes, he captured. It is but justice to the French officers to say that their ship was not half manned, owing to sickness and scurvy.

In August Captain Keats, in the Superb, commanding one of the western squadrons in the Bay of Biscay, fell in with four French frigates. Captain Oliver, in the Mars, of 74 guns, outsailing the others, was the only ship which could keep sight of the enemy, and, after a chase of 150 miles, ran alongside of one of the frigates, which immediately surrendered. She was called Le Rhin, mounted 44 guns, 18-pounders, and had a complement of 318 men. During the chase the frigate had thrown overboard her quarter-deck and forecastle guns. The squadron was commanded by Commodore La Marre Lamillerie, in the Hortense, who, with the Hermione and the Themis, was on his way from Porto Rico to France.

It was not in the power of Captain Oliver to secure more than this frigate; the weather was extremely bad; and, while his boats were exchanging the prisoners, the other ships escaped.

During the absence of Lord St. Vincent on the affairs of Portugal, the command off Ushant devolved on Vice-admiral Sir Charles Cotton, Admiral Cornwallis having retired, from ill health. Rear-admiral Sir Thomas Louis had his flag in the Canopus, of 80 guns, and cruised to the southward with his division, which, on the 6th of September, in latitude 47° 17′ N. and longitude 6° 52′ W., captured, after a chase of 18 hours, the French frigate Le Président, of 44 guns, and 630 men. This frigate was, no doubt, one of a very strong squadron, full of troops, which had sailed or were about to proceed against our colonies.

Sir Samuel Hood had with him six sail of the line, and was about six or seven leagues from Chasseron light-house, when, at one o'clock in the morning of the 25th September, Captain Richard Lee, of the Monarch, made the signal for an enemy. The commodore very soon perceived them to leeward of him, and made the signal for a general chase. The Monarch, being the nearest, was the first in action; the Mars, Captain William Lukin, the second, followed by the Centaur. Daylight discovered the enemy's force, which consisted of five large frigates and two corvettes. One of the frigates bore a broad pendant; this is always the case with the senior officer of a French squadron. At five o'clock the Monarch began upon the sternmost ship; the Mars was sent in pursuit of the weathermost, which had hauled up; one frigate and the two corvettes edged away to the south-east; the remaining three frigates kept in close order. Captain Lee, in the Monarch, at a quarter past ten, got his broadside to bear on them, and about eleven the Centaur came up; the sea was running high, and the lower-deck ports of the Monarch could not be kept open for any time. The enemy fought with bravery, and the three frigates did not surrender to these two ships of the line till past twelve o'clock, about which time Sir Samuel Hood had his arm shot away. The squadron was, however, very successful; the Mars had come up with her chase, and four of the French frigates were secured. Their names were—

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
La Gloire	46	Captain Soleil.
L'Infatigable	44	—— Giradiers.
La Minerve	44	—— Colet.
L'Armide	44	—— L'Anglois.

They were all remarkably fine ships, each having on board

about 650 men, including troops, with a vast quantity of stores, arms, ammunition, and provisions. This capture was a very unfortunate blow to the projects of Napoleon, and equally fortunate for the interest of our trade and colonies.

It was not long before the object of Lord St. Vincent's return to Portsmouth, and journey to London, in the month of June, was discovered. The unhappy condition of the court of Portugal had induced the Prince of Brazils, who held the government of that country, to think seriously of transferring the seat of his government to his South-American dominions.

In pursuance of the orders of the British cabinet the commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet proceeded to Lisbon, taking with him eight sail of the line to protect the Tagus, and, if necessary, and agreeable to the wishes of the Prince, to embark his royal highness and family, with their suite and treasure, on board the British squadron, and proceed with them to Rio Janeiro. His lordship arrived in the Tagus on the 14th of August, the Illustrious and Defiance having been previously detached with orders to join him off the rock of Lisbon. The ships which composed his squadron were the Hibernia, of 110 guns, Captain Western, flag-ship; Prince of Wales, 98, Captain William Cumming; Colossus, 74, James Nicol Morris; Impétueux, 74, John Lawford; Illustrious, 74, William Broughton; Donegal, 74, Pulteney Malcolm; Defiance, 74, Henry Hotham; Kent, 80, Thomas Rogers: frigates, Lavinia, 40; Pomona, 40; Flora, 36.

Portugal, our old and faithful ally, exhibited at this time a once brave and flourishing kingdom sunk by the apathy of its princes, and the cowardice and corruption of its nobles and people, to the lowest depth of human degradation. On the arrival of Earl St. Vincent in the Tagus, he found the Prince Regent wavering, and not knowing what part to take—whether at once to embrace the French General Junot as his deliverer, (or rather as his master,) or fly with his family to his transatlantic dominions. His lordship addressed the following letter to Lord Howick, then First Lord of the Admiralty (the present venerable Earl Grey :)—

Hibernia, in the Tagus, 24th August, 1806.

My dear Lord,

For the melancholy picture of the court I must refer you to Lord Strangford's despatches; the description is too bad for the pen of a seaman. Monsieur d'Aranjo returned to Lisbon on the 18th; the following morning we were admitted to *pratique*. Having had notice overnight, the squadron was unmoored, and run up abreast of the palace. As soon as the officer of health had done his business, I landed while the ships were running up; and after paying my re-

spects to Santa Martha, the residence of his Majesty's minister, I waited upon Monsieur d'Aranjo, who received me with cordiality, as far as the outward and visible sign went. He made an awkward apology for keeping us so long in quarantine, which I did not suffer to pass without a remark upon it, and expressed my astonishment that my appearance should have created suspicion in the minds of the Portuguese Government (which had been artfully worked upon by the French party, and had sunk the paper four per cent.) I observed that the selection of an officer who had always been the fast friend and protector of Portugal ought to have reconciled the Government and people to the sudden appearance of a British squadron. He interrupted me at this sentence, and observed that the Prince had said, upon his communicating our arrival, "Lord St. Vincent is my friend." Upon the whole our conversation, as far as it went, was satisfactory, and would have been continued but that the Spanish ambassador was announced, when I took my leave, and faced the Spaniard in my way through the room of audience; he did not seem to like me at all. On Wednesday I called upon the Viscount d'Anadria, minister of the marine, who has been very friendly in the prompt supply of a main-topmast for the Illustrious, and a main-topsail yard for the Kent.

A complete change in the sentiments of the people, touching the object of my mission, is manifested in the kindness shown to myself, and every officer in the squadron, by all ranks and orders, particularly the clergy, from the Pope's nuncio downwards; and I have every reason to believe that they have the most unbounded confidence in the rectitude of my intentions. The army is very much diminished in numbers since I was last in Portugal. Thirteen thousand ill-armed infantry is the utmost that can be counted upon; and the cavalry beggars all description, both as to officers and men. The magazines, and all the wood-work of the interior of the barracks in and about Lisbon, have been torn away, and consumed in cooking the soldiers' dinners. One 74-gun ship, and a few frigates, are cruising in the Straits' mouth, and they are now making every effort to equip a 64 and a frigate to go out after an Algerine of 20 guns; but I doubt whether they will be able to effect it.

Most truly yours,

Viscount Howick. ST. VINCENT.

The number of ships of the line which, by treaty, we were allowed to bring at one time into the Tagus, was six; two, therefore were left to cruise off the rock, and were occasionally relieved by two others; but in the autumn the Illustrious was sent to England. It appears that the French party in Lisbon expected the arrival of a squadron to counteract the intentions of the British admiral; and the sullen coldness of the court of Portugal induced his lordship to be very much on his guard. It was some time before he was admitted to *pratique;* he therefore remained below the Castle, and kept the Lavinia off Cape

Roxent, to give him the earliest intimation of the approach of an enemy. In a letter to a friend in office he says, "There never was such a scene of apathy and *anéantissement* as Portugal presents. I could not have conceived it possible that a country, low enough certainly seven years ago, should have been so sunk. No one seems aware of the impending danger. Lord Strangford stole on board yesterday, and, though a very young man, seems up to his situation. The French squadron at Martinique must have the devil's luck if they escape all the squadrons which Lord Howick has so judiciously placed to intercept them."

Unwilling to renounce his native country, the Prince of Brazils long hesitated, while the dangers pressed around him. It was a cruel necessity to be forced to leave his faithful people a prey to a bloodthirsty and rapacious enemy; yet his stay among them could not alleviate their misery, while it exposed him to insult and cruelty: but, as he was unprepared to take advantage of the protection of the British squadron, the Earl of St. Vincent was suffered to depart; and on the 18th of October we find his lordship off Ushant, renewing the blockade of Brest.

In the early part of the year a communication had been opened with France, which would undoubtedly have terminated in a general peace, had not Napoleon been inaccessible to every feeling but that of ambition. An assassin, by the name of Gillet de la Gevrillière, made an offer to Mr. Fox to take the life of Bonaparte. The infamous proposal was received by the British minister with abhorrence, and the villain was ordered to quit the country. Information of the circumstance was immediately sent to the French Government. M. Talleyrand returned a suitable answer, and at the same time made some slight overtures for peace. This led to a correspondence, and in the month of June Lord Yarmouth, who had been detained a prisoner at Verdun, was liberated at the request of Mr. Fox, and brought over with him the substance of a conversation he had held with the French minister respecting the views of Bonaparte, which appeared so pacific, that the British cabinet, desirous of terminating the war, directed Lord Yarmouth to return, and commence immediate negotiations. His lordship, in the month of August, was followed by the Earl of Lauderdale, with full powers. This nobleman soon discovered that the object of Bonaparte was to separate the interests of Great Britain and Russia, and to deceive both. The basis of the first offer was the restoration of Hanover, and the *uti possidetis*. Joseph Bonaparte was to relinquish the claim he had made on the island of Sicily, as King of Naples, a kingdom which he

had usurped. The French cabinet, while treating with Lord Lauderdale, had, without his knowledge, induced Monsieur d'Oubril to sign a separate treaty between France and Russia; but Alexander refused his ratification, even before our court could make any representation: and while the negotiation was pending Napoleon and his prime minister Talleyrand left Paris with General Clarke, who had been specially appointed to discuss the question with Lord Lauderdale. Champagny, his substitute, acknowledged he had no power; and Lord Lauderdale, justly indignant at such conduct, demanded his passports, and returned to London.

Captain Burrowes, in the Constance, a small frigate of 24 guns, had under his orders the Sheldrake sloop of war, Captain P. Thicknesse, and the Strenuous gun-brig, Lieutenant Nugent. These vessels were part of the squadron of Rear-admiral Sir James Saumarez, on the Guernsey station. On the 14th they fell in with a large ship near St. Maloes, to which they gave chase: the enemy took refuge under a strong battery close to some rocks, and carried out bow and quarter springs. Troops lined the beach, and nothing was omitted to ensure an obstinate defence. The Sheldrake, owing to her superior sailing, led into action; and the three British vessels anchored within pistol-shot of their enemy. The action began at two P. M., and continued till four, when, in spite of all the field-pieces, and troops, and guns they could bring to her support, and in spite of her own heavy battery, she was compelled to surrender. She proved to be the Salamandre, a frigate-built ship, mounting 26 long 12 and 18 pounders, and manned with 150 men, commanded by a lieutenant, who was killed in the action; and was bound from St. Maloes to Brest with ship timber.

This was an action of no common merit: it was a remarkable display of valour and perseverance; and, although the assailants failed in a part of their enterprise, it convinced the enemy of the increased difficulty of carrying on their coasting trade where ships of such force were not safe under their own batteries. The Salamandre took the ground, as did the Constance. Captain Burrowes was killed, and 13 of his men: many others were badly wounded. Captain Philip Thicknesse, on whom the command devolved, used every endeavour to get off the Constance and the prize, but was forced to leave the former to her fate, and set fire to the latter, bringing away all the wounded out of the French ship, and 100 of the crew of the Constance, which was totally wrecked and destroyed.

I now call the attention of my readers to the affairs of the North Seas and the Baltic, where the politics of Prussia had

opened a new scene of maritime warfare. I have already adverted to the miserable state of bondage to which that monarchy had sunk in consequence of her treaty with France, concluded soon after the disastrous battle of Austerlitz, when she consented to the exchange of the three provinces of Anspach, Bareuth, and Nuremburg, for the electorate of Hanover. If the Prussian monarch considered this treaty to have been made in sincerity by Bonaparte, he had soon abundant reason to alter his opinion. But the infatuation of his ministers, in plunging him into a war single-handed against France, can only be equalled by the treachery of their conduct in making the treaty. Having lost the glorious opportunity of restoring liberty to degraded Europe by heartily joining the alliance with Russia and Austria, Frederick waited until Bonaparte had crushed the coalition, strengthened his frontier by new conquests, augmented his armies by additions to the already enormous population of his empire, enriched his treasury by contributions, and flushed his soldiers by conquest ; he then came forward, without a single chance in his favour, to maintain his rights against his irresistible adversary. In the month of July previously, Bonaparte, having matured his plans, gave the finishing blow to the Germanic constitution, and established on its ruins the famous Confederation of the Rhine, of which the Emperor of France was to be the head, the states raising among them a force of 240,000 men. Prussia had been kept quiet with a promise of being permitted to establish herself at the head of a similar confederation in the north of Europe, including the Hanse Towns. But, amidst all these demonstrations of friendship, the Prussian minister at Paris discovered that Bonaparte, in the course of negotiations, had actually offered to restore Hanover to England ; and at the same time he had endeavoured to conciliate Russia by urging her to take possession of any part of Polish Prussia she might desire. Prussia therefore began seriously to prepare for the hazards of war with France. Early in October the Prussian army, under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, amounting to 150,000 men, had taken the field on the banks of the Saall, their head-quarters at Naumberg. Bonaparte, having now no other enemy to dread in his immediate vicinity, resolved to avail himself of this favourable circumstance, and, collecting all his forces, advanced in three divisions, attacked the Prussian flank, killing, wounding, and making prisoners nearly 2,000 men, taking 30 pieces of cannon, and gaining possession of Naumberg, with the Prussian magazines. On the sixth day from what may be considered the commencement of the campaign, the fatal battle of Jena took place ; and the Prus-

sian monarchy for the time was annihilated. From this period the north of Germany was overrun by the French army, and the whole Continent, from the Weser to the Vistula, fell into their hands, with the exception of the Danish peninsula. How awful and sudden was this retribution; and what a lesson does it afford to politicians who endeavour, by a crooked and selfish line of policy, to conciliate an unprincipled conqueror, and even submit indirectly to become the willing instruments of his aggression!

The Mediterranean fleet was at this time under the command of that distinguished officer, Vice-admiral Lord Collingwood, who had succeeded to it by fair inheritance on the death of his friend, the immortal Nelson. The Mediterranean was still a station of great importance, the principal part of the enemy's naval force being in the ports of Cadiz, Carthagena, and Toulon.

Cadiz, which still contained the sad remains of the fatal day of Trafalgar—the fugitive and shattered ships of the combined fleets—was blockaded by Collingwood in person, with a squadron of 10 sail of the line: in Carthagena there were eight sail of Spanish line-of-battle ships ready for sea; Toulon had a strong squadron preparing to sail. There were also at that port three ships of the line on the stocks. The movements and preparations of the enemy in all these ports were strictly observed by our frigates, the captains of which made the most accurate reports to the commander-in-chief.

I have already noticed the resources which France drew from her coasting trade in the Mediterranean, both as to seamen and revenue. Her foreign commerce being destroyed, this became her next great nursery. In the earlier period of the war, when our ships had full occupation in cruising for the enemy at sea, we scarcely attempted to annoy them in-shore; but, when the ocean was cleared of their flag, our officers naturally resorted to the coasts and harbours for prizes, and these were found to yield a plentiful reward, although obtained with very considerable difficulty. The European coasts of the Mediterranean had for ages been subject to the incursions of the Barbary states. Hence the erection of strong towers on every point or inlet, to defend the merchant or the agriculturist from their depredations. These towers had obtained the general name of Martello. Vessels seeking their protection anchored as close as the nature of the land would permit, securing themselves with strong halsers made fast to the shore in every direction, and not unfrequently with one to the keel, which, being unperceived by the assailants, in many instances gave rise to fatal consequences, stopping the vessel under fire

after she had been boarded, and every other mooring cut away. These remarks become necessary, as we have now to detail an entirely new species of naval war. The most daring acts of intrepidity were daily performed by our officers and men in every part of the shores of France, Spain, and Italy. The kind of vessels in which the trade was carried on in these countries I have already described. No part of the voyage, or very little of it, was performed in the night; nor did they attempt to run in the day, unless the signal-posts announced the coast to be clear of enemy's cruisers. The signal was invariably made at daylight, and it is wonderful, considering the length and the celerity of the communication, which extended from Corfu to Estepona, or from the Ionian Islands to Gibraltar, that our ships could ever get within gun-shot of the enemy, who moved in large convoys, escorted by gun-boats and heavily-armed vessels. If a British cruiser appeared, the trade ran for the land, and the gun-boats covered their retreat; but frequently the whole were captured. The shore of the Mediterranean is usually high, affording excellent situations for signal-posts. The hills were occupied by corps of *douaniers*, *gensd'armes*, cavalry, and infantry, which, together with the armed crews of the merchant vessels, formed a powerful body, and sometimes rendered their positions nearly impregnable. The enterprising spirit of our officers, and the skill which they gradually acquired in pilotage, overcame all these obstacles; and we shall soon show that the trade of the Mediterranean, in the latter part of the war, was safe in no ports but such as were calculated to sustain a regular siege. The celerity of our movements from one place to another obliged the enemy to supply large bodies of cavalry and infantry to protect their coast; but even these were often defeated, or only arrived in time to see their batteries destroyed, their guns spiked, and their magazines blown up; while the victorious British sailors, with animating cheers, towed their prizes out to sea, or proceeded to the attack of another port. The best commentary on this state of things is the history of the naval transactions in these seas, to the detail of which I now proceed.

In April, 1806, Captain Prouse, of the Sirius, of 36 guns, stationed to the eastward of Civita Vecchia, having heard that an enemy's force was about to proceed from that port to Naples, made all possible sail to intercept them. On the 17th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, he saw them formed in compact order, having taken up a judicious position, within two leagues of the Tiber, and near a dangerous shoal, to await the attack of the British frigate. An action commenced at seven o'clock, within pistol-shot, and lasted two hours, when the French

commodore hailed to say he had surrendered: the rest of the squadron escaped, the Sirius being too much disabled to pursue them, and the darkness of the night and the shoals favouring their retreat. The vessel captured was called La Bergère; she mounted 18 long 18-pounders, and one 32-pound carronade, with a complement of 189 men. The others were L'Abeille, of eighteen 12-pounders, two 36-pounders, and 160 men; La Légère, twelve 9-pounders; Le Janus, twelve 9-pounders; which, with five heavy gun-boats, and the advantage of local knowledge, made a force in that smooth water far exceeding that of one of our largest frigates. The Sirius had one officer and eight seamen killed, and 02 seamen and marines wounded. The whole of this affair was highly creditable to the professional character of Captain Prouse.

On the 10th of April the Renommée, of 38 guns, Captain Sir Thomas Livingstone, and the Nautilus sloop, were watching eight sail of the line in the port of Carthagena, when two of them, and a frigate, came out and chased them off towards the Barbary shore, near Oran. This was intended to facilitate and cover the departure of a convoy which sailed at the same time from Carthagena, and ran to the westward, under the protection of a brig of war. Sir Thomas Livingstone, in the Renommée, proceeded in chase, and fell in with them off Cape de Gat, under a battery, the guns of which were soon silenced, the brig's mainmast shot away, and she brought out a prize. She was a vessel of war, of 20 guns and 130 men, called La Vigilantia: the convoy, being all small vessels, were hauled up on the beach; and it was not deemed worth the trouble or expense of time to attack them. In the following month the boats of the same frigate and the Nautilus, conducted by Lieutenants Sir William Parker and Charles Adams, first and second of the Renommée, boarded a Spanish armed schooner, under Torre de Viagas, and although she was protected by batteries, boarding nettings, and guards of soldiers, they obtained possession, and brought her out. She mounted nine guns of heavy calibre.

In the early part of this chapter I have given a sketch of the military movements of the French and Austrians in Italy, under the command of Massena and the Archduke Charles—the evacuation of Italy by the latter—his retreat into Carniola—and the landing of 24,000 men of the Anglo-Russian army in the bay of Naples.

The treaty of neutrality concluded between France and Naples, in September, 1805, had been interrupted. The ships of Great Britain and Russia appeared in the bay of Naples on the 20th of November, and landed a body of 14,000

troops, under General Lasey. The French ambassador immediately demanded his passports, and quitted the place.

The British forces consisted of 10,000 men, under the command of Sir James Craig: they landed at Castel a Maré, and were cantoned in the neighbourhood of that place and Torre del Greco. Bonaparte, in consequence of these measures, declared that the Neapolitan dynasty had ceased to exist. The Emperor of Russia soon after sent an order to withdraw his army from that country.

The British troops, unable to remain without their auxiliaries, quitted the Continent, and Sir James Craig retired with his army to Sicily. The King of Naples was again driven from his throne, in consequence of which the country was in the hands of the French, and Sicily alone remained to give him shelter. The Calabrian army was dispersed. A British squadron, as usual, attended, to afford succour and protection during all these disasters. Captain Sotheron, of the Excellent, of 74 guns, had the direction of this force, which he conducted until relieved by Captain Sir Sydney Smith, in the Pompée, of 80 guns. The unhappy and disheartened Neapolitans considered all opposition to their invaders entirely hopeless, and that the progress of the French army was irresistible. Gaeta, however, still held out. The fortress was commanded by his Serene Highness the Prince of Hesse Philipsthal. Sir Sydney relieved the wants of the garrison, while the enemy redoubled their fire on the breach as the supplies went in; but the courage of the governor and the troops rose with the assistance which they received. Four of the lower-deck guns of the Excellent were sent on shore, and, being placed in battery, returned the fire of the besieging army. The Intrepid, of 64 guns, brought a second convoy, with farther supplies, and the French were in their turn compelled to act on the defensive. Captain Richardson, of the Juno, of 32 guns, was ordered to remain in co-operation with the Prince of Hesse, having also under his orders a Neapolitan frigate, and eight gun-boats. Sir Sydney, having thus provided for the safety of Gaeta, took with him the Pompée, of 80; Excellent, 74; Athénienne and Intrepid, of 64 guns each; and proceeded to Naples, where he found the city illuminated in honour of Joseph Bonaparte, who had been proclaimed King of the Two Sicilies. The Eagle, of 74 guns, having joined the British force, Sir Sydney had with him five sail of the line, with which, he observed, that "he might have easily interrupted their festivities;" but as it would only have reduced the city to ruins, and destroyed the innocent inhabitants, he very wisely and humanely, according to his invariable practice, spared the

destruction of human lives, when the sacrifice could not further the common cause. He, however, summoned the island of Capri, which not complying with his demands, he directed Captain Charles Rowley, in the Eagle, to cover the landing of the marines and seamen. After an hour's cannonading from the Eagle, which was placed within musket-shot of the works, the enemy's fire began to abate, and Lieutenant William Fairbrother Carrol, and Captain Stannus, of the royal marines, having shot the governor at the upper fort on the island, the garrison immediately capitulated; and the troops, being allowed to march out with the honours of war, passed over to Naples.

In the mean time Captain Richardson, in conjunction with the Prince of Hesse, made two sorties from Gaeta with very considerable success, and the Neapolitan navy distinguished itself.

In July, 1806, Major-general Sir John Stewart, who commanded the British army in Sicily, for the protection of that island and the neighbouring kingdom of Naples, crossed over into Calabria, with a body of nearly 5,000 troops, including artillery. Landing in a bay in the gulf of St. Euphemia, he attacked General Regnier, who was encamped near the village of Maida with 9,000 men. He completely overthrew him, taking, killing, and wounding near 5,000 of his troops, with the very small loss on our side of 45 killed, and 282 wounded. Such was the famous battle of Maida, in which the navy had no other share than that of landing the supplies, being ready to cover the retreat in case of need, and receiving on board the wounded men and prisoners. Sir Sydney Smith had arrived at the anchorage the night before the action, which took place too far inland to admit of his being present. Captain Edward Fellowes, of the Apollo, had with his ship been attached to the army by command of the rear-admiral, and was very honourably mentioned in the despatches. This brilliant victory was of important consequence to the cause of the allies: Cotrone immediately surrendered to the naval and military force of Great Britain; and the French army evacuated Upper and Lower Calabria, leaving those countries once more to the government of their lawful, but imbecile sovereign. Captain William Hoste, of his Majesty's ship Amphion, and Lieutenant-colonel M'Leod, of the 78th regiment, were the officers who conducted the attack, and received the capitulation of Cotrone; but neither the reduction of this place, nor the victory gained at Maida, could save the Calabrians from the power of the French arms. Sir John Stewart returned after his victory to the island of Sicily, leaving a garrison in the fort of Sylla, and having possession of Messina, at the north-

east point of the island: he also occupied the pass of the Faro.

Sir Sydney Smith made good use of the command of the sea, by transporting supplies and bodies of the insurgents from one part of the coast to another, and cutting off the intercourse of the enemy, whose artillery could be moved only by water, the roads being impassable for heavy carriage. His utmost exertions, however, did not save the fortress of Gaeta from falling into the hands of the French. The gallant Prince of Hesse Philipsthal, having been wounded, was compelled to retire; and his successor, Colonel Hotz, though a brave soldier, seeing himself without a hope of saving the place, surrendered: thus the south of Italy again became a prey to foreign invasion, civil discord, rapine, and murder. The royal family retired to Sicily, and their existence seemed to depend on the presence of their British allies.

The reader will recollect, at the surrender of Malta, the capture of a 64-gun ship, called the Athénienne: she was taken into the British service, and returned to the Mediterranean station in 1806, commanded by Captain Rainsford. On the night of the 20th of October she was running at the rate of nine miles an hour between Sardinia and the coast of Africa, being bound to Malta with specie, and some troops. At half-past nine in the evening she struck on a reef of rocks called the Esquerques, or Skerki, and in less than five minutes filled up to the orlop deck; in five minutes more her masts fell over the side. Two cutters and the pinnace, lying on the booms, were stove by this accident; the barge, which they had hoisted out, and were towing astern, was swamped by too many people crowding into her; two jolly-boats and a gig were got out, and the launch was striking heavily on the ship's booms, while the people were sinking and drowning in all directions. The ship, which on first striking heeled over on her starboard side, suddenly righted, and fell over to port. The sea then rose to the middle of the quarter-deck, and broke violently against the wreck. Nothing was now to be heard but the shrieks of the drowning, and wailings of despair. The man who would courageously meet death at the mouth of the cannon, or the point of the bayonet, is frequently unnerved in a scene like this, where there is no other enemy to contend with but the inexorable waves, and no hope of safety or relief but what may be afforded by a floating plank or mast. The tremendous shocks, as the ship rose with the sea and fell again on the shoal, deprived the people of the power of exertion; while at every crash the shattered hull, loosened and disjointed, was scattered in dreadful havoc

among the breakers. Imagination can scarcely picture to itself anything more appalling than the frantic screams of the women and children in the darkness of the night, and the irresistible fury of the waves, which at every moment snatched away a victim; while the tolling of the ship's bell, occasioned by the violent motion of the wreck, added a funereal solemnity to the horror of the scene.

The moon gave but little light, and that at intervals. Darkness was scarcely relieved but by the flashes of the signal guns, the livid glare of the blue lights, or the streams of fire from the rockets as they darted into the air,—signals of distress, alas, unavailing! no human aid was near. The only boat on board was the launch, which could not contain above a fourth part of the people. This boat, about 11 o'clock, was crowded with people, and a heavy sea lifted her off the booms, clear of the ship. Three loud cheers succeeded this slender relief, and the gallant men in the boat came under the stern, to save, if possible, more of their shipmates, who in that hope threw themselves into the sea from the poop, which was crowded with people. Nine of them were picked up; but the officers in the boat, perceiving the impossibility of her containing any more, pulled away to a safer distance, long listening to the cries of their drowning companions, and of the sad group huddled together on the poop and taffrail, the only place of refuge left to them, and that rapidly giving way to the overpowering element. At 12 o'clock, as the moon sank below the horizon, they took the last glimpse of the Athénienne, with 350 officers and men clinging to the wreck, and prolonging a hopeless and painful existence. Nor was the situation of those in the boat yet free from peril: the launch had neither sail, bread, nor water, on board. There was a compass, and for a sail the officers displayed their shirts, and the seamen their frocks. On the following morning they fell in with a Danish brig, which relieved in some degree their urgent necessities. Lieutenant John Little, of the Athénienne, with a party of seamen, went on board of her to return to the wreck, and to endeavour, if possible, to save some more of their unfortunate shipmates: this generous attempt was frustrated by violent and adverse winds. On the 21st, in the evening, the launch arrived at Maretimo, and the next day at Trepani, in Sicily. On the 24th she reached Palermo, where the news of the event had been conveyed to Sir Sydney Smith by means of a letter which had been written from Maretimo. The Eagle, of 74 guns, was instantly ordered to the Esquerques, but returned with the certain intelligence that all, except two men left on the wreck, had perished. These men, who had been picked up from a

raft by some fishermen, related that the poop separated about 11 o'clock on the morning after the launch left them; that themselves and 10 others embarked on it, but that they had all been washed off, or died, except the two. There were two other rafts, on one of which there were three warrant officers, and on the other Captain Rainsford, Lieutenants Swinburne and Salter, and a great many people; but those upon it being half-leg deep in water, and unable to disengage it from the rigging, with which it was attached to the ship, every one perished. Out of 475 people, only 124 escaped.

The existence of the Esquerques had long been doubted by some, and as positively asserted by other experienced officers in the Mediterranean. They must, however, have been accurately laid down, as Captain Rainsford observed, one moment before the ship struck, "If the Esquerques do exist, we should now be upon them."

The true bearing, by the most accurate survey now in the Admiralty, is N. by W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W. from Cape Bonn, distant 41 miles; from Cape Spartevento, in Sicily, S. E. $\frac{3}{4}$ E., distant 115 miles; and from the island of Maretimo, W. by S. $\frac{1}{4}$ S., 60 miles.

When the squadron which was defeated by Sir John Duckworth in 1806 first put to sea from Brest, in December of the preceding year, it was accompanied by another, under the command of Admiral Willaumez, whose destination was long unknown. The united number of ships amounted to 15 sail of the line, six frigates, and four corvettes. Soon after their sailing the ships separated: the division under the orders of Rear-admiral Lesiègue, went to the West Indies, where we have recounted its motions; that under Admiral Willaumez was probably intended to reinforce the Cape of Good Hope. His arrival in its neighbourhood was proved by the capture of the Volontaire, and the testimony of the merchant vessels which had seen him. Touching at the island of Ferdinand de Noronha, Willaumez learnt that the Cape had fallen into our hands; he therefore changed his route, and steered for St. Salvador, in South America, whence, after having taken in a supply of water and provisions, he steered for Martinique, with six sail of the line and one frigate, a force which outnumbered our squadron on that station. Sir Alexander Cochrane, having with him only four sail of the line, kept sight of his rival, and, on the sailing of Willaumez from Martinique, followed him to the northward, without any intention of bringing him to action, unless he should meditate an attack on our islands. In passing St. Thomas's another French ship of the line joined their squadron, with three frigates.

Having traced them as far as Porto Rico, the admiral left two frigates to watch their motions, and returned to Tortola.

Sir J. Warren arrived at Barbadoes on the 12th of July, with a squadron of six sail of the line: he had been despatched with all possible diligence from England the moment the accounts arrived that Willaumez had moved to the northward of St. Salvador. Another squadron, of five ships of the line, under the command of Rear-admiral Sir Richard Strachan, was sent in quest of the same enemy; and a third under Sir Thomas Louis. Thus pursued abroad, and the ports blockaded at home, the French admiral considered his safety would be best secured by separation. He detached in the Veteran, of 74 guns, Jerome Bonaparte, the younger brother of the Emperor, who, falling in with the Quebec convoy, under the protection of the Champion, of 24 guns, captured six sail of them, which he burnt. Approaching the coast of France, in the latitude of Belleisle, he was chased by the Gibraltar, of 84 guns, and was so fortunate as to find his way into the little port of Concarneau, in Britany, close to the Glenan Islands, into which no ship of the line had ever entered before. The Veteran ran on the beach, and there remained for some time. Jerome, happy in thus escaping from his pursuers, resolved to trust his fortune no more on the ocean; and his brother, the Emperor, established him in the splendid palace of the Landgrave of Hesse, in the beautiful city of Hesse Cassel. It is related of Jerome, that, having taken a British transport, he conversed on terms of familiarity with the captain; told him what great things his brother, the Emperor, intended to do for him; that he should soon be a King; but, he added, laying his finger on the map of England, "This is the country I mean to be King of, and, rely on it, I shall!"

Willaumez, after parting with the Veteran, encountered a hurricane in the Gulf of Florida: his ship, the Foudroyant, was dismasted, and reached the Havannah with much difficulty, after a severe action with the Anson, of 44 guns, commanded by the gallant and unfortunate Captain Lydiard, who drove him for protection under the guns of the Moro Castle. The Impétueux, of 74 guns, dismasted and disabled, bore away for the Chesapeake. On the 14th of September she fell in, off the Capes of Virginia, with the Belleisle, of 74 guns, commanded by Captain William Hargood; the Bellona, 74; and Melampus, frigate. These ships had been separated from the squadron under the command of Sir Richard Strachan, and were looking for him when the Impétueux appeared. She no sooner saw our squadron than her captain ran for the land, and laid his ship on shore within a mile of the beach. Captain Hargood anchored near her, took out the prisoners, and directed Captain Poyntz, of the Melampus, to burn her. From

the French captain they learnt that the squadron of Willaumez, after the Veteran had parted company, consisted of the Foudroyant, of 80 guns; Patriote, 74; Eole, 74; Cassard, 74; Impétueux, 74; and Valeureuse frigate.

The gale which had disabled the French squadron, did considerable damage to that of Sir Richard Strachan, who was compelled to run to Halifax for new masts and yards.

The union of interests between Napoleon and America grew more intimate as the former advanced to the supreme power; and consequently the presence of a British naval force became more necessary on that coast. The nature of the contest in which we were engaged with our implacable enemy rendered it next to impossible not to give offence to America, the most active and successful of all the agents and carriers of the French colonies. Their vessels and cargoes were not the only objects of our search. The British seamen by whom they were conducted were by us forcibly taken away; and, in some instances, real Americans were no doubt also taken. This was unavoidable on our part; and, I maintain, not a fair cause of hostility on the part of America. The orders in council to which I have so often referred, tended very little to allay the ferment. When the colonial produce of the enemy was permitted to be imported into the mother country only by paying a duty to the Government of the neutral state to whom the carrier flag belongs, we cannot suppose that such an arrangement would have been allowed to continue long. The Government which had framed this order was not long insensible of its mistake: the Americans, and all neutral nations, took the advantage of it; and we discovered that we had given up our maritime rights, and permitted the trade of the enemy to enter any of their ports not blockaded. The order of 1801 was then revoked; America became discontented, and passed her non-importation laws. The stoppage of their trade by our ships of war became in consequence still more frequent, until a national animosity was engendered against us, which finally produced a bloody and a useless war—useless, since it left the questions precisely where it found them. The real cause of the hostility of America was a desire to enrich herself at our expense by her vessels becoming the carriers of the colonial produce of our enemies, and by supplying them with warlike stores. She even granted certificates of naturalization to British seamen, which it is well known could be purchased at any time in America by them, or on board of her merchant ships for a dollar; if not given gratis. The right of search *we never can concede*, nor the right of taking our seamen wherever we find them under a foreign flag.

With such acrimonious feelings between the two nations, a trifling incident was sufficient to raise the flame of war; and this occurred off New York, where the Cambrian, of 40 guns, and Leander, of 50, were ordered to cruise in search of the enemy's ships, and also to examine the cargoes of such merchant vessels of any nation as might be passing to or from the ports of the United States.

The Leander was commanded by Captain Henry Whitby, a young officer of talent and strict honour. He had been ordered by Captain Beresford, of the Cambrian, to gain intelligence of what was passing in the port of New York. In the performance of this duty Captain Whitby made a point of not violating the neutrality, by firing at any vessel or using any force within the buoys laid down on the coast to mark the dominion of the American Government. On the 25th of April, 1806, Captain Whitby had gone at half-past two, P. M., to dine on board the Cambrian; while there, several coasters were fired at by that ship and the Leander, to bring them to, for the purpose of examination. This was not done within the limits, but at a distance of from five to seven miles from the shore. In performing this service a shot was fired from the Leander, when Captain Whitby was not on board of her, which, passing over the deck of a schooner, killed, or was said to have killed, a man named John Pearce. A proclamation was issued by Mr. Jefferson, forbidding the entrance of the Leander into the American ports. Captain Whitby was falsely accused of having "wilfully and of malice aforethought" murdered a man whom he never saw nor heard of. Mr. Jefferson went with the stream, and complied with the popular fury. Public despatches, containing false depositions and gross misrepresentations, were transmitted to the British admiral at Halifax. On these documents, without a witness to substantiate the charge, Captain Whitby was soon after ordered to England, placed under an arrest, and informed that he was to be tried by a court-martial for "wilful murder." By numerous vexatious pretexts on the part of his accusers, the trial was put off; but he was at length brought to a court-martial in the month of April following, and, after a patient investigation, fully acquitted. On these simple facts it must be evident that the whole was a scandalous conspiracy, and probably concerted to favour the views of a popular candidate for the office of President. The conclusion to which, in my opinion, the impartial reader must come is, that John Pearce was not killed, that the vessel was loaded with enemy's property, and that the master, unwilling to submit to inspection, made his way into New York. No British officer ever saw the body of John Pearce; nor did any formal process ever verify the fact. The

eloquent defence of Captain Whitby, while it carries conviction of his innocence, gives so just a picture of the public feeling in the United States against this country, that I regret I cannot insert the whole of it,* though I earnestly recommend it to the perusal of every young naval officer and friend to his country.

The recovery of some portion of the French West India colonies, or the destruction of our own, was the constant object of Bonaparte to the last moment of his political existence. Such was the opinion of the Earl of St. Vincent, who addressed the following letter to one of his Majesty's Ministers:—

SIR, *Raim House, Nov. 30th,* 1806.

It is evident that Bonaparte has in his mind's eye the recovery of St. Domingo from the Blacks, and that he will feed the garrison from time to time with European troops. From the numbers of Germans and Poles found in the frigates captured by Sir Samuel Hood, it is probable they were bound thither, for it has been his constant maxim to employ foreigners in the French colonies. I therefore think that the commanders of our squadrons in the West Indies should be instructed to keep a watchful eye on the north side of Porto Rico and the Mona Passage. Sir Alexander Cochrane, no doubt, keeps a cruiser off Deseada, which is the land they always make if they do not touch at Martinique: there have been instances of their going to Cayenne for refreshments and intelligence, after a long and circuitous passage.

It has been invariably remarked that after every signal defeat of the enemy's fleets they have redoubled their efforts, and employed their naval resources upon small expeditions, composed of light squadrons of frigates, with troops, and a small body of artillery.

Captain G. C. Mackenzie, of the Wolf, sloop of war, on the Jamaica station, captured two large privateers after a smart action. Captain C. B. H. Ross, in the Pique, of 38 guns, captured the Phaeton and the Voltigeur, two brigs of war, of 16 guns and 120 men each; and the boats of the same ship, under the command of Lieutenant Ward, boarded and carried a Spanish armed schooner, of one 9-pounder and 30 men. The action which the two brigs sustained with the frigate was highly creditable to them: they did not surrender till cut to pieces, with one half of their crew killed or wounded. The Pique lost her master, had eight men killed, and 14 wounded. Lieutenant Ward was promoted to the rank of commander into one of the brigs.

Captain Charles Brisbane, of the Arethusa, of 38 guns, having the Anson, of 44 guns, under his orders, attacked a Spanish frigate, lying near the Moro Castle, off the Havanna.

* It is to be found in the "Naval Chronicle" of 1807.

Although defended by a fort, and assisted by 12 gun-boats, each carrying a 24-pounder and 100 men, Captain Brisbane and his brave associates succeeded in taking the frigate, destroying the gun-boats, and silencing the fort. "The line of defence," says Captain Brisbane, in his letter to Vice-admiral Dacres, "certainly appeared formidable, added to a lee shore; but, well knowing the able and gallant support I should meet with from Captain Lydiard, I decided instantly to attack the enemy in their strong position, and bore up for the purpose, having previously passed a bower cable through the stern port." At 10 o'clock he anchored the Arethusa close alongside the Pomona, in one foot water more than his ship drew; the Anson on the larboard bow of the Arethusa. The action lasted 35 minutes, when the frigate struck her colours; three of the gun-boats blew up, six of them were sunk, and three went on shore in the breakers. The enemy now began to fire red-hot shot, which set the Arethusa on fire; but the flames were soon extinguished, and a tremendous explosion at the castle, whence the annoyance proceeded, announced some melancholy catastrophe: its firing ceased, and the Pomona (so the Spanish frigate was called) was brought out and conducted to Port Royal. The Arethusa had two men killed, and 32 wounded; the Anson none killed or wounded. The Spanish frigate had 20 men killed and 32 wounded; she had on board a considerable quantity of plate and merchandise.

The Captains J. R. Dacres, George Le Geyt, and Samuel Chambers, commanding the Bacchante, Stork, and Port Mahon, were very successful in destroying and capturing the trade and privateers of the enemy in the ports of St. Domingo and the adjacent seas.

The Wolf sloop of war, under the command of Captain G. C. Mackenzie, went into Port Azarades, and attacked two French privateers, both of which, after an action of one hour and fifty minutes, she took: one was called Le Napoleon, mounting one long 18-pounder, four brass 6-pounders, and had 80 men; the other, Le Régulateur, mounted a long 9-pounder, two 12-pound carronades, two fours, and 66 men. The great merit of this action consisted in the difficulty of getting the sloop of war near enough to engage, from the intricacy of the shoals with which the enemy's schooners were surrounded. The Wolf had two men killed and four wounded.

Captain Charles Dashwood, in the Franchise, of 36 guns, having heard of a Spanish vessel of war lying off the town of Campeachy, carried his ship as near to the coast as her draught of water would admit, and anchored in a quarter less four fathoms, five leagues from the shore. He then despatched his boats under the command of Lieutenants John Fleming and

P. J. Douglas, and H. Mends, of the Royal Marines, with a party of volunteers, who, after rowing a whole night, found themselves at four in the morning in the midst of a Spanish force, consisting of two brigs of war, of 20 guns and 180 men each; one of 12 guns and 90 men; an armed schooner, of eight guns; and seven gun-boats, with two guns each. On perceiving our three boats, the whole of this little squadron slipped their cables, and went in pursuit; but Lieutenant Fleming laid his boat alongside one of the brigs, which was prepared for his reception, by having her boarding nettings triced up, and her sweeps run out to prevent his approach. Lieutenant Douglas instantly followed, and both were in a very few minutes in possession of their prize, the enemy pursuing and firing at them with great impetuosity. The British sailors foiled them in every attempt to effect a recapture, and brought the vessel out in triumph. She proved to be the Raposa, pierced for 16 guns, but mounting only 12, with a complement of 75 men. Only seven Englishmen were slightly wounded.

In the month of August Captain James R. Dacres, of the Bacchante, of 20 guns, reconnoitring the harbour of Santa Martha, saw a brig and two feluccas lying there, which he determined to take; sending his boats in for that purpose, under the command of Lieutenant Norton. This young officer, in defiance of the heavy fire of the fort, the beach lined with musketry, and the vessels, boarded and took them all, driving their crews for shelter to the shore. Two of the vessels had their sails unbent, which detained the boats four hours longer under the fire of the batteries; but they returned to the ship with their prizes, and had not a man hurt.

Among the brilliant displays of valour and seamanship in the West Indies, that of Lieutenant Michael Fitten deserves to be noticed.

This officer, acting only in the command of the Pitt, a schooner mounting 10 18-pound carronades and two long 6-pounders, with a crew of 54 men and boys, fell in with the Superbe, a French privateer, or, more properly speaking, a pirate, commanded by a man named Diron, a noted character in those seas, famed for his depredations on the trade of every country, no matter whether friends or foes: his vessel mounted 14 guns, and had 90 men. Mr. Fitten, aware of the force and character of his enemy, was perfectly prepared for the worst, and made all sail in chase out of Cape Nicholas Mole. The privateer, with two prizes, was steering for the harbour of Baraçoa, in Cuba. Coming up with him off the harbour's mouth, a sharp action ensued, which lasted near three quarters of an hour, when the Pitt being much disabled, the Superbe for a time escaped from her. There were four or five privateers of the same flag lying in the harbour; but these people never

assist each other unless impelled by the prospect of gain. Mr. Fitten repaired his damages, and renewed his pursuit, which, after nearly three days and nights, terminated by his driving on shore and totally destroying the vessel, bringing away the colours and some other articles as trophies of his victory: the captain and greater part of the crew escaped to the shore; but on her decks were found several dead, and many mortally wounded. This vessel had done great injury to our commerce; and Mr. Fitten was highly commended by Admiral Dacres for his brave and zealous conduct.

In the month of August, Rear-admiral Dacres having learnt that the enemy had collected a number of small vessels at Batibano, detached the Captains Le Geyt and Rushworth in the Stork and Supérieure sloops of war, with the Flying Fish and Pike schooners, to bring them out. The whole enterprise was crowned with complete success. Captain Le Geyt finding, on reaching the Isle of Pines, that the Stork could not, from her draught of water, approach nearer than 30 leagues from the port, detached Captain Rushworth in the Supérieure, with the two schooners, and a party of seamen and marines from the Stork, to carry the admiral's orders into execution. On the 25th of August Captain Rushworth and his little squadron parted from the Stork; and on the 3d of September, finding from calms and baffling winds that they could not bring the vessels nearer to Batibano, he landed with a party of 63 men, 10 of whom he left to guard the boats, and boldly advanced with the others to attack a battery two miles distant. Marshy ground obstructed their progress; and a party of the enemy's soldiers concealed themselves in the thick bushes which lay in their road; but these were quickly dislodged and put to flight, leaving two of their party dead and one wounded. The situation of our people now became desperate: the whole country was alarmed; the regulars and the militia were under arms, assisted by the crews of the vessels in the bay: to retreat was impossible; safety was only to be expected from the most desperate measures. Captain Rushworth, at the head of his men, started forward, and in the midst of a volley of great guns and small arms mounted the enemy's walls, and carried the fort in three minutes. Here they found six 18-pounders, on traversing carriages, which they spiked, and then proceeded to take possession of the vessels, which consisted of one felucca, pierced for 14 guns; a schooner, pierced for 12; and a French privateer, of four guns; with three other Spanish vessels, of one gun each, and six vessels with cargoes. The loss on our part was one man severely wounded, that of the enemy very considerable.

Captain Chambers, in the Port Mahon, a brig of 16 guns

having chased a Spanish letter of marque into the harbour of Banes, sent in his boats under the command of Lieutenant John Marshall, who boarded and brought her out, though lying under the protection of a battery. She was called the San Josef, was richly laden, mounted one long 18-pounder a-midships, four 12-pound carronades, and two 4-pounders, with 30 men, who were all on deck, and well armed, prepared to defend their vessel to the last. It is remarkable that though the oars were broken, and several shot struck the boats, not an Englishman was hurt in this enterprise.

In the third volume of the first edition of this work I have briefly noticed the second capture of the Cape of Good Hope by the British land and sea forces, under the command of Captain Sir Home Popham, and Major-general Sir David Baird. Captain Popham remained senior officer at the Cape of Good Hope.

While lying in Table Bay with his squadron, a French frigate was seen coming in, the captain of which was ignorant that the place had changed masters; the forts still retained the Dutch colours, which were also displayed by his Majesty's ships. The frigate, at 12 o'clock, passed within hail of the Diadem, when Sir Home, having the Raisonnable, of 64 guns, and Narcissus, outside of him, and under sail, hoisted the British colours, and commanded the Frenchman to strike, which he immediately did, and was taken possession of. She was called La Volontaire, one of their largest-class frigates, mounting 46 guns, with a complement of 360 men; in her were also recaptured a detachment of the 54th regiment, consisting of 217 men, which she had taken in transports in the Bay of Biscay.

On the 26th Captain John Stiles, of the Adamant, of 50 guns, arrived in False Bay, at the Cape, with the Spanish ship of war, Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, mounting 30 guns, and carrying 315 men. This ship had been fitted out in the Rio de la Plata, and manned with a desperate gang, collected from all nations.

The officers of the Terpsichore, of 32 guns, Captain Walter Bathurst, performed a piece of service which may justly rank in the highest class of naval enterprise.

A French corvette, called La Tourterelle, pierced for 18 guns, two only mounted, and having on board a half cargo of coffee, was moored under the forts, and secured by halsers to the shore in the port of St. Denis, in the Isle of Bourbon. She was guarded by an armed ship and several small craft; field-pieces were brought down to the water side, where troops, riflemen, and her own crew, awaited the expected attack.

Lieutenant Augustus L. R. Collins, of the Terpsichore, Lieutenants Laurence and Sweet, of the Royal Marines, Robson, Orlebar, Aplin, and Wormold, midshipmen, with a party of seamen and marines, ventured in a clear moonlight night to attack this vessel. They were received with volleys of shot and shells, but got on board. Mr. Collins cut her moorings, and loosed the few sails she had bent. It was nearly calm. Mr. Laurence, with all the boats, took her in tow: his own boat was instantly sunk, himself wounded, and one man killed; he got into the next, which had the same fate, and three men killed; he then, with his people, jumped into the launch, the only boat remaining, and finally succeeded in towing the prize clear out to sea. This capture was considered by Sir Edward Pellew as deserving his approbation in public orders.

Captain James Jameson, of the Honourable Company's ship the Fame, carrying 16 guns and 100 men, fought La Piedmontaise, a French frigate of 44 guns and 400 men, for 40 minutes, killing six, and wounding many more of her people. The Fame had one man killed, and five wounded; but the ship being completely disabled, and without any prospect of escape, Captain Jameson surrendered. His conduct was highly approved by the Court of Directors, and he was soon after intrusted with a much better command.

Captain Charles Elphinstone, in the Greyhound, of 32 guns, and Captain (now Sir Thomas) Trowbridge, in the Harier, of 18 guns, after having destroyed two Dutch armed brigs, discovered four sail of large vessels on the 25th July in the straits of Salayer. Waiting till daylight to ascertain the force of the strangers, they ran down and discovered one of them to be a frigate, another a sloop of war, and the two others armed ships, of 800 and 500 tons burthen. The enemy formed a line to receive the Greyhound and Harier, who were very soon in the midst of them, in close action. The Dutch fought for some time with tolerable bravery; but, when Trowbridge saw his friend Elphinstone engaged with the frigate, he ran under her stern, and ahead of her second, engaging on both sides, and raking them with execution. By such valour and skill united these two British vessels soon overpowered their enemies. The frigate and the two large ships were taken; the brig escaped. The whole of them had on board very valuable cargoes, the produce of the Molucca Islands. The frigate, which was called the Pallas, mounted 30 guns; the Victoria and the Batavia were the names of the others. This gallant action terminated with the loss on our side of one man killed, and 11 wounded. The enemy had 12 killed, and 39

wounded. Captain Aalbers, of the Pallas, died of his wounds soon after his capture.

On the 18th of October Captain Rainier took a brig from Bantam, and learnt that a Dutch frigate, of 36 guns, called the Phœnix, was refitting at Omrust; determined to bring her out, he made sail for that port. On his way thither he fell in with two Dutch brigs of war at anchor; one of these he captured, the other escaped. The vessel taken was called the Zeerop, of 14 guns. While employed in securing her, the Phœnix was observed to slip from the road of Omrust, and run for Batavia. The Dutch prisoners informed Captain Rainier that the Marià, another Dutch frigate, was lying in Batavia roads, manned from the shore, and aware of their approach. The Caroline held on her course till she discovered the Marià, and with her the William, a sloop of war, and the other brig which had escaped. In spite of all this force, and a swarm of gun-boats, young Rainier selected the Marià as the largest frigate, and consequently the most worthy his attention, as an antagonist; and, with springs on both cables, ran into a very intricate roadstead, sustaining the fire of his numerous adversaries without returning it until he was within half pistol-shot of the frigate, when he began, and continued the action till the enemy struck. On boarding, she proved to be the Marià Rygersbergen, of 36 guns, 18-pounders, and 270 men. Unable to effect any farther operations on the other vessels, being 51 men short of complement when he went into action, Captain Rainier brought out his prize, and anchored both ships in the offing.

In this action the Dutch frigate had 50 men killed and wounded, and the loss on board the Caroline was four killed, six mortally and 12 slightly wounded. It is remarkable that after the surrender of the Marià, the force which remained, being still sufficient to have destroyed the Caroline, preferred running on shore, together with seven merchant ships.

The invasion of the Spanish settlements on the Rio de la Plata, in the year 1806, may be considered as the commencement of a new era in the continent of South America, and to have given another turn and character to the politics of Europe. The capture of the rich settlement of Buenos Ayres seemed at once to open a new source of commerce to the merchants of Britain, then debarred from direct intercourse with their neighbours, and to threaten the immediate ruin of Spain, by depriving her of the treasures which she drew from her mines in Mexico and Peru. These anticipations have been in a great measure realized; but this enterprise of Sir Home Popham,

undertaken without orders from home, gave rise to much conflicting opinion upon the subject. From the moment the British flag was seen to wave on the forts of a Spanish colony, their entire separation from the mother country was decreed, and it was not long before the flame of liberty spread from La Plata to Florida, and from Valparaiso to Mexico.

I have already observed that Sir Home Popham had been left with the command of his Majesty's ships at the Cape of Good Hope, when the naval and military commanders-in-chief determined to make an attack on the settlements of the enemy in the Rio de la Plata. That newly-acquired colony was scarcely well secured from insurrection or invasion. Having collected all the forces, both naval and military, which could be spared, and taking on board Major-general Beresford, the commodore proceeded to St. Helena, where he expected a further reinforcement of troops from the garrison of that island; sailing thence on the 2d of May, the fleet made Cape St. Mary's, on the coast of South America, on the 8th of June. Sir Home Popham had preceded them some days in the Narcissus frigate. The expedition anchored on that day near the Island of Flores, passed Monte Video on the following day, and stood over to the south side of the river, on which the city of Buenos Ayres is situated. The Rio de la Plata is remarkably shoal, the flats extending so far from its banks as to render the approach impracticable for large ships, and dangerous for small ones. The attack on the capital was nevertheless determined; the transports and smaller vessels approached with the troops and artillery; the ships of the line, Diadem and Raisonnable, and the Diomède, of 44 guns, being ordered by the commodore to cruise off Maldonado, and the mouth of the river; the depth of water not admitting of the approach of the Narcissus within less than 12 miles of the town. The expedition anchored, on the 25th of June, off Point Quelmey à Pouichiou, where the army landed in the evening, accompanied by the marine battalion, under the command of Captain William King, of the Diadem. General Beresford, having effected his landing without loss or opposition, found his enemy posted behind a morass at the village of Reduccion, about two miles from the beach. The general advanced until his guns were checked in the bog; and the Spaniards, who had foreseen the difficulty, opened a fire on them. General Beresford, finding the artillery could not readily be brought up, advanced without it. The Spaniards, who had 2,000 cavalry, fled at the approach of our troops; the British army mounted the hill under a fire of ordnance and musketry, dislodged the enemy, and pursued and drove them to the opposite side of the little river Chuelo,

the bridge of which the Spaniards burnt, to secure their retreat; a precaution which gave them very little respite. On the 27th it blew so hard that no intercourse could be had between the fleet and the army; and on the 28th the British flag was displayed on the walls of Buenos Ayres. The castle fired a royal salute, which was answered by the ships of the squadron. The governor had capitulated, giving up everything to the mercy of the captors, who generously restored all the private property to the owners; which, in vessels afloat on the river, amounted to one million and a half of dollars. The property taken, belonging to the Government, amounted to 1,291,323 dollars, in specie, bonds, ordnance, and other stores. The news of the capture of the colony was received in England with great acclamation, except at the Admiralty. Their lordships were dissatisfied with the mode of its execution, and disapproved of the conduct of Sir Home Popham, both in diverting the forces from the Cape, and in assuming the rank and title of a commodore with a captain under him. Rear-admiral Stirling was sent out to supersede him, and he was ordered home under arrest, to be tried by a court-martial.

Sir Home Popham, it appears, had been directed, after having secured the possession of the Cape of Good Hope, to embark as many troops as could be spared, and to send them on to India, under convoy of the Belliqueux; and by a subsequent order he was directed to send home without delay all the transports not wanted to go to India. These orders he positively disobeyed. That he had reason to expect an attack would soon be made on the Cape was evident from the capture of the Volontaire, which came into the bay in perfect confidence that it was in possession of the Dutch, or that the fleet of Admiral Willaumez, to which she belonged, had arrived before her. The approach of this squadron received farther confirmation by the arrival of a whaler, which had seen a number of large ships in latitude 33° south, and longitude 50° east. On the same day a brig from Tonningen reported that she had been boarded by a squadron of French ships of war, in the latitude of 33° 23′ and longitude 6° 10′ east. From all the information he could obtain from these sources, he might as justly have inferred that they were bound to the Cape of Good Hope as to the Isle of France or to the West Indies. He received this intelligence on the 10th of March, and on the 13th of April addressed a letter to Mr. Marsden, the Secretary of the Admiralty, announcing his intention of attacking Buenos Ayres; at the same time that he furnished the most unanswerable reasons why he should have remained on his post with redoubled vigilance.

After the departure of Sir Home Popham, a circumstance occurred which proved the defenceless state in which he left the colony as to ships of war, and afforded a strong argument against him in England. The Canonnière, formerly La Minerve, taken from us in 1803, at Cherbourg, anchored in Simon's Bay, and sent her boat on shore, with an officer and eight men, who were taken. The forts immediately opened on the frigate with red-hot shot; but she cut her cable and escaped to sea, there being no ship to pursue her.

At that time it was too much the fashion to estimate every conquest by the quantum of British merchandise which the newly-acquired subjects might consume. In his letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty, Sir Home says—

I have only presumed to say a few words on the advantages which we may derive by the exports from this country; by the channel of importation which it opens up a navigable river of many hundred leagues, to supply several millions of inhabitants with the manufactures of the United Kingdom: there is, however, another of not less consequence, on any consideration, which is that of depriving the enemy of this most valuable trade, carried on entirely under neutral flags.

It was, however, very justly observed in answer to this, that the commerce carried on by neutrals supplied the South American continent from our markets, and brought us hides, tallow, tobacco, and specie, in return. Sir Home arrived in England early in 1806; his trial commenced on board the Gladiator, in Portsmouth harbour, on the 6th of March.

The names of the officers who composed the court were—

Admiral Wm. Young, President.

Vice-admiral S. E. Gower.	Vice-admiral Holloway.
Vice-admiral S. B. Rowley.	Vice-admiral H. E. Stanhope.
Rear-admiral J. Vashon.	Rear-admiral Sir I. Coffin.
Rear-admiral Sir Richard J. J. Strachan.	Captain S. H. Linzee.
Captain Thomas Graves.	——— M. Scott.
——— John Irwin.	——— Hon. C. Boyle.

The order to Admiral Young from the Admiralty was read: part of it was as follows:—

(COPY.)

ADMIRALTY ORDER.

By the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

"Whereas, by an order dated the 29th of July, 1805, Sir Home Popham, then captain of his Majesty's ship Diadem, was directed

to take under his command his Majesty's ships Belliqueux, Raisonnable, Diomède, Narcissus, and Leda, the Espoir (sloop), and Encounter (gun-brig), for the purpose of capturing the enemy's settlements at the Cape of Good Hope, in conjunction with the troops under the command of Major-general Sir David Baird, which settlements were surrendered to the ships and troops aforesaid, in the month of January, 1806: And whereas it appears, by letters from the said Sir Home Popham to our secretary, dated the 13th and 30th of April following, that with a view to attack the Spanish settlements in the Rio de la Plata, for which he had no direction or authority whatever, he did withdraw from the Cape the whole of the naval force which had been placed under his command for the sole purpose of protecting it; thereby leaving the Cape, which it was his duty to guard, not only exposed to attack and insult, but even without the means of affording protection to the trade of his Majesty's subjects, or of taking possession of any ships of the enemy which might have put into any of the bays or harbours of the Cape or parts adjacent; all which he the said Sir Home Popham did, notwithstanding that he had received previous information of detachments of the enemy's ships being at sea, and in the neighbourhood of the Cape; and notwithstanding he had been apprized that a French squadron was expected at the Mauritius, of which he informed us, by his letter to our secretary, dated the 9th of April, 1806, only four days prior to his departure from the Cape for the Rio de la Plata:

"And whereas it appears to us that a due regard to the good of his Majesty's service imperiously demands that so flagrant a breach of public duty should not pass unpunished: And whereas by our order, dated the 28th of July, 1806, Rear-admiral Stirling was directed to send the said Sir Home Popham to England, which he has done accordingly: and whereas Sir Home Popham was, on his arrival, put under an arrest by our order, and is now at Portsmouth awaiting his trial," &c.

The prosecution was conducted by Mr. Jervis, the solicitor of the Admiralty; and when that was finished the prisoner entered on his defence, which occupied three days. Lord Melville, Mr. Sturges Bourne, and many distinguished persons, were subpœnaed in his favour. At the conclusion he thus addressed the court:—

"Mr. President,

"I here close my defence; and I throw myself upon the wisdom and justice of this honourable court. My feelings and my character have suffered severely, but I trust to your judgment to relieve the one, and to rescue the other. If I have, in the exercise of my zeal, exceeded the strictest bounds of discretion, I hope it will be evident I have been actuated solely by a desire to promote the honour, the interests, and the glory of my country; and if, in the prosecution of those great objects, aided by my gallant followers, and fostered by the superintending hand of Providence, it has been my good fortune to be put in the possession of the two capitals of two quarters of the

globe, I trust it will be found, upon a close examination of my defence, that the very head and front of my offending hath this extent —no more!"

After which, the court being cleared for a short time, it was re-opened, and the following sentence given:—

"That the charges had been proved against the said Captain Sir Home Popham. That the withdrawing, without orders so to do, the whole of any naval force from the place where it is directed to be employed, and the employing it in distant operations against the enemy, more especially if the success of such operations should be likely to prevent its speedy return, may be attended with the most serious inconvenience to the public service, as the success of any plan formed by his Majesty's ministers for operations against the enemy, in which such naval force might be included, may by such removal be entirely prevented. And the court further agreed that the conduct of the said Captain Sir Home Popham, in the withdrawing the whole of the naval force under his command from the Cape of Good Hope, and the proceeding with it to the Rio de la Plata, was highly censurable; but, in consideration of circumstances, did adjudge him to be ONLY SEVERELY REPRIMANDED."

Whatever difference of opinion there might have been as to the merits of this affair in London, the sentence pronounced by 13 officers decided its character, and vindicated the authority of the Admiralty and the discipline of the navy. But for this sentence, no dependence could have been placed in the continuance of any force in the station assigned to it. We may remark that the whole weight of ministerial resentment fell on the naval commander. The general was never publicly called to account. Yet, according to the scale of comparative rank, he was the superior officer, and it is quite clear that one could not have acted without the entire concurrence of the other.

Popham was a clever fellow. On another occasion, which will be hereafter mentioned, he was again very hard run for a defence before the House of Commons, when he coolly observed, "Only overwhelm them with papers, cover the table with papers, smother them with papers; you will then confuse them, ("bother" I think was his word,) and they won't know what to be at." His three-days' defence looks very like a practical illustration of this precept.

On this occasion Sir Home overshot his mark, when he attempted to justify himself by the example of Earl St. Vincent, who, from Cadiz, ordered a detachment under Lord Nelson to attack Santa Cruz. The naval reader will perceive that there could not be the slightest analogy between the two cases; the earl being a commander-in-chief, with almost unlimited power; with a force sufficiently large to admit of such a subtraction;

and the state of mutiny in which the fleet then was, requiring some object to divert the attention of the seamen. Sir Home, on the contrary, had been sent on a specific and limited service, without any discretionary power; and, having completed the object for which he was sent out, he was expressly directed how to dispose of the remaining superfluous force. It was also justly observed that the valuable colony of the Cape was exposed to danger, for the uncertain chance of great private gain to individuals. The capture of Buenos Ayres and the acquisition of wealth were almost immediately succeeded by the defeat of General Beresford, and the surrender of his whole army, with the disappointment of all the hopes, and the ruin of most of the speculators who had listened to the flattering prospects held out by Sir Home Popham.

Long before the despatches reached England, containing the account of the surrender of Buenos Ayres, the place was retaken. The Spaniards had recovered from their surprise and panic: they saw with indignation that they had been dispossessed of their capital by a handful of men, whom they with little difficulty might overcome. Colonel Liniers, a Frenchman of talent and intrepidity, crossed the river from Monte Video to Buenos Ayres, with 1,000 men. With this reinforcement the inhabitants acquired confidence; the British troops in the citadel were summoned to surrender; the whole population rose in arms. The general would have retreated to the ships, but bad weather prevented all communication. An action ensued in the square and streets of the town; every house was a fortification, from the roof and windows of which musketry and missiles were unceasingly directed, until our men were compelled to lay down their arms and become prisoners of war. One hundred and fifty were killed or wounded, and the general, with 1,300 men, marched away to the interior. Sir Home Popham, who, from the quarter-deck of the Diadem, was a witness to this reverse of fortune, made bitter complaints in his public letter of the Bishop of Buenos Ayres, who had permitted a gun to be placed on the tower of a church to annoy the British troops!!! In defending the houses of his countrymen from violation and plunder, I admire the bold ingenuity of the patriotic bishop; and even if the act could by the most scrupulous be considered a profanation, I humbly conceive that the last person who could have any right to complain would have been Sir Home Popham.

While these events were passing in the south, the Spanish settlements in the Caraccas were slightly disturbed by the enterprise of Francisco de Miranda, whose fortune had grown out of the French revolution. He was a native of South

America, and had been a general under the celebrated Dumourier, with whom he served in Flanders; but not deeming himself safe under the government of the Convention, he had quitted that service, and in 1807 aimed at the independence of his native land.

Wearied with fruitless applications in England, where his projects were disregarded as chimerical, Miranda sailed for America; and, having gained a few partisans at New York, left that place early in February, 1806, in a ship called the Leander, with not more than 200 followers, and a very small supply of ordnance stores and clothing, the vessel being only 200 tons burthen. Miranda held out to his followers every encouragement of support from the British Government at home, and her admirals and generals abroad. Steering for the Mona Passage, he fell in with the Cleopatra British frigate, by the captain and officers of which he was severely scrutinized; 19 of his men were impressed, being Irishmen; and it became a question whether the Leander, under her suspicious character, should not be taken to Bermuda for legal adjudication. Miranda, to escape this detention, was compelled to show his papers, and impart his designs to the British captain; on which he was suffered to depart, and reached the port of Jaquemel, in Saint Domingo, where he established his printing presses, and struck off his proclamations; writing out commissions for his officers, and heading them "By Francisco de Miranda, commander-in-chief of the Columbian army;" and on or about this time he hoisted the Columbian flag on board of his ship. Having made a small addition to his force in vessels, if not in men, he exacted oaths of fidelity, and his followers swore to obey him, to be governed by the American articles of war, and to be true to the people of South America, as independent of Spain. Shortly after he sailed for the island of Bonnair, a dependence of Curaçoa; but by mismanagement found himself 70 miles to leeward of it, in the bottom of the gulf of Venezuela. Having at length reached Aruba, another little island dependent on Curaçoa, he sailed for the main, and, arriving off Ocumara, prepared to land: here he was suddenly attacked by two Spanish guarda-costas, who took the two schooners which had accompanied him from Jaquemel, and with them 60 of his officers and men. The whole of these were landed, tried, and condemned: 10 of them suffered death, and the others were sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment. Miranda was much blamed by his officers for this misfortune; the truth is, he was not acquainted with the disposition of his countrymen, nor had he a sufficient force to support an insurrection. His attempt was premature, and to have per-

severed at this time would have been madness: he therefore left the coast. After beating about for some time in the neighbourhood of that chain of islands along the main land from Curaçoa to Trinidad, suffering greatly for want of provision and water, and running away from every vessel he saw, he was at last met by the Lily, a British sloop of war, commanded by Captain Donald Campbell, who had directions from Sir Alexander Cochrane, the naval commander-in-chief at Barbadoes, to afford him protection and relief.* Captain Campbell, having supplied his wants, conducted the Leander to Grenada, where Miranda was hospitably entertained by General Maitland, the governor: thence he went to Barbadoes, where he arrived on the 9th of June, and found the admiral disposed to support him, but both Lord Seaforth, the governor, and General Bowyer, the commander-in-chief, as decidedly against him. Miranda made an agreement with the admiral, that in the event of South America being revolutionized, Great Britain should be received as the most favoured nation. At Barbadoes he suffered much from detention in the Court of Admiralty, and the defection of most of his best seamen; he, however, with the assistance of the Lily, reached Trinidad, where General Heslop afforded him some further relief in army clothing and field-pieces. Sir Alexander Cochrane added some small vessels to his force; but Vice-admiral Dacres, who commanded at Jamaica, refused to give him any assistance without orders from home, considering the whole as a buccaneering enterprise. Captain Donald Campbell appears to have conducted himself on this occasion with that gallantry and propriety of conduct expected of him by the commander-in-chief when he placed him as his *locum tenens* to superintend the enterprise: but I own I cannot help preferring the view taken of it by Vice-admiral Dacres.

Miranda sailed from Port D'Espagne, in Trinidad, on the 25th of July; and in a very few days anchored at La Vela de Coro. The natives and the Spaniards neither opposed nor joined him, but fled to the mountains. Miranda landed and took possession of the place, and then marched on to the city of Coro, about 12 miles distant. The town he found evacuated by the inhabitants; the gaoler and his prisoners only remaining. In an attack on the prison at night, the invaders fired on each other—one life was lost, and some severe wounds

* I have now before me a different version of this affair, in which it appears that Captain Campbell very gallantly chased and took the Leander, although apparently, but not *in reality*, much his superior in number of guns; the Leander mounting 22, and having 220 men, the Lily only 18 at the most, with about 120 men. The chase was also very long, but I do not find that there was any resistance on the part of Miranda.

inflicted. After an absence from the sea-coast of four days, Miranda quitted Coro, and rejoined his squadron in the bay; but in his absence the captain of the Leander and 15 of his men had been taken in a watering party by the Spaniards, and marched up the country. Captain Dacres, of the Bacchante, coming up at this time, assisted in covering the retreat of the rest of these unfortunate people, who retired to Trinidad, and soon after dispersed. Miranda was too sanguine; a disciple of the new school, he fancied South America would have risen against the Spanish supremacy as readily as France against the Bourbons. All that I know of his private character is to his honour: of his talents as a general, or his reasons for this undertaking, I can say little; but certainly Miranda on the north coast of the southern continent, and Sir Home Popham on the southern and eastern part, were the first who reared the standard of South-American independence. What advantages the natives are likely to derive from this new state of things is another question. That the torrents of blood which have already flowed have failed to produce the tranquillity of the country, is but too obvious: nor, indeed, does there appear to be the least chance of a speedy termination of the disorders so long prevailing.

CHAPTER IX.

1. State of Europe—Designs of Bonaparte on Prussia—French enter Pomerania—Magnanimity of Gustavus—Siege of Dantzic—Retreat of Swedes from Stralsund to Rugen—Danger of Danish fleet falling into the hands of Napoleon—Capture of the Dauntless—Attack on Copenhagen by Admiral Gambier and Lord Cathcart—Capture of the Fredrickscoarn—Sir Arthur Wellesley defeats the Danish land-forces—Capitulation of Copenhagen—List of the ships brought away—Capture of Heligoland.
2. Channel fleet—Destruction of the enemy's coasting trade—Courts of Admiralty—Number of seamen voted—Emigration of the court of Portugal—Lord Cochrane on the coast of France.
3. Affairs of the Ottoman empire—War between it and Russia—Great Britain joins—Russian ambassador quits Constantinople—Sir Thomas Louis sent up—Marmont in Dalmatia—Russian armies in Moldavia—Sir John Duckworth's squadron quits Malta—Arrives off Tenedos—Loss of the Ajax by fire—Proceedings of the fleet—Passage between Sestos and Abydos—Attack on the Turkish squadron—British squadron anchors off the Prince's Island—Negotiation—Retreat—Passage of the Dardanelles—Damages sustained by our ships—Sir John Duckworth's letter to Lord Collingwood—Russian Admiral joins Sir John Duckworth—Peace between Russia and the Porte—Capture of the Hirondelle by the boats of the Glatton—British forces in Egypt are defeated at Rosetta—Death of Sir Thomas Louis—Affairs of Naples—Escape of the Spartan from Gantheaume.
4. *North America.*—Affair of the Leopard and Chesapeake—Detection and punishment of the deserters—Observations on the court-martial—Non-intercourse Act—Message of the President—Public feeling on the acquittal of Captain Whitby.
5. *West Indies.*—Capture of Curaçoa—Captains Dacres and Wise attack Samana—Gallant action of Lieutenant Coombe—French privateer taken by a packet—Surrender of St. Thomas and St. John's.
6. *East Indies.*—Loss of the Blenheim, and death of Sir Thomas Trowbridge—Capture of the San Rafael—Desperate affair on board the Victor—Captains P. Rainer and F. Pellew distinguish themselves—Sir Edward Pellew attacks a Dutch squadron at Greisse, and destroys it—Action between the St. Fiorenzo and Piedmontaise—Death of Captain Hardinge—Destruction of the Dutch naval force in Java.
7. *South America.*—Rear-admiral Stirling and Sir Samuel Achmuty sent out—Maldonado taken—Storming of Monte Video—Rear-admiral George Murray and General Whitelocke sent out—Attack on Buenos Ayres—Capitulation of the British army—Retreat from the Rio de la Plata—Trial of General Whitelocke.

Flushed with victory, the ambitious Bonaparte resolved to carry the war to the extremities of Europe. Prussia had, as

we have shown, rendered herself the instrument of his dangerous designs. Had Frederick driven from his councils his perfidious ministers, and listened to the dictates of honour and sound patriotism, neither Russia nor Spain, nor his own kingdom, would have suffered the miseries which fell upon them in succeeding years.

After his successes on the Danube, the ancient confederation of the Hanse Towns became a prey to the rapacity of Napoleon. The shores of the Baltic, from Stralsund to Memel, were overrun. Eastern and Western Prussia, and the peninsula of Jutland, were at his mercy. The whole kingdom of Denmark west of the Baltic, with the important island of Zealand, containing the royal arsenal, and a fleet of 20 sail of the line, might be said to lie within the grasp of his power. Nor did it require any depth of penetration to discover the use that would be made of this ample accession of resources. England was on her guard, and diligently watched all that tended to the subversion of her empire. Russia and Sweden were still in our interests, and for a time lent their assistance to stem the torrent that threatened our utter destruction. Every means was resorted to by Napoleon, but in vain, to gain the noble-minded Gustavus to his cause. The Swedish shipping, both naval and mercantile, were indispensable to the maintenance of the French armies in the north; and, while endeavouring to secure them, he was equally anxious, on the other hand, to excite the Turks against the Russians; in which he partly succeeded. Of the wreck of the Prussian army from Jena, amounting to not more than 30,000 men, one half were shut up in Koningsberg, Dantzic, and Colberg. The Swedish army, though feeble, was compelled to send part of its forces for the defence of Stralsund. The army of Bonaparte amounted to 200,000 men; with these he overran Pomerania, and obtained possession of the important port of Elbing, containing immense magazines, and affording the strongest barrier against the attacks meditated by the Emperor Alexander, who sought, by obtaining possession of the strong places on the south shore of the Baltic, to starve out the French army. This was perceived by Bonaparte, who directed the united corps of Bernadotte and Ney to invest and get possession of Dantzic. The defence of that city, against the reiterated attacks of these generals, excited hopes that the enemy would be forced to abandon his enterprise; but, though Bonaparte withdrew for a while, it was only that he might return with greater impetuosity Uniting his forces, he made a vigorous attack on the centre of the Russian army, which, after the battle of Eylau, was compelled to fall back on Koningsberg.

Mortier had in February plundered Hamburg and Lubeck, and laid siege to Stralsund; but soon after retreated from that place, in order to reinforce the army before Dantzic. The Swedes, under General Armfeldt, followed and attacked him with great gallantry, taking some thousand prisoners. On the 18th of April, however, an armistice was agreed on between the Swedes and the French, for an indefinite period.

In the mean time the French army, under the command of Marshal Lefebvre, renewed the siege of Dantzic. This was a place of great strength and importance in every point of view; situated at the mouth of the Vistula, that and Elbing are the only sea-ports of Western Prussia.

About 70 miles east of Dantzic is Koningsberg, on the river Pregel, also a place of importance; its sea-port is Pernau, where a harbour is formed for merchant shipping by a promontory, and the long and slender island called the Nehrung, extending thence as far as Dantzic, which gives its name to the deep gulf contained between the two headlands. The coast is shoal and dangerous, with northerly winds. The remains of the Prussian army had drawn round Koningsberg, and Lord Hutchinson, attached to the staff of his Prussian Majesty, was with it. Captain George Sanders, commanding the Falcon, a British sloop of war, was lying at Pernau; and Captain Edward Chetham, in the Sally, armed ship, was with the Charles, another armed ship, off Dantzic. The relief of that city became a matter of the most serious consideration, and it was agreed that General Kamenski should proceed thither with four regiments of Cossacks, and 20 pieces of artillery. This force, amounting to 7,000 men, required a number of transports to convey them; and Captain Sanders was requested by Lord Hutchinson to hire vessels at Pernau, on the best terms he could, for the British Government. This measure was carried into effect with very becoming zeal and energy by Captain Sanders, who, though a young officer, executed the whole service in seven days, landing the troops at the intended place, as near as possible to the scene of action. The French were encamped on the western extremity of the Nehrung, or Holme, which, lying before the mouth of the Vistula, divides the river into two branches, one running to the south-east, towards Pernau, the other to the north-west, forming a basin, called the Fair Water: here Captain Sanders, after having landed the troops, joined Captain Chetham. The French had strongly intrenched themselves on this point of the Nehrung, and had thrown a bridge over to the main land west of the city; thus effectually cutting off all supplies, and securing a communication with their own army on the main land. The

Prussians having landed to the eastward of the enemy, General Kamenski determined to storm their intrenchments on the island. The British naval captains represented to him that if he would delay the attack until the wind should enable them to bring the ships up, and enfilade the bridge, the event would not be doubtful. This wise counsel was disregarded, and the first success of the Prussians seemed to justify their general; but the French pouring in fresh bodies of men across the bridge, as had been foretold, soon turned the victory to a defeat, and the Prussians retreated with loss. The enemy also suffered severely. The situation of the city now became desperate, and Captain Chetham resolved to relieve it by forcing the bridge, and, if possible, driving the enemy from the Holme. Finding he could only bring one ship into action at a time against the bridge, he ordered Captain Clephane, in the Charles, to cruise before the port, and intercept the supplies of the enemy; and, in order to lighten his own ship as much as possible, sent all his heavy stores on board of the Falcon. He then took with him Captain Sanders, and most of the officers and men of that ship, to strengthen his own crew, and, advancing towards the enemy's redoubts, gallantly hove his ship through the shoal water of the sluices. The governor and garrison of Dantzic were the admiring spectators of this glorious act of devotion to a cause in which the French would fain have represented the English as only lukewarm. The Sally was now within pistol-shot of the enemy's works, and at half past six in the evening began a furious action. Two thousand French troops, with three pieces of artillery, sheltered by field works and old houses, engaged her on the right, while on the left bank was a strong battery, called the Legan, supported also by infantry. At nine o'clock the larboard guns of the Sally were nearly all disabled, and, the current running too strong to bring the other broadside to bear, Captain Chetham was forced to abandon his position, and drop down again to the Fair Water, having his first lieutenant and nearly one half of the officers and crew wounded. Some idea may be formed of the close nature of the combat when I can assert, from ocular demonstration, that the larboard side of the Sally contained musket-balls too numerous to be counted. The loss of the enemy was computed at between 400 and 500 men.

Although defeated, the conduct and bravery of the British officers and men excited the highest admiration of General Kalkreuth, the governor of Dantzic, as well as the brave garrison and the inhabitants. Captain Chetham was immediately promoted, and all the other commanders subsequently to the rank of Post-captains.

The next attempt to relieve the city was made by Captain Christopher Strachey, in a praam sloop of war, called the Dauntless, which had on board 600 barrels of gunpowder for the garrison. Captain Strachey having, as he supposed, a favourable wind, ran up the river with his studding sails set, firing on the enemy as he passed; but the breeze suddenly became unfavourable; he broke round off, and there was no room to work his ship. The enemy's fire was very heavy, and he ran on shore on the Holme, within half musket-shot of their batteries. The Dauntless, with her valuable cargo, became a prize to the enemy, in sight, and almost within gun-shot, of the mortified and disappointed garrison.

The city, in consequence of its distresses, was compelled to surrender on the 26th of May; and Marshal Le Febvre was created Duke of Dantzic.

The battle of Friedland was fought on the 14th of June: the Russians retreated; Koningsberg and Elbing fell into the hands of the enemy, with an immense quantity of ordnance stores, and 160,000 stand of arms, which had been sent from England.

The peace of Tilsit followed these disastrous events; Russia, like Austria, now became the friend of France, but Gustavus refused to listen to any overtures of a pacific nature, nor would he ratify the armistice beyond the period of ten days. His navy blockaded all the ports in the Baltic where the French had entered; Marshal Brune attacked him in Stralsund, and on the 19th of August compelled him to evacute that place. On the 28th the Swedish troops and artillery were landed on the island of Rugen, where they were joined by 8,000 British and Germans, under Lord Cathcart. The conduct of the King of Sweden at this period offers a noble example of manly courage and military skill, and forms a striking contrast with that of Frederick. Yet the same powers who witnessed unmoved the abdication of Gustavus restored Frederick to the full possession of his dominions. The encroachments of Napoleon on the liberties of the North became every day more alarming. Denmark saw her danger, but knew not how to avoid it; to have defended herself she thought impossible; to give up her fleet to the safe custody of England would have exposed her to open war with France.

The Berlin decree having forbidden all intercourse between Great Britain and other powers, the violent measure was answered by the King of England with remarkable moderation. The British order in council of January, 1807, simply prohibited the trade by neutrals from one of the enemy's ports to another, or with the ports under his control. The court of

Denmark, with palpable injustice, and even ingratitude, while it passed over in silence the arrogant mandate of Bonaparte, remonstrated with bitterness against the self-defensive step of the cabinet of St. James's. The French Government made an offer to Gustavus of the whole of Norway, to be annexed to the crown of Sweden, as a bribe for shutting the Sound against us. The offer Gustavus not only refused, but acquainted the court of Denmark with it, and tendered his assistance to support her independence. Of this the Danish Government took no notice, thereby affording the most undeniable evidence of being under the control of France, which she shortly after owned; and declared that, not having the means of resistance, the attempt would be an act of madness.

In a public document, put forth in 1807, Napoleon states that all the nations of the world were arming; he therefore demanded from his senate an additional levy of 200,000 men, a force, he pretended, which could only enable him to act on the defensive; and in the same document he adds, "In the course of six months we have made ourselves masters of the strongest places in Europe—Magdeburg, Hameln, Spandau, Stettin, Custrin, Glogau, Breslau, Schweidnitz, and Breig; we have passed the Main, the Saal, the Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula; have taken 800 pieces of cannon on the field of battle, and sent 4,000 to France, with 400 Russian and Prussian standards, and taken 200,000 prisoners." Yet he wanted a new conscription!! With unblushing hypocrisy the tyrant avows his wish for peace while he is preparing for war, and proclaims with unparalleled falsehood that England was the only obstacle to that desirable event.

The fields of Austerlitz and Jena had laid Germany at his feet, and one more effort, he thought, would have given him the command of the Russian empire and the world. His victorious legions were assembled on the banks of the Vistula, and the armies of Russia appeared but a feeble barrier to his future conquests. To have added the navies of Russia, Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal to his own, was no improbable contingency; and, as a consequence, a hostile fleet of 40 sail of the line, with as many frigates, might, at the very lowest calculation, have issued from the Baltic against us.

Having detailed the events and causes which led to our attack on Copenhagen, and the consequent war with Denmark, it only remains to be observed that when the British Government found all remonstrance vain, and that the province of Jutland, and the whole of Denmark Proper, was at the mercy of the French Emperor, it prepared to take such steps as would at least deprive him of the services of the Danish navy.

A fleet of 25 sail of the line, under the command of Admiral Gambier, assembled in North Yarmouth Roads in July, 1807. A vast number of frigates, bomb-vessels, and small craft, were added to this force; and an army of 27,000 men, to be under the command of Lieutenant-general Lord Cathcart, was embarked in the ships of war and transports.

The admiral sailed on the 28th of July, and reached the Cattegat about the 1st of August, when he detached Commodore Keats with four sail of the line, three frigates, and ten gun-brigs, to secure the passage of the Great Belt between Holstein and Zealand, and prevent the transport of any land forces from one side to the other. The British fleet sailed by Cronenburg Castle, and anchored in the road of Elsineur on the 3d of August. Not a shot was fired on either part, but a foreboding stillness—an awful preparation—announced the approach of some great event, and Denmark saw that the blow was aimed at her naval arsenal.

Lord Cathcart, with a part of the troops, did not join the admiral till the 12th, when the dispositions were made for the landing of the army; but it was not till the 14th that the wind would permit the transports to move towards Copenhagen. On the evening of that day the fleet arrived off Wibeck, a village situated half-way between the capital and Elsineur; here the army was disembarked without opposition, and the following proclamation circulated among the inhabitants:—

By the Commanders-in-Chief of his Majesty's Forces by Sea and Land.

Whereas the present treaties of peace, and changes of government and of territory acceded to by so many foreign powers, have so far increased the influence of France on the continent of Europe, as to render it impossible for Denmark, though it desires to be neutral, to preserve its neutrality, and absolutely necessary for those who continue to resist the French aggression to take measures to prevent the arms of a neutral power from being turned against them.

In this view the King cannot regard the present position of Denmark with indifference, and his Majesty hath sent negotiators with ample powers to his Danish Majesty, to request in the most amicable manner such explanations as the times require, and a concurrence in such measures as can alone give security against the further mischiefs which the French meditate through the acquisition of the Danish navy.

The King, our royal and most gracious master, has therefore judged it expedient to desire the temporary deposit of the Danish ships of the line in one of his Majesty's ports.

This deposit seems to be so just, and so indispensably necessary under the relative circumstances of the neutral and belligerent powers, that his Majesty has further deemed it a duty to himself and

to his people to support his demand by a powerful fleet, and by an army amply supplied with every preparation necessary for the most determined and active enterprise.

We come, therefore, to your shores, inhabitants of Zealand, not as enemies, but in self-defence, to prevent those who have so long disturbed the peace of Europe from compelling the force of your navy to be turned against us.

We ask deposit—we have not looked to capture; so far from it, the most solemn pledge has been offered to your Government, and is hereby renewed, in the name, and at the express command, of the King our master; and, if our demand is amicably acceded to, every ship belonging to Denmark shall, at the conclusion of a general peace, be restored to her in the same condition and state of equipment as when received under the protection of the British flag.

It is in the power of your Government by a word to sheath our swords, most reluctantly drawn against you; but if, on the other hand, the machinations of France render you deaf to the voice of reason, and to the call of friendship, the innocent blood that will be spilt, and the horrors of a besieged and bombarded capital, must fall on your own heads and those of your cruel advisers.

His Majesty's seamen and soldiers, when on shore, will treat Zealand, as long as your conduct to them permits it, on a footing of a province of the most friendly power in alliance with Great Britain, whose territory has the misfortune to be the theatre of war.

The persons of all those who remain at home, and do not take a hostile part, will be held sacred.

Property will be respected and preserved, and the most severe discipline will be enforced.

Every article of supply furnished or brought to market will be paid for at a fair and settled price; but, as immediate and constant supplies, especially of provisions, forage, fuel, and transport, are necessary to all armies, it is well known that requisitions are unavoidable, and must be enforced.

Much convenience must arise to the inhabitants, and much confusion and loss to them will be prevented, if persons in authority are found in the several districts to whom requisitions may be addressed, and through whom claims for payment may be settled and liquidated.

If such persons are appointed, and discharge their duty without meddling in matters which do not concern them, they shall be respected, and all requisitions be addressed to them through the proper channels and departments of the navy and army; but, as forbearance on the part of the inhabitants is essential to the principle of these arrangements, it is necessary that all manner of civil persons should remain at their respective habitations, and any peasants or other persons found in arms, singly, or in small troops, or who may be guilty of any act of violence, must expect to be treated with rigour.

The Government of his Danish Majesty having hitherto refused to treat this matter in an amicable way, part of the army has been

disembarked, and the whole force has assumed a warlike attitude; but it is as yet not too late for the voice of reason and moderation to be heard.

Given in the Sound, under our hands and seals, this 16th August, 1807.

(Signed) James Gambier,
Cathcart.

List of the Ships of the Line which composed the Fleet of Admiral Gambier.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Prince of Wales	98	Flag. Sir Home Popham, Captain of the fleet. Adam M'Kenzie, Captain of the ship.
Pompée	74	Rear-admiral Stanhope. Captain J. R. Dacres.
Centaur	74	Commodore Sir S. Hood. Captain W. H. Webley (Parry).
Mars	74	William Lukin.
Brunswick	74	Thomas Graves.
Hercule	74	Honourable J. Colville.
Maida	74	S. H. Linzee.
Spencer	74	Honourable R. Stopford.
Superb	74	Daniel M'Leod.
Minotaur	74	Rear-admiral W. Essington. Captain J. C. Mansfield.
Valiant	74	James Young.
Alfred	74	John Bligh.
Captain	74	Isaac Wolley.
Defence	74	Charles Ekins.
Ganges	74	Commodore R. G. Keats. Captain P. Halket.
Goliath	74	Peter Puget.
Orion	74	Archibald C. Dickson.
Resolution	74	George Burlton.
Vanguard	74	Alexander Frazer.
Agamemnon	64	Jonas Rose.
Dictator	64	Donald Campbell.
Inflexible	64	Joshua R. Watson.
Leyden	64	William Cumberland.
Nassau	64	Robert Campbell.
Ruby	64	John Draper.

Between 30 and 40 sail of frigates, and more than 300 transports, accompanied the fleet.

A Danish frigate having put to sea on the 15th of August, from Elsineur, the admiral despatched the Defence, Captain Ekins, and the Comus, Captain E. Heywood, in pursuit of her.

The Comus was called a 20-gun ship, though mounting, in all, carronades included, 32 guns; the Fredrickscoarn, her opponent, had 36 guns, but all of a heavier calibre, as 12-pounders to 9, with a complement of 227 men; the Comus had only 145—but the Danes were unused to war. On his arrival within hail Captain Heywood desired the Danish captain would submit to detention; this was declined, and an action commenced by the Danish frigate firing her stern-chase guns; the Comus got alongside, and the firing continued for 45 minutes, when the two ships fell on board of each other. At the moment they were locked, the boarders from the Comus, headed by the Lieutenants G. E. Watts and Hood Knight, very gallantly rushed upon her forecastle, and carried her. On our side the loss was only one man wounded; the enemy had 12 killed, and 20 wounded.

It appears by an order of Admiral Gambier, dated on board the Prince of Wales, off Copenhagen, the 17th of August, 1807, that some Danish gun-boats had captured a British merchant vessel; the admirals and captains of the fleet were therefore directed to possess themselves of any ships and vessels of war, or merchant vessels, they might meet with belonging to Denmark, or to the subjects of his Danish Majesty, and to leave their further disposal to the orders of the commander-in-chief. The island of Zealand was now surrounded and blockaded in every direction.

The *London Gazette* of the 29th September, 1807, contained a declaration from his Majesty the King of Great Britain, setting forth the grounds on which he had undertaken this expedition:—

His Majesty had received the most positive information that the Ruler of France was determined to occupy with a military force the territory of Holstein, for the purpose of excluding Great Britain from all her accustomed channels of communication with the Continent, and of inducing or compelling the court of Denmark to close the passage of the Sound against British commerce, and of availing himself of the aid of the Danish marine for the invasion of Great Britain and Ireland.

Notwithstanding these injuries, and the conduct of the court of Denmark in 1801, when it joined the Northern Confederacy, and became an active and powerful enemy, his Majesty was unwilling to take any decided steps until a complete and practical disclosure of the plan had made manifest to all the world *the absolute necessity* of the measures he was about to adopt.

As soon as a part of the cavalry and infantry had landed on the island of Zealand, a flag of truce was sent to the com-

manders-in-chief from the Danish general, Peymann, demanding passports for the Princesses, nieces to his Danish Majesty; these were immediately granted. As our army advanced to the capital it was attended by the fleet, and Copenhagen became in a few days completely invested by sea and land. The Princesses, on the 17th, came out of the city on their way to Colding, and were received with the honours due to their rank, by the brigade of British guards, near the palace of Fredericksburg. On the same day, about noon, our picquets on the left of the town were attacked, while the enemy's gun-boats rowed out of the harbour, and opened their fire on the left of our line with grape and round shot; but these were soon compelled to retire by the fire of our gun-brigs and bombs, which had come up in time to support the troops. On the 18th the gun-boats renewed their attack on our flotilla; but the brigs having in the night exchanged their carronades for long 18-pounders, the Danes retired for reinforcement, and again advanced, when a brigade of British 9-pounders from the park took them in flank, on which they turned their fire from the shipping to the army: some field-pieces were brought out at the same time from the garrison, but the whole were speedily driven in. On the 19th our works were carried on with vigour by labouring parties of 600 men, relieved every four hours; the gun-boats came out at daybreak, but the field-pieces on the shore again dispersed them; some of the pipes which convey water to the town from Emdorp were cut off; the frigates and gun-brigs took their stations off the entrance of the harbour within shell range of the town, and our batteries hourly increased in strength and number round the city. Brigadier-general Dicken surprised and took the post of Fredericksburg, commanded by an aide-de-camp to the Crown Prince, 850 officers and men, besides a foundry and depôt for cannon and powder. After this the household of the King of Denmark, with his plate, wardrobe, wine, and books, were allowed to come out of the town, and to follow his Majesty, who, having obtained passports for that purpose, withdrew to Colding. In this state of affairs many Danish gentlemen offered their services to the British general as magistrates and superintendents of police in their respective districts, and an order was accordingly granted to enable them to discharge these functions agreeably to the proclamation of the commanders-in-chief. On the 20th, the works still approaching the town with an increased strength, a body of Danish cavalry and infantry was attacked by Colonel Rearden's cavalry, who charged and put them to the rout, killing 16 or 18 men, and taking 29 horses.

The corps under the command of Lieutenant-general the

Earl of Rosslyn disembarked on the 21st, in the north part of Keoge bay, with two batteries of artillery. Prince Frederick Ferdinand quitted the town, and notice was given that no more passports would be allowed. At the same time the commanding officer of the garrison was urged to consider the consequences of a siege and bombardment to a city constructed so much of wood, and other perishable materials. Melancholy, indeed, was the prospect of that beautiful city, devoted to destruction by the power of its enemy and the folly and obstinacy of its friends. Great Britain and Denmark were now at open war. General Peymann published an edict, declaring all British property in the island to be under sequestration; and Admiral Gambier immediately declared all the Danish ports to be in a state of blockade.

On the 23d, the battery intended for the defence of the left wing of the army being completed, and mounted with 13 24-pounders, mortar batteries began to be formed, and the enemy's flotilla moved out of the harbour to interrupt the progress of our works. This brought them, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, in contact with our naval advance; three praams, each carrying 20 guns, and a number of gun-boats (said to be more than 30), opened their fire, supported by the crown batteries, floating batteries, and block-ships. This was continued for more than four hours, when, it appearing that our gun-brigs, which were the farthest in advance, had made but little impression, they were recalled, and the firing ceased, with the loss of one British officer and three seamen killed, and 13 wounded. On the 24th the enemy, finding our army had advanced to the S.W. side of the town, set fire to the suburbs in that quarter, that they might not afford shelter. On the 25th there was much firing between our advance vessels and the batteries. On the 30th the admiral communicated by telegraph to the fleet that a complete victory had been obtained over the Danish army, in the island of Zealand, by Lieutenant-general Sir Arthur Wellesley. On the 31st, the attack on the city and its outworks being still carried on with vigour, the garrison of Copenhagen made a sortie, and attacked our troops and batteries, while their flotilla, crown batteries, and block-ships, kept up a heavy fire on our advanced works and gun-brigs. One of our armed transports was sunk, and the firing ceased about two P. M., but was renewed at five A. M.; the ships of war in the mean time landing their guns, and making sand-bags. On the same day the Danish general, Oxholm, with his officers and staff, arrived at head-quarters; these had been taken by Sir Arthur Wellesley, and were immediately dismissed on parole. In the evening 1,500 pri-

soners were put on board the British fleet. On the 2d of September our gun and mortar batteries opened a heavy fire on the city of Copenhagen. The Congreve rockets also did much execution; these destructive instruments were thrown from boats prepared for the purpose: this continued till midnight. At daybreak on the 3d the firing was renewed, and continued on both sides during the day, relaxing towards the evening. It was renewed on the 4th, when both sides displayed their best efforts; the town was on fire in several places, and at 40 minutes past four, one of the churches fell. On the 5th, at five A. M., some of our batteries ceased firing, and at three P. M. the fire of the enemy was silenced. On the 6th the town was still burning; providentially the wind was light, and by great exertions three quarters of the city were saved from total conflagration; but a dreadful havoc was made, and a timely surrender saved the miserable inhabitants from the horrors of a general conflagration. On the night of the 5th it appears, by Admiral Gambier's letter, that a flag of truce had been sent out with proposals for an armistice, to settle terms of capitulation. Some difficulty ensued in consequence of the peremptory demand of the admiral and general that the delivery of the Danish fleet into our hands should be the *sine quâ non*. To these hard conditions the Danes at length were forced to submit, and the British troops took possession of the citadel of Copenhagen and the crown batteries, while our ships of war moved into the arsenal, and immediately commenced the work of dismantling that noble repository of shipping and stores; one of the finest and most complete establishments of the kind at that time in Europe.*

Lord Cathcart, in his letter to the Secretary of State, says, "The object of securing the Danish fleet having been attained, every thing of a tendency to wound the feelings or irritate the nation has been avoided; and, although the bombardment and cannonade have made considerable havoc in the town, not a shot was fired into it till after it was summoned, with the

* I might add one of the most beautiful I ever beheld. I was with the fleet at Copenhagen before the attack began. I volunteered my services to remain there, but the offer was declined, I being at that time under the orders of Rear-admiral Vashon, the commander-in-chief at Leith. I commanded the Amaranth, a sloop of war of 18 guns, and I was sent to cruise. I contrived to pick up two or three Danish prizes, which indemnified me for my pecuniary loss in the share from Copenhagen. I returned again to that place after the surrender, and was employed in leading the first division of the fleet and prizes down the Cattegat. A foul wind obliged us to put into Gottenburgh. Louis XVIII. was residing there at that time, and Admiral Stanhope sent me up to offer his services to his Majesty. I remember seeing the unhappy monarch, who received me very courteously: he declined any services from the admiral, and I retired. He was living quite like a private gentleman.

offer of the most favourable terms which existing circumstances would admit."

The capitulation was conducted by Major-general Sir Arthur Wellesley, Sir Home Popham, and Lieutenant-colonel Murray, by whom it was signed in the night of the 6th and 7th.

The British grenadiers, with detachments from all the other corps present, marched into the citadel, with two brigades of artillery, the whole under the command of Colonel Cameron, of the 79th regiment. Major-general Spencer, with his brigade, landed at the dock-yard, and took possession of the line-of-battle ships and of the arsenal.

In justice to the British Government, it should be observed that when the commanders-in-chief were prepared by land and sea to carry the intentions of their royal master into effect, by bombarding the city of Copenhagen until the fleet should be delivered up to his disposal, and even during the operations of the siege, they tried every method which humanity could suggest to induce the Danish Government to comply with their demands, without having recourse to the force with which they were so amply supplied. For this purpose, on the 1st of September, they addressed a letter to the governor, stating that his Majesty the King of Great Britain had used every means in his power to settle the question through his diplomatic servants; and that, at the moment when the troops were before the town, and the batteries were ready to open, they renewed the offer of the same advantageous and conciliatory terms which were proposed through his Majesty's ministers.

They again demanded the surrender of the fleet, which they promised should be restored in as good a state as it was received whenever a general peace should remove the necessity for its farther detention.

They declared that every species of property taken since the commencement of hostilities should be restored to its owners; but that if their offer was rejected it could not be renewed, and that the public and private property must belong to the captors, and the city, when taken, must share the fate of conquered places.

To this communication General Peymann replied:

My Lords,

Our fleet, our indisputable property, we are convinced is as safe in his Danish Majesty's hands as it ever can be in those of the King of England, as our master never intended any hostility against yours.

If you are cruel enough to endeavour to destroy a city which has never given you any the least cause for such treatment at your hands,

it must submit to its fate; but honour and duty bid us reject a proposal unbecoming an independent power, and we are resolved to repel any attack, and defend to the utmost the city and our good cause, for which we are ready to lay down our lives.

The only proposal in my power to make, in order to prevent farther effusion of blood, is to send to my royal master for learning his final resolution with respect to the contents of your letter, if you will grant a passport for that purpose.

(Signed) PEYMANN.

1*st September*, 1807.

To this request the commander-in-chief could not accede, and the siege went on. Copenhagen was nearly destroyed, her fleet taken away, her arsenals dismantled. Sixty sail of valuable merchantmen were taken in the Sound and Cattegat, besides an immense number in the North Seas, and other parts of the world; and the whole were considered as the lawful prizes of the captors: with these Denmark lost all her colonies in the East and West Indies.

His Majesty's order in council of November, 1807, gives farther reasons for his ordering these decided measures against the commerce of the north of Europe. The blockade of the British islands, declared by Bonaparte, is replied to by an order to blockade every port in the world, under the control of France, from which the British flag was excluded. The difference between the King of Great Britain and the Emperor Napoleon on this occasion was, that, while his Britannic Majesty had a fleet to enforce his commands, the orders of the Emperor were absurd, as he had not a ship that dared to keep the sea before a blockaded port.

The following were the articles of capitulation for the town and citadel of Copenhagen:

I. The troops of his Britannic Majesty to be put into possession of the citadel.

II. A guard of British troops to be put into possession of the dock-yard.

III. The ships and vessels of war of every description, with all the naval stores belonging to his Danish Majesty, shall be delivered into the charge of such persons as shall be appointed by the commander-in-chief to receive them.

IV. The store-ships and transports in the service of his Britannic Majesty to be allowed, if necessary, to come into the harbour, for the purpose of embarking such stores and troops as they may have brought into the island.

V. As soon as the ships shall have been removed from the dock-yard, or within six weeks from the date of this capitulation, or sooner if possible, the troops of his Britannic Majesty shall deliver up the citadel to the troops of his Danish Majesty in the state in

which it shall be found when they occupy it. His Britannic Majesty's troops shall likewise, within the before-mentioned time, or sooner if possible, be embarked from the island of Zealand.

VI. From the date of this capitulation, hostilities shall cease throughout the island of Zealand.

VII. All persons whatever, and all property, public or private, with the exception of the ships and vessels of war, and the naval stores before mentioned, belonging to his Danish Majesty, shall be respected: and all civil and military officers in the service of his Danish Majesty shall continue in the full exercise of their authority throughout the island of Zealand; and every thing shall be done which shall tend to produce union and harmony between the two nations.

VIII. All prisoners taken on both sides to be mutually restored.

IX. Any English property that may have been sequestered, in consequence of existing hostilities, shall be restored to the owners.

This capitulation shall be ratified by the respective commanders-in-chief, and the ratification shall be exchanged before twelve o'clock at noon this day.

Done at Copenhagen, this 7th day of September, 1807.

(Signed) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.
HOME POPHAM.
GEORGE MURRAY.

Ratifié par moi,
PEYMANN.

In taking a strict inspection of the Danish ships we were somewhat disappointed at the state in which they were found, and, from the age of the generality, much could not have been expected from them. They would, however, have served to cover an invasion, and as such were worthy of our notice. This was not all: had Denmark, in a state of doubtful neutrality, possessed 18 sail of the line in her arsenals, ready to put to sea, Great Britain must have kept an equal force either at Gottenburg, or cruising between the Naze and the Scaw.

The devastation committed in the city of Copenhagen by the bombardment was far more serious than any thing which it might have suffered in the memorable battle of April, 1801. From the top of a tower, well known by its spiral road and gentle ascent, I beheld, in October, 1807, the ruins of one quarter at least of that beautiful city. Whole streets were level with the ground; 1,800 houses were destroyed, the principal church was in ruins, and almost every house in the town bore some marks of violence; about 1,500 of the inhabitants lost their lives, and a vast number were wounded. The Danes certainly defended themselves like men, and left to the English the poignant regret that the insatiable ambition of Bonaparte had made this gallant people our enemies. In the capture of this city, a strong contrast forces itself upon our minds

between the conduct of the French and English on similar occasions: the French, whenever they gained admission to a town by force of arms, never failed to exercise the utmost rigours of war, accompanied by every species of atrocity. Look at Belgium, Italy, Spain, Germany, Switzerland, Egypt, Holland, Poland, and Russia. The English, on the contrary, were remarkable for honour, justice, and benevolence towards those whom the fortune of war had placed in their power. Yet the French, on leaving those countries, were generally more regretted than the English. The reason seems to have been, that the French were supposed to have the power of renewing their visits; and policy induced their enemies to wear at least the appearance of sorrow at their departure.

List of the Ships and Vessels delivered up by the Capitulation of Copenhagen to his Majesty's forces:—

Ships of the Line.	*Guns.*	*When built.*
Christian VII.*	96	1803
Neptune	84	1798
Waldemar	84	1798
Princess Sophia Frederica	74	1775
Justice	74	1777
Heir Apparent	74	1782
Crown P. Frederick	74	1784
Fuen	74	1787
Odin	74	1788
Three Crowns	74	1789
Skiold	74	1792
Crown Princess Maria	74	1792
Danemark*	74	1794
Norway	74	1800
Princess Caroline	74	1805
Detmarsden	64	1780
Conqueror	64	1795
Mars	64	1784
Frigates.		
Pearlen*	44	1804
Housewife	44	1789

Frigates.	*Guns.*	*When built.*
Liberty	44	1793
Iris	44	1795
Rota*	44	1801
Venus	44	1805
Naiaden*	36	1796
Triton	28	1790
Frederickstein*	28	1800
Little Belt*	24	1801
St. Thomas	22	1779
Fylla	24	1802
Elbe	20	1800
Eyederrn	20	1802
Gluckstadt	20	1804
Brigs.		
Saipe	18	1791
Glommen	18	1791
Ned Elven*	18	1792
Courser	14	1801
Mercure	18	1806
Flying Fish	—	1789

Gun-boats.

11 with two guns in the bow.
14 with one gun in the bow and one in the stern.

As the period drew near when, by the expiration of the six weeks stipulated in the capitulation, the British troops were to

* The ships marked with an * are the only ones I ever remember to have been employed in our service; the others were rotten; so that, after all, the loss to Denmark was not so serious as at first appeared.

evacuate the island, it was found that much confusion and hurry must arise for want of that time which, in the day of danger, the Danes would have extended indefinitely, and now refused to prolong for one hour. The ships were drawn out of the basin, the timber and stores embarked, the transports loaded with troops; and, as the winter approached, the utmost anxiety prevailed to get the convoys and the half-manned ships of war through the dangerous navigation of the Sound, the Sleeve, and the Cattegat.

Nor was the period of final embarkation viewed without some degree of anxiety, lest an attack should be made on our rear-guard by the enraged Danes. The whole was however managed with great precision; not the smallest confusion ensued; nor was any insult offered to the brigade of guards, the last which quitted the unhappy shore. "In the space of six weeks," says Admiral Gambier, in a letter to the Honourable Wellesley Pole, "16 sail of the line, 9 frigates, 14 sloops of war, besides gun-boats and smaller vessels, have been fitted for sea, and all the large ships laden with masts, yards, timber, and other stores from the arsenal, whence also 92 cargoes have been shipped on board of transports, and other vessels chartered for the purpose, the sum of whose burden exceeds 20,000 tons. A considerable number of masts and spars have been put on board the Leyden and Inflexible, and some valuable stores on board his Majesty's ships." In nine days 14 sail of the line were brought out of the harbour, although many of them required, and received, from our shipwrights, considerable repairs. Two ships on the stocks were taken to pieces, and their principal timbers brought away, and a third, being in a state of forwardness, was sawed in several places, and suffered to fall over; two frigates were also destroyed. Rear-admiral Essington superintended the embarkation of the troops and stores. There was in all these proceedings much mismanagement: the troops, instead of being sent home in the merchant ships or transports, should and might have been embarked in the Danish prizes, which were not half manned; besides all this, there was no reason to bind ourselves down to the period of six weeks for quitting the island, when, having the power, we might as easily have taken six months. Throughout this history the reader will always find that we understand fighting better than negotiating. Dreadful disasters attended the return of the fleet. The Neptune, one of the Danish prizes, was lost in sight of Copenhagen; many of the transports foundered, and others were lost, with most of the people on board, owing to the deplorable ignorance of the commanders of these vessels.

While the British fleet and army were conveying the navy and the commerce of the Danes from their own shores, Vice-admiral Russel, who commanded the fleet off the Texel, had taken possession of the island of Heligoland, formerly belonging to the senate of Hamburg. The position of this island is singularly adapted by nature as a barrier to the shoals at the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, the Emms, and the Eyder; while its possession was of essential importance to the commerce of these rivers, being the rendezvous of the pilots, the beacon to guide them to the entrance of these ports, and by which they were enabled to avoid the dangers of the neighbouring coast. The governor at first threatened resistance. Lord Falkland, captain of the Quebec frigate, had prepared to attack it; but, when Admiral Russel approached in the Majestic, of 74 guns, a capitulation was immediately signed, a British governor was appointed, and the island is still in our possession.

The Channel fleet continued under the command of the Earl of St. Vincent until the month of February, when his lordship retired on account of ill health. Sir James Saumarez was ordered out in a frigate to assume the temporary command in the absence of Sir Charles Cotton. The French fleet remained blocked up in their ports; and so successful had been our squadrons on the coast, that the trade of the enemy was nearly annihilated: capture or destruction awaited them, with very few exceptions, wherever they appeared, between one port and another; the little capital of their merchants was embarked under neutral flags, and, as we have before observed, not unfrequently insured, though at an enormous premium, in London. The war was transferred from the ocean to the courts of Admiralty, and, from the very circumstance of the insurance, the gentlemen of the long robe reaped a better harvest than those of the sword. The orders in council were attacked and defended with as much violence as the commerce of the enemy. Napoleon, before he declared England in a state of blockade, should have provided a navy to execute his commands.

The number of seamen voted for the service of the year 1807 was 120,000, to which by a subsequent vote 10,000 more were added; not because the King of Holland, following the example of his brother Napoleon, had echoed his blockade decree, but because the British government was resolved to let the nations of Europe see that, though we could be moderate, it was not for want of power that we were so.

As Napoleon advanced his conquests, he increased in the insolence of his demands. From one act of oppression he went on to another. The Berlin decree was thought to have

exceeded in violence any thing that could have been produced to the world as a state paper; but in November and December, 1807, he issued that of Milan, which, if possible, surpassed it. Besides the usual torrent of abuse against Great Britain, it contained in substance the following article: "That every ship, of whatever nation, which should have submitted to be searched by a British cruiser, or have been a voyage to England, should for that alone be declared 'denationalized,' and should in consequence become lawful prize to the French cruisers."

The British islands are by the same decree again declared in a state of blockade: "Every ship, of whatever nation, sailing from the ports of England or her colonies, or to countries occupied by British troops, is good and lawful prize."—"These measures," says the despot, "are resorted to only in just retaliation of the barbarous policy of England, which assimilates its legislation to that of Algiers: they shall cease to have any effect with respect to all the nations who shall have the firmness to make the English government respect their flag; they shall continue in force as long as that government does not return to the principle of the law of nations."

This celebrated decree was coeval with the crisis which had been some time expected in Portugal. It will be remembered that, in the autumn of the preceding year, the Earl of St. Vincent had been sent with a squadron of eight sail of the line to assist the Prince Regent of that country in defending his dominions against the French; or, if that was deemed impracticable, to convey his royal highness, with his family, suite, and effects, to Rio Janeiro. The offer was at that time declined; but in this year Rear-admiral Sir Sydney Smith was sent out with similar proposals. As the armies of France had passed the frontier, and the danger was pressing, the prince decided to embark on board of his own fleet, and go to South America. With the assistance of the British admiral, the flight of the royal family of Braganza from their hereditary dominions was finally accomplished.

In the month of December, Captain J. L. Yeo, of the Constance, of 24 guns, arrived at the Admiralty with despatches from Rear-admiral Sir Sydney Smith, dated on the 6th, and stating that the Prince Regent of Portugal, with the whole of the royal family, had embarked for the Brazils on board of his own squadron. The Portuguese fleet was attended by a British squadron under the command of Captain Graham Moore, of the Marlborough, of 74 guns. The London, of 98, Monarch and Bedford, of 74 guns each, also accompanied him. One Portuguese ship of the line was sent to Plymouth, and the Vasco de Gama, a fine ship, but not ready for sea, left in the

Tagus, with eight Russian ships of the line, three of which only were fit for sea-service.

We shall henceforth have to view the affairs of the whole peninsula in a very different light, and a far more interesting one, than we have hitherto done. As to Portugal, a part of the letter of Lord Strangford to Mr. Canning is worthy of notice, as thoroughly descriptive of the politics of the court, and of the circumstances attending the great migration. It states that the Prince Regent had retired from a kingdom which he could no longer retain but as the vassal of France. The event was not (he says) to be attributed solely to the appearance of a French army within the frontier of Portugal; it was the genuine result of the system of persevering confidence and moderation adopted by his Britannic Majesty towards that country.

The Rear-admiral had frequently and distinctly stated to the cabinet of Lisbon, that, in agreeing not to resent the exclusion of British commerce from the ports of Portugal, his Majesty had exhausted the means of forbearance; that, in making that concession to the peculiar circumstances of the Prince Regent's situation, his Majesty had done all that friendship, and the remembrance of ancient alliance, could justly require; but that a single step beyond this line of modified hostility must necessarily lead to the extremity of actual war. The Prince Regent, however, suffered himself for a moment to forget that, in the existing state of Europe, no country could be the enemy of England with impunity. On the 8th of November his royal highness was induced to sign an order for the detention of the few British subjects, and of the inconsiderable portion of British property, still remaining at Lisbon. On the publication of this paper Lord Strangford ordered the arms of England to be taken down from the gates of his residence, demanded his passports, presented a final remonstrance to the court, and proceeded to the British squadron. When on board the Hibernia, he advised the admiral to institute the blockade, which was approved of by the British government. The effect of this decided measure was a renewal of negotiation, when an alternative was proposed by his lordship, either that the Portuguese ships of war should be surrendered to his Majesty, or that they should be employed in removing the Prince Regent and family to the Brazils; his Majesty being determined that, if those ships could not be instrumental in saving the royal family of Braganza, they should not fall into the hands of the French. "The Prince Regent," says Lord Strangford, "wisely directed all his apprehensions to a French army, and his hopes to an English fleet; he re-

ceived the most explicit assurance from me that his Majesty would graciously overlook those acts of unwilling and momentary hostility to which his royal highness's consent had been extorted; and I promised, on the faith of my sovereign, that the British squadron before the Tagus should be employed to protect his retreat from Lisbon, and his voyage to the Brazils."—"This morning, November 29," continues his lordship, "the Portuguese fleet left the Tagus. I had the honour to accompany the prince in his passage over the bar. The fleet consisted of eight sail of the line, four large frigates, several armed brigs, sloops, and corvettes, and a number of Brazil ships, amounting to about 30 sail in all; as they passed through the British squadron, his Majesty's ships fired a salute of 21 guns, which was returned with an equal number. A more interesting spectacle than that afforded by the junction of the two fleets has been rarely beheld. To this scene the French army on the hills near the sea-coast were witnesses: what their emotions may have been, it is useless to inquire; most probably they saw with regret the departure of the prince and a vast treasure conveyed away in the fleet. The unhappy exiles, after completing a few necessary arrangements, shaped their course for Madeira, and bade adieu (most of them for ever) to their native land."

List of the Portuguese Ships which came out of the Tagus with the Royal Family, November 29th, 1807.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Frigates.*	*Gun*
Principe Real	84	Minerva	44
Rainha de Portugal	74	Dolfinho	36
Conde Henrique	74	Urania	32
Meduza	74	One other, name unknown, and	
Principe de Brazil	74	three corvettes of 22 guns.	
Alfonzo d'Albuquerque	64		
Juan de Castro	64		
Martino de Freitas	64		

Ships which remained at Lisbon, and fell into the hands of the French.

Ships.	*Guns.*	
St. Sebastian	64	requiring much repair.
Maria Prima	74	floating battery.
Vasco de Gama	74	under repair, and nearly ready.
Princesa da Beira	64	floating battery.

And five frigates, quite worn out.

Captain Graham Moore, of the Marlborough, received an order from Rear-admiral Sir Sydney Smith to hoist a broad pendant the moment he should have passed the island of Madeira. This island, in consequence of the politics of the

parent state, was soon to bear the British flag. A squadron under the command of Rear-admiral Sir Samuel Hood, and a land force under Major-general Beresford, were sent out to take possession of it until the issue of the contest should be decided between France and England. The island, though nominally a Portuguese settlement, has such a predominance of British property upon it, that the natives are in their hearts English, and consequently its surrender immediately followed the summons. The ships employed on this service were the Centaur, 74, flag, Captain W. H. Webley (now Parry); York, 74, R. Barton; Captain, 74, Isaac Wolley; Intrepid, 64; Africaine, Shannon, Alceste, and Success, frigates.

Lord Cochrane, having been removed from the Pallas to the Impérieuse, of 38 guns, returned again to the Bay of Biscay; and, when off the basin of Arcasson, sent his boats into that port, to bring out whatever vessels might be found there. Lieutenant Mapleton, who led the attack, first landed, and stormed the fort of Roquette, at the entrance of the harbour, spiked the artillery, which consisted of four 36-pounders, two field-pieces, and a 13-inch mortar, burnt the carriages, destroyed the ammunition, and laid the fort in ruins. Having thus disarmed the place, he brought out, burnt, or destroyed 15 sail of vessels loaded with merchandise.

In July, Captains Barrie, in the Pomone, and Dilkes, in the Hazard, destroyed and captured two convoys of victuallers in the Pertuis d'Antioche and the Pertuis Breton.

The feeble descendants of Othman, who held the reins of the Turkish empire at Constantinople, trembled at the arrival of every courier from the north; and the wavering policy of the sultan, Selim III., was decided by the account of the battle of Austerlitz. Sebastiani, who in 1805 had quitted Constantinople in resentment at the scorn with which Napoleon was treated on his assumption of the purple, now returned, and was met with the most flattering salutations. A discussion had taken place between Russia and the Porte, in 1806, on the nomination of the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia. These officers, by a former treaty, were not to be removed without the consent of Russia; but the French ambassador, after the successes of his master, found no difficulty in obtaining their dismissal from the Turkish government. The Emperor of Russia having refused to ratify the treaty signed by M. D'Oubril, Sebastiani acquainted the Ottoman government that the object of that treaty was to secure the Porte against the attacks of Russia, by removing the latter from the Mediterranean, by restoring Ragusa to independence under the protection of Turkey, and cutting off all communication with the

Montenegrins and revolted Servians. This treaty the artful minister further insinuated would leave the French armies in Dalmatia and Albania a safeguard to Turkey. All this was to be considered by the Turks as a most disinterested proof of regard on the part of Napoleon, "who never acted from selfish motives!" In return for this kindness, he demanded that the Bosphorus should be shut against Russian ships of war, or those of any other nation carrying warlike stores or provisions; he affirmed that it could not be opened but from hostility to France; and therefore, without giving the armies of Napoleon the right of a passage over the Turkish territories, to attack the Russians on the banks of the Dniester. The French minister concluded by observing, that France had a large army in Dalmatia for the protection of Turkey, unless compelled by her to use it in a different manner. To this communication an immediate categorical answer was desired. The Sublime Porte became alarmed, the British and Russian ministers on one side, the French on the other, all threatening the vengeance of their courts, when it was decided by the Turkish government to reinstate the Hospodars; but the court of St. Petersburg, either not having heard of this concession, or determined on a war, sent an army into Moldavia, under General Michaelson, who took possession of Benda, Chokzin, and Jassi, on the 23d of November, 1806. This was probably done to counteract the ascendency which Bonaparte had acquired by his army in Dalmatia. The Russian minister at Constantinople was left without any instructions for some time; the Porte was still unwilling to commence hostilities, but the people were clamorous for war. A Russian brig, charged with despatches for the minister, was seized in the straits of the Bosphorus, and her despatches were destroyed.

Mr. Arbuthnot, the British minister at Constantinople, wrote an account of these events to Lord Collingwood, assuring him that the Turks were more afraid of a British squadron than of a French army; and that the appearance of our ships before the city would produce a great effect on any negotiation which might be pending. The admiral immediately despatched Rear-admiral Sir Thomas Louis in the Canopus, of 80 guns, and two other ships of the line, with a frigate. Sir Thomas had not been long there before Italinski, the Russian minister, found it necessary to ask his protection. War was declared by the Turks against Russia. Sir Thomas Louis received the Russian minister, and retreated in the Canopus down the Dardanelles, leaving the Endymion to attend the British embassy.

It was highly expedient at that time that peace should be preserved between Russia and the Porte; and, as the presence of our squadrons was supposed to contribute to that object, the

British government approved of the steps taken by Lord Collingwood, and directed him to reinforce Sir Thomas Louis with two more ships of the line. His lordship sent Sir John Duckworth with five more; but, before his arrival, Mr. Arbuthnot, our minister, had been forced to quit Constantinople, and, having embarked on board the Endymion, proceeded to join Sir Thomas Louis off Tenedos.

The French army in Dalmatia amounted to 40,000 men, under the command of Marmont, who, by an arrangement with the Austrian government, had secured a free passage for his troops through Italy, so that the armies in Friouli and Dalmatia might mutually support each other.

Sir John Duckworth was ordered to second the negotiations of the English minister, but in the event of his having quitted Constantinople, or that the negotiations should have ceased, he was directed to take such a position as would insure a compliance with his demands, which, in few words, were like those sent to Copenhagen—"a surrender of the fleet and arsenal." It will be shown that the British vice-admiral had not the means of enforcing this requisition.

Some unavoidable delay was unfortunately occasioned in sending out the orders to Lord Collingwood; they were put on board the squadron intended as a reinforcement to the Mediterranean fleet. These ships having been detained by contrary winds, his lordship did not receive his despatches till the 6th of January; and it was intimated to him that the British squadron should wait for that of Russia under Rear-admiral Siniavin, but that officer did not join until the enterprise was abandoned.

The squadron under the command of Sir John Duckworth consisted of—

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
1. The Royal George	100	Flag—Captain R. D. Dunn.
2. Windsor Castle	98	Captain C. Boyles.
3. Canopus	80	Rear-admiral Sir Thos. Louis. Captain F. W. Austin.
4. Pompée	74	Rear-admiral Sir Sydney Smith. Captain Richard Dacres.
5. Ajax	74	Hon. H. Blackwood.
6. Repulse	74	Hon. A. K. Legge.
7. Thunderer	74	Captain I. Talbot.
8. Standard	64	Thomas Hervey.
Frigates.		
Endymion	38	Honourable T. B. Capel.
Active	38	R. H. Moubray.
Juno	32	Charles Richardson.

And Madras, store-ship.

Sir John Duckworth assembled a part of his ships at Malta, whence he sailed on the 3d of February, with a fresh gale from the westward; on the 6th made Cape Matapan, the southernmost extremity of the Morea, where he was joined by the Delight sloop of war; and, passing between Cerigo (ancient Cytherea) and the main land, came to the wind for the night with an easy sail, under the lee of the island of Milo. On the 7th our ships were among the cluster of islands called the Cyclades, where they procured Greek pilots; after which the admiral shaped his course to go between Cape Doro, on the island of Negropont, and the north-west point of the island of Andros. The Pompée led through this passage, which she cleared at 11 o'clock at night, making signals to denote her situation: the whole squadron followed without any accident. The night was very dark, and the wind strong from the W.S.W. On the 8th and 9th they were in sight of the island of Tenedos; the wind being easterly they made little progress. On the 10th the squadron anchored in 15 fathom water, between Tenedos and the main land of Asia Minor. Here they found the Canopus, Thunderer, Standard, and Glatton; also the Meteor and Lucifer bombs, which had parted company on the night of the 7th. Every preparation was made for battle, and Nelson's precaution was not forgotten, to bend the sheet cables through the stern-ports. On the 11th, all being in readiness, at half-past nine, A. M. the squadron weighed and stood for the passage of the Dardanelles, between the south point of Gallipoli and the coast of Asia Minor; but, the wind suddenly shifting to the N. E., and blowing strong in heavy squalls, they were obliged to anchor in the west part of Tenedos, bearing W. by S., and the entrance to the channel of the Dardanelles N. E. by E.

About a quarter past nine in the evening the Ajax, of 74 guns, was seen to be in flames fore and aft, and was very soon burnt to the water's edge. The particulars of this tragical event are copied from the MS. narrative of the Hon. Captain Blackwood, her commander. At nine o'clock in the evening there was an alarm of fire in the after part of the ship. The captain and officers went down to the cockpit, whence the smoke issued; they threw down a great quantity of water, but in three minutes found it impossible for any person to remain below, the men, with buckets of water in their hands, falling down from suffocation. The lower-deck ports were then ordered to be hauled up, to give vent to the smoke; but this adding to the force and fury of the flames they were closed again, and the hatchways covered over, in order to gain time for hoisting out the boats; nor was this measure resorted to

until the destruction of the ship was inevitable. The carpenter had been ordered to scuttle the after part of the ship, but that, in 10 minutes after the alarm was first given, was found impracticable; and so dense was the smoke on deck at this time that, though it was moonlight, the officers could not see each other. All attempts, therefore, to hoist out the boats became ineffectual; the jolly-boat alone, having been got into the water, began to pick up the men who had jumped overboard. The flames bursting up the main-hatchway, the captain desired each man to provide for his own safety. The ship at that moment was in one complete volume of flame, from the centre of the booms to the taffrail. About 400 of the crew were assembled on the forecastle, bowsprit, and spritsail-yard, whence Captain Blackwood jumped overboard, and was picked up when he had been half an hour in the water, and taken on board the Canopus. Such was the fate of this noble ship, by a conflagration more rapid than had ever been known, except in cases of instant explosion. If fortitude or courage could have saved her, she would have been saved. The court of inquiry in the first instance, and a court-martial subsequently held by order of Lord Collingwood, most honourably acquitted the captain, officers, and crew of any blame. The cause of the fire seems to have been a light which was left burning by the purser's steward in the bread-room.

The wreck drifted on shore, on the north side of the island of Tenedos (so celebrated in classic history), where, at five o'clock in the morning, she blew up. The squadron anchored again before daylight, having by its exertions saved about 350 of the crew; 250 were drowned. From that period till the 18th, the ships were employed in regaining the anchors from which they had cut, and preparing for farther operations; the weather continued very bad, and, the wind being directly down the channel, prevented their advancing towards the city.

On the 19th the wind came to the southward. The squadron weighed at daylight, formed the line, and stood for the Dardanelles, and the vice-admiral made the signal to prepare for battle. At eight o'clock, the squadron being in the narrowest part, the batteries on either side began to fire on the Canopus, the leading ship; and at 30 minutes past nine the forts of Sestos and Abydos opened their fire. The ships received some damage, and the admiral made the signal to prepare to anchor. At 10 the British squadron discovered that of the Turks at anchor above the castles. It consisted of one ship of the line, four frigates, three corvettes, and some gun-boats. The hostile squadrons were so near before they were visible to each other, that the action began as soon as they hove in sight.

The Pompée anchored with all sail set, or, in sea language, brought up all standing, between the ship of the line and the four frigates, and engaged them on both sides, until the whole of the Turks cut their cables and ran on shore. The Standard, Thunderer, and Active anchored, and engaged the enemy at the same time. Sir Sydney Smith made the Active's signal to chase a Turkish frigate, which she did, and came up with and burnt her, while the Repulse worked up, and with the boats of the squadron boarded the 64-gun ship as she lay on shore, and set her on fire. By three o'clock the whole of them had blown up, except a corvette and a vessel loaded with artillery, which were taken. Having performed this service, Sir Sydney Smith weighed, and rejoined the admiral.

As soon as the squadron had passed the batteries on Pesques Point, which, though not perfectly finished, mounted 30 guns, the boats of the rear division, with a large party of royal marines, under the command of Captain Nicholls of that corps, landed and spiked the guns, but had not time to effect the destruction of the works. This was completed by Captain Moubray, of the Active, who remained at anchor, and, with the boats of the Pompée, under the command of Lieutenants Carrol and Arabin, and Laurie of the marines, the redoubt was destroyed, and some of the guns brought away.

On the 20th the squadron anchored off the Princes' Islands in 20 fathoms water, the island of Antigona bearing N. E.

The British squadron was now eight miles from the city of Constantinople. The Endymion advanced four miles nearer, having a flag of truce flying. A Turkish squadron, of five sail of the line and four frigates, came out of the harbour and anchored in the fair way. From the 20th to the 26th inclusive, the squadron was at anchor; in this situation flags of truce were passing and repassing.

On the 27th the Repulse, with the Lucifer bomb, and the boats of the squadron, well manned and armed, stood in for Princes' Islands. With three great guns they attacked a body of Turkish troops, who appeared to be throwing up works. Our people landed, and drove the enemy from their post, took their field-pieces, and destroyed the battery. The boats of the squadron watched the motions of the enemy during the night, and a very large fire was seen in Constantinople. On the 1st of March the admiral weighed, and worked up with the whole squadron; the wind was at N. E. and moderate. When off the city they hove to, "in order to give the Turkish squadron an opportunity of coming out to fight, if they wished to do so," and continued in that situation the remainder of the day and the following night, tacking occasionally. It now appeared that

the presence of the British squadron had no effect on the decisions of the Divan, for, on the 2d, we find all hope of an amicable arrangement was abandoned, as well as any farther design of attacking Constantinople. On that day, the wind being E. by S., the squadron cleared for action, and made sail in order of battle; the ships having the bomb vessels in tow, they stood down the Dardanelles, and anchored off Pesques Point on the evening of the 2d. In this place it will be necessary to pause for a moment to consider the conduct of the commander-in-chief. His orders were to give the Turkish government two hours to deliberate. The admiral, influenced as has been thought by the envoy, allowed *two days*, and he confesses himself that "he hove to in order to give the Turkish fleet time to come out and fight him." That they either could not or would not was soon decided. The reasons for not having tried the effect of shells from the Meteor and Lucifer on the roofs of the seraglio have never been given; but more officers than one who were present have assured me that we lost all on that day by negotiation. Sir John Duckworth was a brave man, but was overruled, and finally condemned, I think unjustly. Sir Edward Codrington, at Navarino, seems to have had the example of Sir John Duckworth before his eyes; and hence the "untoward event." Sir Edward knew his countrymen well—"when there is a doubt, fight, and you are sure to be right."

On the morning of the 3d of March they weighed and again prepared for action, in close order of battle. At 10 o'clock the battery on Point Pesques opened on the Canopus, the leading ship, with a very heavy fire, and on all the others as they passed: this was returned by all but the Pompée, who reserved her fire for the forts of a still more formidable description.

The Point of Pesques is a promontory terminating in a shoal on the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles or Hellespont, and about four miles to the northward of the fort of Abydos; nor is this the narrowest point. The Thracian Chersonesus also terminates in a point bending to the eastward, on which stands a fort or castle, close to the ancient Sestos; at this point the distance from one side to the other may be nearly half a mile.* Our ships kept in mid-channel, the Turks

* In the first edition I have stated the distance to be nearly two miles, which is erroneous. I copied from a French chart. On referring to the *Travels of Anacharsis the Younger*, vol. i., p. 357, it is stated to be about 800 yards wide in the narrowest part; and Lord Byron, in his notes to the *Bride of Abydos*, vol. i., in some measure decides the question by swimming across: he calls it half a mile. I have conversed with many who have been there, however, and never knew two of them agree.

having possession of both sides. The ships passed the Point of Pesques, entered the basin which it forms with the Point of Sestos, leaving the fort of Abydos on their left hand: at 40 minutes past 10 that fort opened its fire on the Canopus, still the leading ship, and on all the others as they passed. The fire was returned, but with what effect it is difficult to say; the rapid change of position occasioned by a fair wind and current would prevent the certainty of aim, and almost the probability of striking an object, unless very near. At 40 minutes past 11, the whole squadron had passed this formidable line of batteries, and in the evening anchored seven miles from the entrance of the channel.

The damage sustained by our ships was very considerable, and never, since the invention of artillery, were shot of such magnitude fired against shipping; nor can there be much reason to suppose that, with the force under his command, Sir John Duckworth could have made any effectual impression on the city of Constantinople, had even the weather and current permitted him to place his ships as he desired: but this never once occurred. "The Turks," says Sir John Duckworth, "had been occupied unceasingly in adding to the number of their forts: the fire of the two castles had, on our going up, been severe; in returning, it was doubly formidable; in short, had they been allowed another week to complete their works throughout the channel, it would have been very doubtful whether a return would have been open to us at all."

The calibre of their guns* could have been little less than two feet three inches in diameter, judging from the size of the shot. An officer, who visited the forts some time afterwards, assured me that he was one of five young midshipmen, who, all at the same time, followed each other on their hands and knees into one of these guns, then loaded with a stone shot: this may enable us to form some idea of the dimensions of the piece, both as to length and breadth. It cannot be supposed that metal of this weight was ever trained or pointed at an object; the gun lying in one fixed position, and commanding a point where the ship must necessarily pass, the Turks waited till the mark was on, and fired with great success, making due allowance for the rate of sailing.

If such were the batteries of an enemy on either side of this celebrated channel, may we not agree with the gallant admiral that he was fortunate in effecting his retreat? The forces with which he was sent to reduce the Sublime Porte to terms

* The largest gun we know of weighed 45 tons, and carried a ball of 2,000 lbs. weight; it is called the Great Gun of Agra, and now lies half buried on the banks of the Jumna.—See Thorn's *India*.

of reasonable concession, and to grant only one hour for their acceptance, it is but fair to suppose were inadequate to the purpose. His admiration of the British navy led Mr. Arbuthnot to overrate its powers. The fleet and army of Copenhagen, or Walcheren, would have been barely sufficient for the object which he had supposed might be accomplished with seven sail of the line.

In his letter to Lord Collingwood, the admiral says,

I am now come to the point of explaining to your lordship the motives which fixed me to decide on repassing the channel of the Dardanelles, and relinquishing every idea of attacking the capital; and I feel confident it will require no argument to convince your lordship of the utter impracticability of our force making any impression. At the time that the whole line of coast presented a chain of batteries, 12 Turkish line of battle ships, two of them three-deckers, with nine frigates, were, with their sails bent and in apparent readiness, filled with troops; 200,000 men were reported to be in Constantinople ready to march against the Russians, and an innumerable quantity of small craft and fire-vessels were prepared to act against us. With batteries alone we might have coped; or with the ships, could we have got them out of their strong holds; but your lordship will be aware that, after combating the opposition which the resources of an empire had been many weeks employed in preparing, we should have been in no state to have defended ourselves against them as described, and then repass the Dardanelles. I know it was my duty, in obedience to your lordship's orders, to attempt any thing (*governed by the opinion of the ambassador*) that appeared within the compass of possibility; but, when the unavoidable sacrifice of the squadron committed to my charge must have been the consequence of pursuing that object, it at once became my positive duty, however wounded in pride and ambition, to relinquish it.

Here the admiral leaves the question to be decided by Mr. Arbuthnot, who certainly did recommend the attack with five sail of the line, and then, with seven, dissuaded the admiral from it.

In what instance, in the whole course of our naval warfare, have ships received equal damage in so short a time as in this extraordinary enterprise? The Royal George had a part of her cutwater carried away by a granite shot, which very nearly sunk her; another shot cut the mainmast of the Windsor Castle almost in two; a shot of the same description knocked two ports into one on board the Thunderer; the Repulse, by another, had her wheel shot away, and 24 men killed and wounded, nor was the ship saved from going on shore without the most wonderful exertions. A granite shot came through the larboard bow of the Active, on her lower deck, rolled aft, and brought up abreast of the main-hatchway; another took

away the whole barricade of the forecastle between the two ports, and fell into the sea on the opposite side, destroying three planks on the forecastle-deck; a third lodged in the bends, abreast of the main-chains, but fell overboard soon after. The Standard was also struck by a single shot, which did her very considerable injury. These shot were all of the largest dimensions we had ever met with.

The number of men killed and wounded on board the squadron, on this occasion, including those who fell in the unsuccessful attack on the island of Prota, were—

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*	*Killed.*	*Wounded*
Royal George	100	Flag.—Captain R. D. Dunn	8	61
Canopus	80	Rear-admiral Sir Thos. Louis (four missing)	6	26
Windsor Castle	98	Charles Boyles	4	20
Repulse	74	Hon. A. K. Legge	10	14
Thunderer	74	John Talbot	6	28
Standard	64	Thos. Hervey (four missing)	4	55
Endymion	44	Hon. T. B. Capel	0	12
Active	38	R. H. Mowbray	0	7
Meteor Bomb	—		0	8
			38	231

The Baron de Tott, in 1770, speaking of one of the enormous guns in these forts, says, "It was cast in brass in the reign of Amurath: it was composed of two parts joined togegether by a screw at the chamber; its breech resting against a massy stone work: the difficulty of charging it would not allow of its being fired more than once;" "but," said the Pacha to the Baron, "that one discharge will be sufficient to destroy the whole fleet of an enemy." The Baron prepared to fire this monstrous gun, and the Turks trembled at the proposal: the oldest among them declared it never had been fired, and that its discharge would occasion such a shock as would overturn the castle and the city. The gun was, however, loaded, according to the Baron's assertion, under his direction, with 330 lbs. of powder, and a ball of granite weighing 1,100 lbs.!! "I took my station," says the Baron, "behind the stone work, and felt a shock like that of an earthquake. At the distance of 800 fathoms I saw the ball divide into three pieces, and these fragments of a rock crossed the Strait, and rebounded on the mountain." Before the expedition of Sir John Duckworth, an incredulous person would have supposed he had been reading the travels of Munchausen. The heaviest shot which struck our ships was of granite, and weighed 800 lbs., and was two feet two inches in diameter. The

quantity of powder required to propel it I have not ascertained; but I should think it overrated by De Tott. The usual weight of powder to shot at the commencement of an action is one-fourth part, but the quantity is decreased as the metal gets heated.

Can any person of common sense believe that with this small squadron, without a single company of artillery or land force, the capital of the Turkish empire was to have been subdued? Compare the difficulties of the Dardanelles with those of the Cattegat, and the strength of Constantinople with that of Copenhagen: look at the magnitude of the force employed against the one, and the contemptible insufficiency of the other; and then let the impartial reader determine which of the two services was the most deserving of reward. I have no wish to depreciate the merits of Lord Gambier, which, as a sea-officer, I have acknowledged, and shall always be proud to do so; but, when I hear it said that Sir John Duckworth "was stuffing a cushion for his fall," I cannot help offering these observations in vindication of his injured memory. On every occasion where he was engaged with the enemy, either on the 1st of June at Minorca, or at the fortunate battle of St. Domingo, he proved himself to be as brave a man as we ever had in the navy: I only blame him for allowing two days to complete his negotiations; whatever was to be achieved on such an occasion was to be by impromptu. "Let the action follow the resolve as the thunder-bolt the flash."

Scarcely had Sir John Duckworth cleared the passage of the Dardanelles before he was joined by the Russian Vice-admiral Siniavin, with eight sail of the line. Siniavin requested Sir John to return with him, and renew the attack or the negotiations; but this was declined, and it was observed, perhaps with too much national vanity, that where a British squadron had failed, no other was likely to succeed. A war between Great Britain and Russia was soon after produced. The Sultan, Selim the Third, fell a sacrifice to popular fury in his own capital, in June 1807, and his successor, Mustapha, became the friend of Napoleon.

The Russian squadron repaired to the Tagus, where we shall hear of it again. An armistice between Russia and the Porte was signed on the 24th of August, 1807. Hostilities were not to recommence before March 21, 1808. The troops of both nations were to evacuate Moldavia and Wallachia, and to return within their respective territories: Russia was to evacuate Tenedos, and other places which she might have taken in the Archipelago.

While the Glatton lay off the island of Tenedos, a Turkish

ship was seen at anchor in the port of Sigré. Captain Seccombe ordered his boats in, covered by the Hirondelle brig of war. They boarded the vessel, took her, and brought her out; but, in the attack, Lieutenant Edward Watson, of the Glatton, a sergeant, a corporal, and two private marines were killed, and four seamen and five marines wounded.

From the Dardanelles the vice-admiral steered with his fleet for Alexandria, in Egypt, to which quarter he knew that a British force had been directed to proceed, in order to dispossess the Turks of those places which they had received from our hands but six years before.

The land force employed on this expedition was commanded by Major-general Frazer, who had been sent with his troops from Sicily by General Fox. The naval part, having the troops and transports under convoy, consisted of the Tigre, of 74 guns, commanded by Captain Hallowell; the Apollo 38, Captain Fellowes; and the Wizard sloop of war. They made the Arabs' Tower on the 15th of March, with 14 sail of their convoy; 19 sail had parted company in bad weather on the night of the 7th: Captain Hallowell stood in to obtain information, before he allowed the transports to show themselves in sight of the coast. Major Misset, the British resident, and Mr. Briggs, the vice-consul, having been received on board the Wizard, both concurred in the expediency of an immediate landing, founded on their knowledge of the actual strength of the place and the favourable disposition of the inhabitants towards the English. The transports were therefore called in, and the squadron anchored off the western harbour: a summons was sent to the governor to deliver up the fortresses, on an assurance that persons and private property should be respected. This was rejected, and, under every difficulty of bad weather and a heavy surf, the troops to the number of 1,000 men were got on shore, with five field-pieces and 57 seamen, under the command of Lieutenant Boxer. On the following day they moved forward, and carried the enemy's advanced works, with trifling loss. In the meanwhile, the castle of Aboukir having been taken, the Apollo, with the remainder of the convoy, anchored in that bay. Seeing this accession of strength, the governor of Alexandria immediately capitulated; and, by a singular coincidence, the 21st of March was a second time celebrated for our successes in Egypt: on that day our army took possession of the city of Alexandria, with all its fortresses and harbour: in the latter were found two Turkish frigates and a corvette, all mounting brass guns; one was an 18, the other a 12 pound frigate. Capt. Hallowell landed, and served with the army, leaving the Tigre under the command of Lieut. Fowel.

Here ended the success of our arms in Egypt. The naval force having been augmented by the arrival of the squadron under the command of Sir John Duckworth, the admiral and general decided on attacking Rosetta and Rhamanie, without which there was imminent danger of the garrison and inhabitants of Alexandria being starved. To gain these places Major-general Wauchope and Brigadier-general Meade were detached with the 31st regiment, and the Chasseurs Britanniques. The forces advanced, and took possession, without any loss, of the heights of Abourmandour, which commanded the town of Rosetta. From this post, it appears, the Major-general advanced into the town; and here, as at Buenos Ayres, the gallant British troops were sacrificed in the streets, to an enemy concealed on the roofs and within the houses. The major-general was killed, the brigadier-general wounded, and the detachment obliged to retreat, with the loss of 400 officers and men killed and wounded. Mortified and dejected as the general and admiral were at this unexpected repulse, the necessity of perseverance increased with these difficulties. Famine threatened the city of Alexandria with still more disastrous consequences than before. Sir John Duckworth had gone down the Mediterranean, and the naval force in the bay of Aboukir was commanded by Sir Thomas Louis. Another attack was decided on, and its execution committed to Brigadier-general Stewart and Colonel Oswald, with strong detachments of the royal artillery, a body of seamen, the first battalion of the 35th regiment, second battalion of the 78th, and De Rolle's regiment; amounting to about 2,500 men. The enemy sent a large reinforcement down the Nile, which occupied the city of Rosetta, and obliged our forces to fall back, with the loss of 1,000 officers and men, in killed, wounded, and missing. About this time that excellent officer and amiable man, Rear-admiral Sir Thomas Louis, died on board his ship off Alexandria. It is not easy to comprehend what advantages could have been gained by our second invasion of this country, had we obtained possession: the French were neither gone nor going there, and the injury to the Turkish Government would have been, in its utmost extent, trivial in its consequences. Egypt was a country which sad experience had taught us we never could keep, and accordingly its final evacuation soon followed.

Having detailed all the transactions of the Archipelago and the upper part of the Mediterranean, we return to Sicily and the Calabrias, which had been neglected and injured by the absence of so large a detachment, naval and military. Captain Charles Boyles, with four sail of the line, was stationed at Pa-

lermo, at the express desire of the Court. He had with him his own ship, the Windsor Castle, of 98 guns; Eagle, 74, Charles Rowley; Thunderer, 74, John Talbot; and Swiftsure, 74, George Rutherford.

The French general, Regnier, commanded the army in Lower Calabria, and obliged our troops and those of Naples to abandon the fort of Reggio. He next attacked Sylla, captured four Sicilian gun-boats, each mounting a 24-pounder, which he immediately landed, and placed in battery against the place. Thus the vigilance of the British forces, which had till then prevented the enemy from bringing cannon into that part of Calabria, was rendered ineffectual, and Sylla was more closely invested.

Captain Handfield, of the Delight sloop of war, a most promising young officer, who had so often distinguished himself as first lieutenant of the Egyptienne, was killed near Reggio; and his ship, which had grounded on the Calabrian coast, set on fire and burnt, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy. With Captain Handfield fell many of his brave crew, and Captain Seccombe, of the Glatton, who was on board the Delight, was wounded and taken prisoner, but sent over the next day to Messina, where he died. In consequence of these reverses Major-general Sherbroke was under the necessity of withdrawing the garrison from Sylla. This was effected by Captain R. W. Otway, of the Montagu, and Captain Trollope, of the Electra. The force which defended the fortress consisted of not more than 200 British, and from 400 to 500 Italians, of what were called the Masse. The army of General Regnier amounted to about 6,000 men, with a heavy battering train. The whole of our troops and allies were taken off without leaving a man in the hands of the enemy.

The Spartan frigate, of 38 guns, commanded by Captain (now Rear-admiral Sir J.) Brenton, met with a severe loss on the 14th May, off Nice. She had been all day chasing a polacre ship, and at sunset both were becalmed, at the distance of about five miles from each other: the vessel appeared to be an unarmed merchant ship. The boats of the Spartan with the two senior lieutenants, Weir and Williams, and 70 of the best men, pulled alongside in two divisions, and attempted to board her on the bow and quarter, with the usual determination and valour of British seamen; but the vessel was defended by a numerous and equally gallant crew, with boarding nettings and every other means of resistance. The first discharge from their great guns and musketry laid 63 of our brave fellows low, the first and second lieutenants and 26 men being killed or mortally wounded; seven men only remained unhurt. The few remaining hands conducted the boats back to the ship. The

narrow escape of one of the men was very remarkable. James Bodie, the cockswain of the barge, was missing. The deceased men were all laid out on the main-deck: the wife of Bodie, a beautiful young woman, flew with a lantern from one to the other, in search of her husband, but in vain: all the survivors declared that he had undoubtedly perished; they saw him wounded, and fall between the ship and the boat. The poor woman became delirious, got into the barge on the booms, and, taking the place lately occupied by Bodie, could with difficulty be moved from it. A few days, with the soothing kindness of the officers and crew, produced a calm, but settled grief. At Malta a subscription of 80 guineas was made for her, and she was sent to her parents in Ireland. Some weeks elapsed, when the Spartan spoke a neutral vessel from Nice, and learnt that a polacre had arrived there, after a severe action with the boats of a frigate; that she had beaten them off, and that when they had left her a wounded Englishman was discovered holding by the rudder chains; he was instantly taken on board, and, after being cured of his wounds, sent off to Verdun. Captain Brenton, concluding this could be no other than his cockswain, wrote to his friends at that depôt, and the fact turned out to be as he had supposed. Mrs. Bodie was made acquainted with the miraculous escape of her husband, who remained a prisoner four years. He was at length restored to his family, with whom he resided in comfort many years, but died in 1826; and his widow is now a nurse in Greenwich Hospital.

Before the Spartan had recovered from this misfortune, she had a narrow escape from capture. Proceeding from Palermo towards Toulon, she fell in with a French 74-gun ship, two frigates, and a brig. Captain Brenton determined to watch their motions during the night, and the enemy gave chase to him: at daylight they had got within three miles, but, a light breeze springing up, the Spartan ran along the east side of Cabrera, pursued by the ship of the line; the frigates and the corvette went round the west side in hopes of cutting her off, the Spartan lying nearly becalmed, while they were coming up at the rate of seven miles an hour: the headmost frigate, being within range, tried single shot, which, striking the object, she gave her whole broadside. The effect of firing in light winds has been before noticed in this work; we shall now see the consequences fairly illustrated. Captain Brenton would not allow a shot to be returned. In a few minutes the French frigate was involved in a dense cloud of her own smoke, and lay becalmed, while the Spartan, having received very little damage from their shot, kept the breeze, and left her unskilful pursuers to themselves. We notice this fact as a warning to young officers,

when similarly situated, to confine their whole attention to trimming and wetting their sails; for not only does the firing destroy a breeze of wind, but even in fresh gales the motion of the guns and the men is unfavourable to the velocity of the ship.

After the peace of Tilsit the Russians gave up Corfu to the French. A garrison was despatched to take possession of it, but meeting with Captain Clavell, in the Weasel brig of war, the whole force was defeated and taken by that officer.

On the 6th of August, 1807, Captain George Mundy, of the Hydra, chased three armed polacres into the harbour of Bega. Having anchored his ship so near the port as to abate its fire after little more than an hour's action, he sent his boats, well manned, under the command of Lieutenant Drury, with Lieutenants Hayes and Pengelly, of the Royal Marines, to attack it in flank, while he devoted the fire of the frigate to the three vessels. The party which landed met at first with great opposition, but very soon compelled the enemy to fly, gaining possession of the heights, whence they commanded a view of the polacres, and looked down upon their decks. Having spiked the guns in the batteries, and cleared the town of all the troops, the people deserted the vessels, and our gallant fellows brought them all out, with the loss of only one man killed and two wounded. For this service Lieutenant Drury was soon after promoted to the rank of commander. The vessels taken were a polacre ship, of 16 guns and 130 men; another (brig), of 10 guns and 40 men; and a third, 10 guns and 20 men.

Towards the latter end of the year 1806 negotiations between England and America had taken a favourable turn, when they were in some measure interrupted by the death of Mr. Fox, the British Minister. The Non-importation Act was suspended by the President, from motives of conciliation, and we believe the Government of the United States was desirous of preserving peace.

On the 1st of January, 1807, Lord Howick announced to the Lord Mayor that a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, had been signed the preceding day, but until the ratification by both Governments the articles could not be made public. This treaty, it appeared, was never ratified; for, although the British Government had spontaneously made every reparation in its power for the injuries which had unavoidably taken place, it could not concede the right of searching for British seamen and deserters. As no art of seduction was left untried to induce our seamen to quit the service of their country, another misunderstanding arose far more serious than any of the preceding. Lord James Townshend, commander of the Halifax sloop of war, was lying in Hampton Roads, when his jolly-

boat, with a midshipman and five men, was run away with; the crew, in defiance of their officer, took the boat on shore, where they all deserted. Lord James went to claim them, and was insulted by them in the streets, but could obtain no assistance from the magistrates, and the men entered on board the American frigate Chesapeake. Lord James immediately communicated the circumstance to Captain (now Rear-admiral) John Erskine Douglas, of the Bellona, the senior officer, then cruising off the Capes of the Chesapeake, and through him to Vice-admiral the Hon. G. Berkeley, who sent out suitable instructions. Captain S. P. Humphries, of the Leopard, of 50 guns, joined Captain Douglas, and on the 22d of June, 1807, was ordered to chase a strange sail, which he very soon came up with, and found to be the Chesapeake, an American frigate, of 36 guns, 18-pounders, and 300 men. Captain Humphries conducted himself with the most exemplary coolness and propriety, sending an officer on board the American frigate, with a copy of the Commander-in-chief's order to search for the deserters, and a note from himself at the same time to the following effect:—

The captain of his British Majesty's ship the Leopard has the honour to enclose to the captain of the United States' frigate Chesapeake an order from the Honourable Vice-admiral Berkeley, commander-in-chief on the North American station, respecting some deserters from the ships therein mentioned under his command, and supposed now to be serving as part of the crew of the Chesapeake.

The captain of the Leopard will not presume to say anything in addition to what the commander-in-chief has stated, more than to express a hope that every circumstance respecting them may be adjusted in such a manner that the harmony subsisting between the two countries may remain undisturbed.

The boat, after an absence of three quarters of an hour, returned with the following answer:—

I know of no such men as you describe; the officers that were on the recruiting service for this ship were particularly instructed by the Government, through me, not to enter any deserters from his British Majesty's ships, nor do I know of any being here.

I am also instructed never to permit the crew of any ship that I command to be mustered by any but her own officers. It is my disposition to preserve harmony, and I hope this answer will prove satisfactory.

(Signed) JAMES BARRON.

Never were two officers placed in a more difficult or delicate situation than Captain Humphries and Commodore Barron. With an avowed and open enemy their duty would have been

obvious; but, in this instance, the question of peace or war between two nations depended on the conduct of two individuals. The aggressor (for we can view the American captain in no other light) was prevented by the orders of his Government from taking the only step which could have preserved peace, by frankly and honourably admitting that the deserters from the Halifax, or other British vessels, were on board his ship (of which he neither was, nor could have been, ignorant), and giving them up to the laws of their country. Captain Humphries had but one line of conduct to pursue; to that he adhered; and it was his duty to have sunk alongside of an American 74 rather than have conceded the important point. He cautiously fired a shot ahead of the Chesapeake, and did not take this step till he found expostulation useless. The shot was returned; an action ensued, which ended in 10 minutes by the surrender of the American frigate, with five or six of her men killed and some wounded. Captain Humphries then proceeded to muster her crew, and, having selected the deserters, who, notwithstanding the assertion of Commodore Barron, were found on board, took them out, and returned to his ship, and soon after received the following letter from the Commodore:—

Sir,

I consider the frigate Chesapeake as your prize, and am ready to deliver her to any officer authorized to receive her: by the return of the boat I shall expect your answer, and have the honour to be, &c.

J. Barron.

To which Captain Humphries replied—

Sir,

Having to the utmost of my power fulfilled the instructions of my commander-in-chief, I have nothing more to desire, and must in consequence proceed to join the remainder of the squadron, repeating that I am ready to give you any assistance in my power, and do most sincerely deplore that any lives should have been lost in the execution of a service which might have been adjusted more amicably, not only with respect to ourselves, but to the nations to which we respectively belong. I have the honour to be, &c.

S. P. Humphries.

The deserters found on board the Chesapeake were taken to Halifax, and tried by a court-martial. One of them, being the only one belonging to the Halifax, was condemned to suffer death, and executed; the others were sentenced to receive 500 lashes, but their punishment was remitted: they had belonged to the Melampus. In the course of the trial some evidence was elicited, which proved that the right of search, denied by

the Americans to Captain Humphries, had been forcibly exerted by them in the port of Gosport, in Virginia, where his Majesty's ship the Chichester was lying alongside the wharf: she was boarded by an officer and a party of soldiers from Fort Nelson, who would insist on searching the ship, and took out three men, two of whom were British-born subjects. At the same time some of the crew and many supernumeraries of the Chichester deserted to the Americans, and were not restored, though "officially demanded." The answer returned to Captain Douglas was, "that if any deserters from the English service had entered into the American service, they had been sent with a detachment into the country." A gallant young midshipman, it appeared by the same evidence, was put under arrest by the captain of the Chichester, for having said that "we ought not to give up deserters to America while she refused the same indulgence to us." This violent proceeding in the first instance produced the Non-intercourse Act, passed by the American Congress; and the feeling between the two nations was more acrimonious than if a state of actual war had existed, to which indeed it ultimately led. Captain Humphries retired on half-pay, and, either from his own choice, or the disposition of his superiors, was never employed afterwards; and Vice-admiral Berkeley was recalled from Halifax, probably to appease the wrath of the Americans.

On the 27th of October, 1807, the President of the United States addressed the following message to the senate:—

He had convened the House at an earlier period than usual, in consequence of events threatening the peace of the country. The repeated injuries committed against their commerce on the high seas for many years past—the innovations on the principle of public law, which had been established by reason and the usage of nations as the rule of intercourse—had led to the extraordinary mission to London. The Ministers from the United States, after endeavouring by fruitless efforts to settle all points in difference, concluded to sign such as could be obtained, and forwarded them for consideration, candidly owning that they felt they were acting against their instructions, and that the Government could not be pledged for their ratification: some of the articles might be admitted, but others were highly disadvantageous, and no sufficient provision was made against the principal source of irritation and collisions which were constantly endangering the peace of the two nations. Still anxious not to close the door of friendly adjustment, new modifications were made, and Ministers instructed to resume the negotiation; but, while reposing in this amicable discussion, a British admiral, on the 22d June last, gave a formal order to attack the United States' frigate Chesapeake. This ship, leaving her own port for a distant service, was disabled from proceeding, had several of her crew killed, and

four men taken away. He had in consequence forbidden all British armed vessels from entering the waters of the United States, and all intercourse with them. He had despatched an armed vessel (why armed, we know not) to the American Minister in London, desiring him to call on the British Government for an explanation. The aggression thus begun had been continued. The British commanders, in defiance of the authority of the country, had remained within the waters of the United States, and at length had put to death one of the persons whom they had thus forcibly taken from the Chesapeake. These aggressions must lead to the maintenance of such a force as may constrain obedience to the laws. But to former violations of maritime rights another is added of more extensive effect, the interdicting from neutrals any trade with ports not in amity with England, and as they are now at war with every nation bordering either on the Atlantic or Mediterranean, American vessels are required either to sell their cargoes at the first port, or to return without the benefit of a market.

Thus the dispute with America had no appearance of terminating as long as Great Britain was a belligerent, and America the carrier of enemy's property.

The democratic party, at that time by far the most powerful in North America, greatly exasperated at the acquittal of Captain Whitby, admitted neither of his innocence nor the justice of our laws; and the attack on the Chesapeake, and the just execution of the culprit found on board of her, together with the exposure of the falsehoods of their Government and its agents, completed their indignation against us, and paved the way for another tragical event, which we shall relate hereafter.

A faint gleam of peace, after a mutual interchange of kind offices had taken place between the English and the blacks, began to dawn in the hitherto distracted island of St. Domingo, or Hayti, the name which its Government had reassumed. General Christophe, the president, had discovered a plot amongst the turbulent and restless spirits in the south side of the island, whose views extended to the horrid purpose of revolutionizing Jamaica, and delivering the white inhabitants to the swords of the blacks. Having made the colonial Government acquainted with the plan, and put it on its guard, his Majesty's Ministers, when informed of the benevolent act, were not slow in showing their gratitude. An order in council was passed, authorizing all British vessels bound to Buenos Ayres (but compelled from recent events to change their destination) to dispose of their cargoes in the ports of Hayti, not subject to, or under the control of, France or Spain, and to import the productions of the island into Great Britain, or to ship them in neutral bottoms, and send them for sale to ene-

mies' ports. These indulgences were received as they were meant, and the inhabitants of Jamaica were in some degree relieved from the fear which had been excited by the neighbourhood of the new negro republic.

If the value of her colonies to France was to be estimated by the sacrifices she made to preserve or recover them, it would be difficult to say to what a degree she had suffered by her losses in the West Indies: squadrons, with troops, arms, and supplies of every description, and at every risk, were incessantly poured into the Caribbean seas, and generally fell into the hands of our cruisers.

Among the naval enterprises of the war, the capture of the island of Curaçoa may justly be esteemed one of the most daring. The splendour of the achievement can scarcely be appreciated by any but those who have seen the town and harbour of Amsterdam, and considered the nature of its defences against almost any force that could have been brought against it from the sea.

The island is situated about 40 miles from the coast of Venezuela: it belonged at the time of its capture to the Dutch, and carried on a lucrative trade with the main, chiefly by smuggling. The little islands of Aruba and Bonair (one to the eastward, the other to the westward of it) are its dependencies. Captain Brisbane, in the Arethusa, had been sent by Rear-admiral Dacres, the commander-in-chief on the Jamaica station, to watch the island of Curaçoa, and intercept the trade of the enemy: while employed on this service he learnt that the Dutch had a custom of drinking out the old year and drinking in the new one; he therefore conceived the possibility of taking it by a *coup-de-main*, and, having communicated his intentions to the other captains, it was decided that by or before dawn of day on the morning of the 1st of January, 1807, the squadron should be so close off the harbour's mouth as to be ready to run in, and, with their boats manned, land a party of seamen and marines, surprise the fort of Amsterdam, and summon the governor to surrender. The harbour's mouth is only 80 fathoms wide, beset with rocks, and requiring not only the most perfect knowledge of the pilotage, but the greatest skill and nicety in steering the ships, a spoke too much of the wheel one way or the other being a fatal error: the wind, during the regular season blows constantly from the S.E., and previously to hauling into the harbour it is necessary to have the yards braced sharp up, ready to come to the wind on the starboard tack at a moment's warning. Had the soldiers in the fort on the weather side of the harbour's mouth set fire to a truss of straw or a tar-barrel, the attempt must have been

rendered abortive, as the pilots could not have seen their way in. Having calculated all these chances, the undaunted Brisbane, guided by his own valour and judgment, proceeded in the execution of his plan. The ships were the Arethusa; the Latona, Captain J. Athol Wood; the Anson, Captain C. Lydiard; and the Fisgard, Captain W. Bolton; all frigates of 44 guns, well manned and officered. Holding himself in readiness off the east end of the island, on the last day of the year, he ran down during the night along the coast; and, when daylight appeared, he made all possible sail for the harbour's mouth, passing the whole line of sea batteries. He braced his yards up, formed the line of battle ahead, and in the closest order entered the harbour of Amsterdam, and anchored in a style of coolness and precision to which no words can do justice. It was six o'clock when the jib-boom of the Arethusa passed over the walls of the fort in which the Government-house is situated, and where the governor lay in bed, unconscious of the dangers which awaited him.

The harbour is defended by regular fortifications on the right, left, and in front. The fort of Amsterdam, on the starboard hand, mounted 60 pieces of cannon, disposed in two tiers; on the larboard hand was another fort of great power, and ahead of our ships, situated on a steep hill, stood Fort République, which might have sunk every frigate in half an hour.

Across the harbour's mouth lay the Hatslaer, a frigate of 36 guns, the Surinam, of 22 guns, and two large armed schooners; a chain of forts defended the heights of Misselburg; and our ships lay completely exposed to the whole. Five shots only were fired from the fort on the hill, every one of which took effect: the actions of our men were, however, too rapid to be controlled by such obstacles. The frigate, corvette, and schooners were all carried by boarding; but, unlike Napoleon, who fought only for himself, and disregarded the effusion of human blood as long as it contributed to his own personal interest, the gallant Brisbane, while the shot of the enemy fell in showers about him, stood at the capstan head of the Arethusa, and wrote the following note to the governor of Curaçoa:—

Sir,

The British squadron is here to protect, and not to conquer you—to preserve to you your liberty and property. If a shot is fired at any one of my squadron after this summons, I shall immediately storm your batteries. You have five minutes to accede to this determination. I have the honour to be, &c.

C. Brisbane.

This note, not unlike that of Nelson's at Copenhagen, seems to have produced no immediate relaxation of fire from the enemy.

Captain Brisbane, not having been answered as he desired, instantly landed, with his marines mounted the walls of Fort Amsterdam, and presenting himself in person before the governor, demanded an acceptance of the terms which had been sent. His Excellency, ill prepared for such a visit, had no alternative. His principal fort on the hill was his only defence; that alone still held out, although its fire was unaccountably slow; but in the meanwhile he feared the conflagration of the town, and a rising of the negro population in favour of the English, or with a view to plunder. Time was not allowed him to deliberate, and by seven o'clock in the morning all was in our possession except Fort République, which might still have sunk the ships without receiving any comparative injury. At ten o'clock the British flag was displayed on its walls. The commandant had been taken by our boats, as he crossed the harbour to repair to his post, and, I believe, paid with his life the price of his negligence or timidity. Thus, in the short space of four hours, an island, 60 miles in extent, defended by the strongest fortifications, a numerous population, and a squadron of ships and vessels of war, was taken by four British frigates, whose crews united made scarcely the sum of 1,200 men! Of this number three only were killed and 14 wounded.

Captain Brisbane for this gallant exploit was knighted, and confirmed in his appointment as governor of the island, from which he was soon after removed to the more permanent government of the island of St. Vincent, where he died.*

On the Jamaica station Captain J. R. Dacres, in the Bacchante, and Captain W. F. Wise, in the Mediator, performed a very important service to the trade in the leeward part of the West Indies, having taken several privateers, and among others one called Le Dauphin, a remarkably fast-sailing vessel. They found she was known at the port of Samana, in St. Domingo,

* In Mr. Ralfe's publication (No. 20), the whole credit of this achievement is engrossed by Rear-admiral Sir James Wood: falsehood is imputed to Sir James Brisbane, and something worse to the late Captain Bolton; but, as these charges lay dormant for 21 years, I must adhere to my original text. I cannot suppose Sir James Brisbane would dare to say that his *Gazette* letter, though avowedly false, "would do very well to please John Bull;" yet such is the charge of Sir James Wood, who was no doubt a very gallant and deserving officer, but I cannot think that his character has derived any additional lustre from this tardy explanation. All the captains engaged in this brilliant affair have now been dead many years. There should be a statute of limitation for reclamation of honours as well as of debts.

and that that port was the constant resort of vessels of her description. Captain Dacres, being the senior officer, saw, with Captain Wise, the possibility of surprising the place, and clearing the harbour of all enemies' vessels. Sending the Dauphin in before them under her French colours, they followed with the ships, and, running through the intricate channels, anchored within half a mile of the batteries before their real character was discovered. A heavy cannonading immediately commenced from the shore, and was returned by both the ships for four hours, when Captain Wise, with the Lieutenants Baker, Norton, and Shaw, and a party of seamen and marines from both ships, landed and carried the fort by storm. They found in the harbour an English schooner, which had been taken, and two privateers fitting for sea. The Bacchante had five seamen wounded; the Mediator three seamen killed and 13 seamen and marines wounded. In this country, as in the Mediterranean, the enemy was nowhere safe from our intrepid seamen, unless within the walls of regularly fortified places.

Disapproving as I ever shall of sending boats to attack ships of war, I feel a want of words while attempting to relate the achievements of our younger officers in the arduous services of boat expeditions, when, under the most extraordinary circumstances, they attack the enemy's vessels on the open seas, or in their harbours guarded by batteries. Our vocabulary scarcely affords epithets sufficiently strong to convey all the approbation which conduct like that of Captain Coombe and his associates so richly deserves. On the 22d of January Captain George Sayer, of the Galatea, cruising off La Guirà, saw a sail steering for that port; the wind was light, and the stranger so far distant that her top-gallant sails only were visible above the horizon. Lieutenant W. Coombe, with 5 officers, 50 seamen, and 20 marines, pursued her in the boats, and, after running nearly 12 leagues in 8 hours (part of the time under a burning sun), came up with the enemy, then going about two knots. Mr. Coombe first hailed, then boarded, but was repelled by the fire of the ship's guns and a numerous crew assembled on her quarters; a second attempt failed in the same manner. Dropping astern, he poured into her chase-ports a heavy fire of musketry, which cleared the decks of many of her people, and in a third attempt succeeded in getting on board, the Frenchmen flying to the tops, to the jibboom-end, and to the hold for safety. The captain and most of his officers lying wounded on the decks, in a quarter of an hour the French flag was struck, and the victory complete. The vessel was called La Lynx, an imperial French ship corvette, of 16, but pierced for 18 guns, 14 24-pound carronades, and two long 9-pounders,

manned with 161 men, and bound with despatches from Guadaloupe to Caraccas. Her commander, Monsieur Yarquest, four officers, and 14 men, were wounded, and 14 officers and men were killed.

In the British boats Mr. Coombe was wounded: he had before lost his leg in another action. The second lieutenant, Mr. H. Walker, five seamen, and three marines, were killed, and 22 officers and men wounded. Lieutenant Gibson was the only officer unhurt. This vessel, being found very fit for his Majesty's service, was purchased, and called the Heureux: the command of her was most justly bestowed on Mr. Coombe, who first hoisted the British flag at her mast-head. This action, considered in every point of view, may have been equalled, but never has, nor probably ever will be, surpassed. Independently of the immense difference of position between the assailants and the enemy, the height and strength of the sides, the heavy guns, and other numerous resources, the French were more than two to one against the English, and afford, in this instance, a remarkable proof of the superiority of the latter, in the powers of body and mind, over the most valiant of their opponents. We are aware of the capture of the Gamo and Cerbère; but these vessels, though nobly taken, were taken by surprise: the Lynx, on the contrary, had her men at their quarters perfectly prepared, fresh and vigorous, with an abundant supply of water, while the poor Englishmen were worn out with labour, thirst, and anxiety.

Another action, fought by a packet, claims a very high encomium, as in this instance they had not the advantage of naval discipline to give confidence to courage.

Captain Rogers, in the Windsor Castle packet, going out with the mails for Barbadoes and the Leeward Islands, fell in with a French privateer of such force as to induce him to avoid her if possible; but, finding the enemy gained on him, Captain Rogers prepared for resistance. The Frenchman, coming within hail, desired him to strike; meeting with a refusal he ran alongside the packet, grappled, and attempted to board her. Being repulsed, he cut his own grapple ropes and attempted to get away, but in this he also failed, his main-yard being locked in the rigging of the Windsor Castle. The crew of the British vessel were in the mean time preparing to receive the enemy, who made a second attempt to board; standing collected for that purpose, a carronade loaded with grape, canister, and musket balls, was discharged among them, and laid the greater part dead or wounded on her decks. Following his advantage, the undaunted Captain Rogers rushed, with only five of his crew, on board the enemy, and, driving all the remaining men

from her decks, laid on her hatches, and secured his prize. She was called Le Jeune Richard, mounted six six-pounders, one long 18-pounder, and had 92 men: of these 21 were found dead on her deck, and 33 wounded. The crew of the packet consisted of no more than 28 men and boys, of whom three were killed and ten wounded. A more gallant action than this was never fought by a ship of war. The Patriotic Fund presented Captain Rogers with a very handsome reward. The officers and crew were also remunerated for their wounds, and received suitable marks of approbation for their valour.

The war with Denmark having been begun in Europe, its effects were speedily felt in the West Indies, where, in the month of December, 1807, the islands of St. Thomas and St. John's surrendered to the arms of his majesty, under the command of Rear-admiral the Honourable Sir A. Cochrane and General Bowyer, who, having left garrisons in them under the command of Brigadier-general Mac Lean, proceeded to Santa Cruz, which capitulated to them in the same manner. The property captured on these islands was inconsiderable.

Rear-admiral Sir Thomas Trowbridge, who had divided the station with Sir Edward Pellew, was directed to proceed to the Cape of Good Hope as commander-in-chief. His flag was on board the Blenheim, of 74 guns, formerly a second-rate, but, cut down, and a worn-out ship. Early in 1806 she had got on shore in the Straits of Malacca, where she received so much damage as to render her unfit to cross the Bay of Bengal; but having repaired her at Pulo Penang, and rigged jury-masts, Sir Thomas, whose pride was to overcome difficulties, proceeded in her to Madras, where he arrived in safety. Here the defects of the ship became daily more apparent. Her back was broken in a most extraordinary manner, and her beams and riders showed that she was falling to pieces, while the labour of the crew at the pumps barely sufficed to keep the water from gaining on her as she lay at anchor. Captain Bissel, whose history I have related in a former volume, commanded the ship, and, as was his duty, represented her state to the rear-admiral. Sir Thomas, however, persisted in his purpose of sailing in her to the Cape, and such was the confidence reposed in his talents that many passengers from Madras embarked with him. He sailed on the 12th of January; the Java, of 36 guns, an old Dutch prize-frigate, commanded by Captain George Pigot, and the Harrier brig, of 18 guns, Captain Finlay, being in company.

On the 1st of February, when in lat. 22° 44′ S., and long. 66° 11′ E., not far from the S.E. end of Madagascar, they were caught in a tremendous gale of wind, and forced to lay to. In

the evening the Java, which was to windward, bore up to close with the Blenheim, both ships having the signal of distress flying. The Blenheim was observed by the officers of the Harrier to have settled much lower in the water, and it was the general opinion that Captain Pigot, even in his own distress, had, while generously attempting to save some, at least, of the unfortunate people on board the Blenheim, run foul of her, and accelerated their destruction. As night came on the gale increased, and the Harrier bore away for the Cape, where she arrived on the 28th of the same month. Such are the last and only accounts we have ever heard of the Blenheim and Java. As soon as Captain Finlay's letter reached Sir Edward Pellew in India, he conceived a faint hope that the two ships might have put into some port to repair; he therefore ordered Captain Trowbridge, only son of the rear-admiral, and then commanding the Greyhound, of 32 guns, to go in search of his father. He was first directed to proceed to the island of Roderigue, then to the Isle of France, and to send in a flag of truce to the governor for that information which, even in war time, would not be refused by a generous enemy; after which he was to go to St. Mary's, on the S.E. point of Madagascar, and, failing there, was to return to Madras.

The gallant and unhappy young officer commenced his melancholy search, pursuing the course marked out by his admiral. On his arrival at the Isle of France, General De Caen sent him every information which it had been in his power to collect from the different signal stations, together with a description of certain pieces of wreck which had been cast on shore; but there was nothing which could give the smallest clue to the fate of the Blenheim and Java, beyond the letter of Captain Finlay.

Thus perished Sir Thomas Trowbridge, one of our most gallant and effective admirals, the friend of St. Vincent, the companion of Nelson. His maxim "never to make a difficulty," copied from his great patron the Earl of St. Vincent, he, perhaps, carried to an extreme; it was the compass by which he had ever steered—by which he had risen from the lowest to the highest ranks in the service. He was supposed to command more resources in his ship than any officer of his time. The Culloden was always prepared for service, a proof of which was afforded previously to the battle of the 14th of February, when, being disabled in such a manner as would have induced many officers to have gone into port, he refitted her at sea, and had a very distinguished share in that glorious victory. He died a baronet, and had been a lord of the Admiralty. Among others who perished with him in the Blen-

heim was Captain Charles Elphinstone, son of the late respected chairman of the East India Company: he was a young officer of great talent. The Lord Rosehill, son of the Earl of Northesk, was a midshipman on board, and there were about 700 people: in the Java there were about 300. It is remarkable that the Harrier, which escaped from that gale, foundered in the following year, nearly about the same spot. She was then commanded by Captain Ridge.

Captain Peter Rainier, in the Caroline, of 36 guns, in the month of January captured, near the Straits of St. Bernardine, the Spanish register ship San Rafael, of 16 guns and 97 men, of whom 27 were killed or wounded in attempting to defend themselves and escape from their enemy. She had on board a very valuable cargo, besides 1,700 quintals of copper, and half a million of dollars in specie. She was from Lima, bound to Manilla.

One of the most singular and bloody conflicts took place on the decks of the Victor sloop of war, in the Straits of Malacca, which we have ever met with in the records of English naval history. On the 22d of May, 1807, Captain George Bell, of his Majesty's sloop the Victor, had nearly lost his ship, himself, and crew by a casualty against which officers in the Eastern seas can never be too much on their guard.

The crews of three Malay prows which he had detained for examination, taking advantage of the explosion of some gunpowder on board the Victor, rose on the Englishmen, who had at once to contend against the flames, and the weapons of these savages, of whom 80 lay dead on the decks before the ship was in safety. The First Lieutenant, Mr. Blaxton, and five seamen were killed, the captain and 25 of the crew of the Victor wounded.

Sir Edward Pellew sailed from Madras in the month of October, having with him:—

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Culloden (flag)	74	Captain George Bell.
Powerful	74	——— (now Sir) Fleetwood Pellew (acting.)
Caroline	36	Henry Hart.
Fox	32	Honourable Archibald Cochrane.
Victoria	18	Thomas Green.
Samarang	18	Richard Buck.
Seaflower	18	Wm. F. Owen, Lieutenant.
Jaseur	—	Lieutenant Laugharne.

With this force, including a body of troops under the command of Colonel Lockhart of the 30th regiment, and a small party of artillery, he arrived off the harbour of Griesse, where a Dutch naval force was assembled, and sent in a flag of truce to the governor to demand their surrender.

The French Commodore, who had just at that period assumed the command, thought proper not only to refuse the flag of truce, but detained and made prisoners the officers who had charge of it. These were Captain Fleetwood Pellew, Sir Charles Burdett, of the 30th regiment, and Mr. Locker, the secretary to the commander-in-chief. The admiral at this time had all his ships aground; but he soon succeeded in getting them afloat, passed, and engaged the batteries the next day, and came to an anchor before the town of Greisse, of which he took possession, the enemy retiring to Sourabaya, taking with them the British officers above mentioned, together with the barge's crew of the Powerful. They were, however, immediately released on their reaching Sourabaya, and sent back to the admiral, with a suitable apology from the governor for what had occurred. The ships of the enemy at Greisse were destroyed by the admiral a few days after: they consisted of the Pluto, of 74 guns; Révolutie, of 74; Kortenar, 60 (converted into a sheer hulk;) and the Busthoff, 40 (a company's ship of 1,000 tons:) the ships of the line were very fine vessels only four years old. It must not be forgotten that on this occasion two British ships of the line of 74 guns got up to Greisse: it was effected with very great labour, and was not attempted in 1811, when the island of Java was taken: the bottom was soft mud, and the ships, in grounding, received no damage; the Powerful was struck by red hot shot from the batteries, one of which set her on fire, but the ball was cut out without doing any injury.

On the coast of Ceylon an action was fought between the St. Fiorenzo, of 44 guns, and the Piedmontaise, a French frigate of very superior qualities, both in construction and equipment. The action was brought on by the Fiorenzo, chasing to windward, in the evening of the 6th of March; at five she showed her colours, and made the private signal, which was not answered. At 40 minutes past 11 P. M. the Fiorenzo, on the larboard tack, ranged alongside of her enemy, and received his broadside: the action continued for 10 minutes, when the Frenchman made off, and the Fiorenzo chased; at daylight, finding he could not avoid fighting, the captain of the Piedmontaise hove to, to receive his enemy; at 25 minutes past six the action was renewed at the distance of half a mile, which gradually diminished; at a quarter past eight the enemy again made sail away: the fire of the Fiorenzo being directed to the hull, that of the French frigate to the rigging of her opponent, the former was more disabled than the latter in her masts and yards.

It was long before the Fiorenzo could repair her numerous damages so as to be enabled to pursue her enemy. She, however, continued to keep sight of him during the night, and, on

the morning of the 8th, being perfectly prepared to renew the action, bore down upon him under all sail; the Piedmontaise made no attempt on this occasion to avoid fighting: at three P. M. they came again alongside of each other, and renewed the bloody contest; at the second broadside the gallant young Hardinge, the heroic captain of the Fiorenzo, fell by a grape-shot in his neck. Lieutenant William Dawson succeeded to the command, and nobly terminated the day; after one hour and a half more of severe and close contest, the enemy surrendered. The Piedmontaise was commanded by Monsieur Epron. She had on board, when the action began, 366 Frenchmen, and 200 Lascars or black seamen of India, making 566 in all; of these 48 were killed, and 112 wounded. The St. Fiorenzo had 13 killed, and 25 wounded; but few of them dangerously. Lieutenant Dawson was promoted to the rank of post-captain, and a monument erected by Government in St. Paul's Cathedral commemorates the victory and the name of the gallant and lamented Captain Hardinge.

Captain Dawson, on his return to England, was offered the Havannah, but preferred the Piedmontaise, the frigate which he had so gallantly taken. He went to India to join his ship. He died of an old wound received in the liver in a former gallant action.

In 1806 Rear-admiral Sir Edward Pellew received information that an enemy's naval force had entered some of the ports in the island of Java. He went in search of them with his squadron, consisting of

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Culloden (flag)	74	Capt. Christopher Cole.
Russell.	74	—— T. G. Caulfield.
Belliqueux	64	—— George Byng (afterwards Lord Viscount Torrington).
Powerful	74	—— R. Plampin.
Sir Francis Drake	38	—— P. B. Pellew (the late Lord Exmouth.)
Terpsichore	32	—— Fleetwood Pellew.
Seaflower (brig)	—	Lieutenant W. Owen.

Passing through the Straits of Sunda, the Rear-admiral captured the Wilhelmina, a Dutch armed brig, and on the following morning arrived off Batavia. He directed a frigate and a brig into the road, by passing between the island of Ornust and Java, and with the other ships took a more circuitous route. The Dutch, on perceiving the meditated attack, cut their cables, and ran on shore; the ships of the line were unable to approach from the shoalness of the water. The Sir Francis Drake and Terpsichore got near enough to cover the boats,

which, led in by Captain Fleetwood Pellew, boarded and destroyed all the enemy's vessels in the road, disregarding the heavy fire of the ships and batteries.

This was one of the severest blows on the commerce of Holland which it had hitherto received in the eastern seas; her principal sea-port had been found so vulnerable as to be insufficient to protect even her ships of war, every one of which found riding there, with all their merchant shipping, had been given up to the flames, with the trifling loss on our part of one man killed, and four wounded. The names of the ships destroyed were—

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Men.*
Frigate Phœnix	36	260
Brig of war Aventurier	18	90
——— Zee Ploeg	14	50
Armed ship Patriot	20	90
——— Armistein	10	50
Armed brig Johanna	8	24
——— Snelheid	6	24
Corvette William	14	98
Brig Maria	14	

About 20 merchant ships were also taken or destroyed.

In the month of September, of the same year, Captain Fleetwood Pellew anchored off the port of Samarang, and sent his boats, under the command of Lieutenant Kersteman, in pursuit of an armed schooner and a merchant brig, both of which were boarded and burnt. The boats were recalled, and the Psyche chased and captured an armed ship of 700 tons, with a valuable cargo; a brig of 12 guns, and 70 men; and the Scipio of 24 guns, 150 men. They had ran ashore, and the Psyche, as she engaged them, lay in three fathoms water. Captain Pellew brought out all his prizes, and arrived safe with them at Madras.

On the arrival of the despatches from Sir Home Popham and General Beresford at Buenos Ayres, a force immediately proceeded to the new conquest. In the meanwhile Lieutenant-colonel Backhouse, of the 43d regiment, on whom the command of the troops had devolved during the captivity of General Beresford, decided, in conjunction with Sir Home Popham, to attack the city of Monte Video, but the shoalness of the water not admitting the near approach of the ships of war, the plan was abandoned in favour of an enterprise on Maldonado. Lieutenant-colonel Vassal, with 400 men, landed, and advanced with Colonel Backhouse to that village, which they entered at the point of the bayonet, killing and wounding 50 of the enemy, without any loss on our side. The Spaniards fled, and left

their guns. The batteries which defend the harbour of Maldonado were taken on the following day by Lieutenant-colonel Vassal. The little army was accompanied by a small party of seamen and marines from the ships of war. The island of Goretti, which forms the harbour, was strongly fortified, but surrendered on the summons of Sir Home Popham, and the British squadron and transports found a safe anchorage and a plentiful supply of provisions and water. By this time General Achmuty had arrived, and with him a very large reinforcement of troops, in the Ardent and Lancaster, of 64 guns, and some transports. The General immediately evacuated Maldonado, reserving a garrison in the island of Goretti. Rear-admiral Stirling, in pursuance of his instructions, sent Sir Home Popham to England. After the departure of Sir Home the forces began their operations on Monte Video. The landing of the troops was effected on the 18th of January, nine miles from the town: the enemy acted with some show of firmness, having their artillery drawn up on the height. On the following day 4,000 of the native cavalry opposed Brigadier-general Lumley, occupying the high ground on his right, and pouring upon him a heavy fire of round and grape. Lieutenant-colonel Brownrigg charged them, took one of their guns, and dispersed their forces. Our army then advanced to within two miles of the citadel, and took up a position in the suburbs. On the 20th 6,000 men, cavalry and infantry, sallied out of Monte Video to attack the invaders, but, after an obstinate resistance and great slaughter, they fled. Their loss was computed at 1,500 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. After this affair many of the people retired to their distant habitations, leaving the British general full leisure to attack the city, which he found was defended by 160 pieces of cannon and a strong garrison. The enemy had possession of the island of Ratones, commanding the harbour, where they had some gun-boats which gave our people considerable annoyance; but the British army had now completely hemmed in the garrison in a semicircle on the land side, cutting off all their supplies, except such as came in boats from the opposite shores of the river. This source of sustenance was still more precarious by the near approach of the British squadron, whose artillery now co-operated with that of the army in battering the town, but at too great a distance to produce any serious effect. The Brigadier-general having, by the 2d of February, gradually advanced his batteries to within 600 yards of the works, had made a breach, and determined to storm the town, although he knew that in the attempt he must necessarily expose his army to heavy and deliberate fire. Orders were accordingly given to prepare for the assault an hour before day-

break, on the morning of the 3d. The troops which had the honour of being selected for this important service were the rifle corps under Major Gardiner, the light infantry under Majors Brownrigg and Trotter, the grenadiers under Majors Campbell and Tucker, and the 38th under Lieutenant-colonel Vassal and Major Nugent; these were supported by the 40th regiment, under Major Dalrymple, and the 87th, under Lieutenant-colonel Batler and Major Miller.

The whole were commanded by Colonel Browne. The remainder of the force, consisting of detachments of the 20th and 21st light dragoons, the 17th and 47th regiments, a company of the 71st, and a corps of 800 marines and seamen, under the command of Captains Donnelly and Palmer, of the royal navy, were encamped under the command of Brigadier-general Lumley to protect the rear.

The navy having co-operated in this splendid expedition, its glorious result may reasonably be allowed a place in naval history; nor can it be given in more forcible language than that of the gallant general who commanded the attack. At the appointed hour the troops marched to the assault; they approached to the breach before they were discovered, when a destructive fire from every gun that could bear, and from the musketry of the garrison, opened upon them: heavy as it was, our loss would have been comparatively trifling if the breach had been open; but during the night, and under the fire, the enemy had barricadoed it with hides, so as to render it nearly impracticable. The night was extremely dark, the head of the column missed the breach, and when it was approached it was so shut up that it was mistaken for the untouched walls. In this situation the troops remained under a heavy fire for a quarter of an hour, when the spot was discovered by Captain Renny, of the 40th light infantry, who pointed it out, and gloriously fell as he mounted to the assault; our gallant soldiers rushed on, and, difficult as it was of access, forced their way into the town. Cannon were placed at the head of the principal streets; their fire for a short time was destructive, but the troops advanced in all directions, carrying every battery with their bayonets, and overturning the guns. The 40th regiment with Colonel Browne followed; they also missed the breach, and twice passed through the fire of the batteries before they found it. Our loss during the siege was trifling, but in the assault many brave officers and men purchased the honour of their country with their lives: one major, three captains, two lieutenants, two sergeants, five drummers, 105 rank and file killed; two lieutenant-colonels, three captains, eight lieutenants, four ensigns, four staff, 18 sergeants, five drummers, 235 rank and file wounded.

The part of the enterprise which fell to the share of the navy is fully detailed in the despatches of Rear-admiral Stirling.

The landing, it appears, was first effected at Carreta Point, which is about seven miles to the eastward of the town. The covering vessels were under the command and direction of Captain Lucius Hardyman, of the royal navy, who, notwithstanding the shallow water and bad weather, got near enough to afford protection to the soldiers. As the army advanced the naval department attended its motions along the shore, conveying supplies, harassing the enemy, and receiving the wounded men, the whole of whom were safely conveyed to their ships.

The largest ships of war the rear-admiral disposed of in such a manner as to prevent the escape of any merchant vessels, and to cut off all communication between Colonia and Buenos Ayres. The guns were landed from the ships of the line, and planted in battery; and, at one time, not less than 1,400 men were on shore from the squadron. The defence having been protracted, the ammunition began to fall short, and in two days their powder would have been expended. This was probably the reason which induced the able and gallant general to decide on an enterprise rarely attempted, and which was crowned with the most perfect success, unsullied by any act of barbarity so commonly practised by an infuriated soldiery on similar occasions. "At daylight," says the general, "every thing was in our possession except the citadel, which made a show of resistance, but soon surrendered, and early in the morning the town was quiet, and the women were peaceably walking in the streets." Two valuable officers, Lieutenant-colonels Vassal and Brownrigg, died of their wounds; and Major Dalrymple was killed in the assault, as were the Captains Renny and Dickenson, with many others.

As soon as Fort St. Philip had surrendered, Lieutenant William Milne, with the armed launches of the squadron, landed and took possession of the island of Rattones, which mounted 10 guns, and had a garrison of 70 men. This was a post of importance to the navy in the progress of its operations. A frigate, of 28 guns, lying in the harbour, was set on fire, and blew up after her crew had left her. Three gun-boats shared the same fate, but the other vessels were saved. The tons of shipping captured amounted to 13,000, exclusive of many vessels not thought seaworthy, and a number of gun-boats and launches armed for war. Some of the vessels might have been fitted for the King's service. Six of them mounted from 10 to 24 guns, but they were never employed, we conclude, for want of seamen to man them. On the 16th of

March the little town of Colonia surrendered to the Pheasant sloop of war, under the command of Captain Palmer, and a detachment of the army under Lieutenant-colonel Park. Late in the month of April a strong body of the enemy advanced in the night to take the place by surprise; but, being met by the British troops, they fled, leaving a few dead on the field of battle. Early in June Rear-admiral George Murray and Lieutenant-general Whitelock arrived in the river, and were soon after joined by Brigadier-general Crawford with more troops. General Whitelock, assuming the chief command, landed with the reinforcements at Grenado de Barragon, about eight miles to the eastward of Buenos Ayres, on the south side of the river: proceeding through a difficult ground to the village of Reduccion, on the banks of the little river Chuelo, where the enemy had constructed batteries, and thrown up a formidable line of defence. The army soon bore down all impediments, and formed a line of circumvallation round the city of Buenos Ayres, which now required nothing more than a few days of severe bombardment to induce the governor to capitulate. Unfortunately the commander-in-chief determined to attack the place without waiting for his heavy artillery, and to carry it by the bayonet without allowing his soldiers to load! To those who are unacquainted with the style of building in Spain and the colonies of that country, it may be proper to observe, that the Moors, probably, introduced the custom of constructing their houses like fortifications, that is, an exterior of strong stone work, with iron bars to the windows, and massive doors; the interior presented a court-yard, surrounded with two or three tiers of balconies, and a staircase, which might be easily defended by a few hands against a great force. The roofs of the houses were flat, and consequently afforded the most favourable retreat to armed soldiers, or even to women and children; to set fire to such houses from without was nearly impossible. A town thus constructed, it must appear evident, would surrender to nothing short of bombardment. "Yet," says the general, "the town and suburbs being divided into squares of 140 yards each side, and a knowledge that the enemy meant to occupy the flat roofs of the houses, gave rise to the following plan of attack:—

"Brigadier-general Sir Samuel Achmuty was directed to detach the 38th regiment to possess itself of the Plaza de Toros and the adjacent strong ground, and there take post. The 87th, 5th, 36th, and 88th, were each divided into wings, and each wing ordered to penetrate into the street directly in its front. The light battalion, divided into wings, and each followed by a wing of the 95th regiment, and a 3-pounder, was

ordered to proceed down the two streets on the right of the central one, and the 45th down the two adjoining, and, after clearing the streets of the enemy, to take post at the Residencia. Two 6-pounders were ordered along the central street, covered by the carabineers and three troops of the 9th light dragoons, the remainder of which was posted as a reserve in the centre. Each division was ordered to proceed along the street directly in its front until it arrived at the last square of houses next the river, of which it was to possess itself, forming on the flat roofs of the houses, and there wait for further orders. The 95th regiment was to occupy two of the most commanding situations from which it could annoy the enemy. Two corporals, with tools, were ordered to march at the head of each column, for the purpose of breaking open the doors. The whole were unloaded, and no firing was to be permitted until the columns had reached their final points, and formed. A cannonade in the central streets was the signal for the whole to come forward."

The first onset of the British soldiers, led by Sir Samuel Achmuty, was successful. He possessed himself of the Plaza de Toros, the post he was directed to attack, but with much loss, from the sheltered fire of the enemy; he, however, took 32 pieces of cannon, a quantity of ammunition, and 600 prisoners. The other divisions moved with different success; that under Brigadier-general Lumley was opposed by a heavy fire from the tops and windows of the houses, the doors of which were found so strongly barricadoed as to render it impossible to force them; and, had they indeed succeeded, the inside of the house would still have offered sufficient obstacle to the assailants. The streets were intersected by deep ditches, within which were planted cannon, firing grape on the advancing columns. Notwithstanding this formidable opposition, the 36th regiment gained its final destination, but the 88th was so much weakened as to be forced to surrender. The farther our troops advanced into the city, the more obstinate was the resistance they encountered, and the most terrible slaughter ensued of the finest troops in the world; their leaders lay dead or wounded, with a great part of the men: the fire from the house-tops, windows, and artillery, fell like hail, and mowed them down at every instant, while the streets streamed with the blood of our defenceless slaughtered countrymen: prodigies of valour were performed, charges were made, and guns were taken, but no impression could be made effectual on the impenetrable fortifications of the houses. Brigadier-general Crawford was forced to surrender with his division, and 2,000 British troops had lost their lives, their limbs, or their liberty, by the ill-judged enterprise. Hand-grenades,

bricks, and stones, from the tops of the houses, added to the destructive fire of guns and musketry. "Every householder with his negroes defended his dwelling, each of which was in itself a fortress." "Such," says the general, "was the situation of the army on the morning of the 6th of July, when General Liniers addressed a letter to me, offering to give up all his prisoners taken in the affair, together with the 71st regiment, and others taken with Brigadier-general Beresford, if I desisted from any farther attack on the town, and withdrew his Majesty's forces from the river of La Plata, intimating at the same time, from the exasperated state of the populace, he could not answer for the safety of the prisoners, if I persisted in offensive measures." These were the considerations which induced General Whitelock to accept of the proposals made to him: the British army withdrew from the ill-fated river. Thus ended the British invasion of South America—disastrous, but not altogether inglorious; enriching a few to the destruction of many.

The despatches from Rear-admiral Murray give an able outline of the naval operations of which he was the leader. Unhappily the difficulties of the navigation in the Rio de la Plata prevented the co-operation of the ships of war: even the gun-brigs could not get nearer to the beach than one mile, and the transports lay aground as they discharged their troops. The Rear-admiral pushed his light vessels as much in advance as possible: Captain Corbett, of the Nereide, of 36 guns, Captains Thomson in the Fly, and Provost in the Saracen, with the transports and gun-brigs, were placed to the westward of the city of Buenos Ayres, as close as the depth of water would admit; but the Nereide, though in no more than three fathoms water, was still nine miles from the town; consequently the army could derive no support from the guns of the ships of war. The exertions of the naval officers and seamen were therefore confined to the landing of provisions and ammunition, and dragging the artillery for the army through the swamps, with which the south side of the river abounds.

On hearing the result of the attack of the 4th of July, the rear-admiral got on board the Stanch gun-brig, and went up the river, anchoring off the post occupied by Sir Samuel Achmuty; the Medusa, Thisbe, and Saracen, were ordered to follow as far as they could with safety. Soon after, the rear-admiral received a note from the general, giving him intimation of the disasters which had befallen the army, and expressing a wish to see the rear-admiral, who lost no time in repairing to head-quarters, when, becoming acquainted with the true state of our affairs, he, with every general officer pre-

sent, consented to capitulate on condition of the British prisoners being released, and that our army should withdraw within two months from the shores of the Rio de la Plata.

The despatches were brought home by Captain James Prevost in the Saracen.

Lieutenant-general Whitelock returned to England on board the Thisbe. Soon after his arrival, he was tried by a court-martial, assembled at Chelsea Hospital, and sentenced to be dismissed from his Majesty's service. The public mind was excited against this unhappy general in a greater degree than he appears to have deserved; his sentence was received with approbation, and by many thought not sufficiently severe. As he was convicted neither of cowardice nor treachery, but simply of error in judgment, the common infirmity of our nature, we cannot but think the ends of public justice were completely answered by his removal from the service.

The expedition cost us 1,200 officers and men, killed and wounded, and deserted or missing.

In recording the trial Sir Home Popham, I am rather anticipating the course of events. Sir Home got through his difficulties with more facility than Whitelock, whose trial I attended at Chelsea, and it was fully expected that he would have been condemned to die; but we were becoming more refined in our ideas, though, perhaps, the last sentence of the law would have been the most merciful, for the unhappy general was loaded with vulgar abuse and execration to the latest hour of his existence; fortunately, I believe, his wife and children died before this event. My late worthy and gallant friend, Captain George Burdett, of the royal navy, married Miss Whitelock, but she died many years before her father's misfortune.

CHAPTER X.

1. State of Europe—Debates in Parliament on the subject of the Danish war—Speech of Lord Sidmouth—of Lord Hawkesbury—of Mr. Yorke —Consequences of the Peace of Tilsit—Designs of Bonaparte on Spain —Pretended overtures for peace—Declaration of the King of Great Britain in favour of Spain—The French armies under Murat advance into that country—Weak policy of Charles IV.—Ferdinand meets Bonaparte at Bayonne—General insurrection in Spain—Return of Admiral Gambier to England—Is created a baron—Thanks of Parliament opposed by Lord Holland, as regarded the navy—Sir James Saumarez appointed to command in the Baltic—Rear-admiral Sir Richard Keats sails for Gottenburg, with the army under command of Sir John Moore—History of the Spanish army under the Marquis de la Romana—Capture of the Prince Christian Frederick—Embarkation of the Spanish army from Nyebourg—Capture of the Admiral Yawl Danish brig—Death of Captain Bettesworth—Actions in the Baltic—Centaur, Implacable, and Swedes against the Russian fleet, who retreat into Rogeswick—Capture of the Sewolod—List of Swedish and Russian fleets—Capture and destruction of the Sea-gull—Distinguished conduct of Captains Cathcart and Caulfield.
2. *Channel.*—Maitland, in the Emerald, attacks and burns a French privateer in Vivero—Death of Captain Conway Shipley—Capture of the Guelderland by the Virginie, and of La Sylphe by the Comet—Of the Thetis by the Amethyst, and of L'Hébé by La Loire.
3. *Mediterranean.*—Admiral Allemande, with eight sail of the line, escapes out of Rochefort—Pursued by Sir Richard Strachan—Watched by the Spartan—Gets into Toulon—Noble action between the Redwing and Spanish flotilla—Affairs of Spain and Portugal—Insurrection at Cadiz—Murder of Solano—Peace between England and Spain—Capture of the French squadron under Admiral Rossilly—Operations of the British squadron—Insurrection at Oporto and St. Andero—Surrender of Dupont's army—Sir Arthur Wellesley sails from Cork, and lands in Portugal—First battle between British and French troops at Rolica—Battle of Vimiera—Convention of Cintra—Surrender of the Russian squadron to Sir Charles Cotton—Actions in the Mediterranean—Capture of the Turkish frigate Badere Zaffere—Romana's army lands at Corunna—Sir John Moore and Sir David Baird also land with their division—Retreat of British army under Sir J. Moore.
4. Lord Cochrane at Rosas.

The attack on Copenhagen excited the most lively sensation throughout the country, and was one of the first objects which occupied the attention of Parliament.

His Majesty, in the speech from the throne on the 21st of January, mentioned the peace of Tilsit, and the effects which that event was likely to produce in the affairs of Europe; of

the power which France had acquired; and of the determination of Napoleon to use it for our destruction. The minor states of Europe, which till then had been at peace with us, were now dragged into hostility; and the fleets of Denmark and Portugal might be numbered among our enemies. The address was moved in the House of Peers by the Earl of Galloway, then a captain in the navy; and in the Commons by Lord Archibald Hamilton. Self-defence was the ground on which the ministers rested their justification; and so firmly did they resist and so ably refute every argument of their opponents, that the country remained convinced of the absolute necessity of their measures. In reading over the debates on this interesting subject, we are forcibly struck with the change produced in the appearance of the same object, when viewed from different sides of the House. The men who advised the detention of the Spanish frigates, in 1804, denied the right of Great Britain to attack the fleet at Copenhagen. Yet the cases were precisely parallel, as far as right was concerned, and the point of necessity was infinitely in favour of the latter. The question has now been long set at rest by the unanswerable arguments of the best lawyers, as well as of the most approved writers on the law of nations. It was, with the most unaccountable party zeal, denied by a noble Lord (Sidmouth) that Denmark could by any possibility be at amity with France; and consequently he inferred, that we had nothing to fear from her; that the invasion of Zealand by Bonaparte was impracticable, because the Danes in the severest winter might easily have broken the ice on their own shores; and that even had the enemy got possession of the Danish fleet, it could not have been a subject of alarm to us; and that, even previously to the battle of Trafalgar, an addition of such a number of ships to the fleets of our enemies would have given us no serious uneasiness. A very intimate knowledge of the sentiments of the Danes towards this country, leaves no reason to suppose they would have opposed any plans of Napoleon for our destruction; and that 18 sail of the line, and as many frigates, all manned with Danish seamen, could have given us no uneasiness previously to the battle of Trafalgar, is a proposition to which I cannot assent. A Danish fleet, ship for ship, was in no respect inferior to that of France or Holland; and, be it remembered that we did not know at that time what we afterwards found to be the fact, that the greater part of the Danish fleet was not seaworthy; still their *apparent* equipment would have compelled a large force to watch them off the Naze of Norway during the winter months. Suppose then such a fleet had gone north about, shall we be told that

it would have caused us no uneasiness? While the immortal Nelson had been forced to quit the Mediterranean, leaving scarcely a British ship, shall we say that the fleet of Denmark could have done us no injury? What was the state of the public mind when we heard how the gallant and injured Calder had beaten Villeneuve, and was still in pursuit of him? What should we have said to ministers, if they had informed us that, in addition to our other causes of anxiety, a Danish fleet was at sea, with 20,000 land troops on board?

The facts of the case, however, left ministers no choice; they acted with vigour, and had all the good sense of the nation on their side. Lord Hawkesbury maintained that the treaty of Tilsit had placed the navies of Denmark and Portugal at the command of Napoleon; his lordship might have added, that those of Russia and Sweden must have followed. It was proved, through many channels, that the whole were to unite in common cause against Great Britain, on whose shores the combined fleets of France, Spain, Portugal, and Denmark, were to make a descent: the measures of the Board of Admiralty, at which Lord Mulgrave presided, were marked with decision, judgment, and activity. Bonaparte was foiled with his own weapons; while he deliberated we acted, and anticipated the master-stroke of his policy.

One observation made by the Right Honourable Charles Yorke deserves to be remembered, in an answer to a call for more evidence and for papers to prove assertions relative to the secret articles of the peace of Tilsit. The Honourable Gentleman stated that, in consequence of a motion made for papers by Mr. Fox, in the American war, relative to the sailing of the Toulon fleet, the French had been able to cut off a source of information which this country had possessed in Holland since the days of Queen Anne.

It was contended on this occasion, as well as on the commencement of hostilities in 1803, that a declaration of war was necessary on our part before we undertook the violent measures which our Government had thought it right to adopt. Such was the reasoning held by Napoleon; but was it consistent either with his known policy or with the practice of Europe for the last 200 years? France, of all the nations on earth, was the least governed by such forms, unless they chanced to suit her own views.

A pamphlet,* written by Mr. Ward, who was a lord of the Admiralty with Lord Mulgrave, completely clears any doubt that might have been entertained as to the legality of the mea-

* "An Inquiry into the Manner in which the different Wars of Europe were begun," &c. By R. Ward, Esq., Barrister. J. Butterworth, London, 1805.

sure. That learned gentleman had proved, in a work published two years before the expedition to Copenhagen, that, from the days of the Spanish armada to our own time, such a form had rarely, if ever, been observed. In the attack on Copenhagen, the declaration of our Government, and the proclamations of the commanders-in-chief, were in every point of view sufficient for the purpose of warning a peaceful nation of the approach of war.

It would be easy to prove from the writings of the best commentators on the law of nations, that it was not only our right, but our duty, to seize the fleet of Denmark. Grotius, in his third book, chap. i., art. 2, has the following passage:—

Moreover, I may, without considering whether it is merited or not, take possession of that which belongs to another, if I have reason to fear any evil from his holding it; but I cannot make myself the master or proprietor of it, the possession having nothing to do with the end which I propose. I can only keep possession of that thing until my safety is sufficiently provided for.

It was precisely under such a view of the case, that the British Government proposed the surrender of the Danish fleet, and the refusal of the Danes to that request became a justifiable cause of hostility.

About this time (says the author of the *Memoirs of Fouché*) the success of the attack on Copenhagen by the English was known: this was the first derangement of the secret stipulations of the treaty of Tilsit, in virtue of which THE NAVY OF DENMARK WAS TO HAVE BEEN PLACED AT THE DISPOSAL OF FRANCE!!! Since the catastrophe of Paul I., I had never seen Napoleon in such a transport of rage. That which most struck him in this vigorous coup-de-main, was the promptitude and resolution of the English minister.

That every word of this statement is correct there can be no doubt; but it is highly probable that the English minister, without receiving any communication out of the cabinet of St. Cloud, was fully convinced, after the treaty of Tilsit, what would have been the destination of the fleets of the North. We are surely, then, borne out in the assertion, that the growing power of Napoleon received one of its most fatal shocks at Copenhagen.

Napoleon, by this treaty, supposed himself completely master of the north of Europe; no wonder, then, at his rage and disappointment when he found or supposed his secrets betrayed and his projects anticipated and defeated. The battle of Trafalgar was the first blow given to his power; Copenhagen the second; the battle of Leipsic the third; and Waterloo the last.

Spain, the despised, the abject, ruined, impoverished Spain, that had given him her money, her soldiers, her ports, and her fleets, to recruit his armies, to strengthen his navy, and to assist him in the destruction of England, suddenly turned against him, as if the whole nation had been animated with one soul, one wish—that of destroying their oppressor and his legions. Austria, yet smarting under the effects of the campaign of 1805, was silently recruiting her armies, and preparing for another struggle; and, although the warning voice of the clear-sighted Fouché is said to have cautioned Bonaparte against any attempt on Spain, he directed his victorious legions to the Pyrenees, leaving in their place 40,000 conscripts to awe the humbled princes on the northern frontier. While he spoke of peace, he prepared for war; and while he meditated the conquest of Spain, and the dethronement of her king, he directed Russia to enter into negotiations with England* for a general peace, which, to use his own artful words, "might give repose to the world." Aware of his designs, the king of Great Britain expressed a perfect readiness to treat, but only on condition that Spain, which had recently made her declaration, should be received as our ally. This Napoleon insolently rejected, calling the unhappy Spaniards "insurgents!"

England, the bulwark of liberty, stood firm and undismayed, although abandoned by Russia and all the great powers; she had not indeed at that time, with the exception of America, one foreign minister at her court.

Referring to the negotiations which had been carried on, the king of England stated in his spirited proclamation, that it was difficult to believe his Imperial Majesty could have become the ally of a power so manifestly unjust as France; that he should acknowledge and maintain the right of Napoleon to dispossess a lawful and friendly sovereign of his throne, and to transfer the allegiance of his people. Unconnected with Spain by any treaty of alliance, the king of England declared that the engagements he had entered into in the face of the world with the Spanish nation he would consider as sacred and as binding as the most solemn treaties. His Majesty had expressed a just confidence, that the government of Spain, acting in the name and behalf of Ferdinand VII., was to be a party to the negotiation; that those conditions on which it was begun, having been rejected both by France and Russia, neither the honour of his Britannic Majesty, nor the generosity of the British nation, would admit of his Majesty consenting to its renewal.

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* See Russian Declaration, 31st October, 1807.

Bonaparte, while his armies under Murat insidiously crept into Spain, and gained one stronghold after another, had the cunning to disseminate mistrust and suspicion in the royal family at Madrid, and to render the king odious to his people. Charles IV., a weak, pusillanimous prince, bent to the storm, and prepared to retreat to his American possessions, following the example of the court of Portugal; but the character of the Spanish nation, hitherto humbled and degraded by a base aristocracy and the atrocious tyranny of the Inquisition, suddenly burst its chains, and spreading havoc and desolation among the troops of France, made the tyrant tremble on his throne:

> Ya despierto de su letargo de las Españas el Leon
> Con rugidos espantosos, cubri la tierra de pavor.

These beautiful lines are extracted from a patriotic song made on the occasion, which, like the Marseillaise hymn, but in a much better cause, roused the people for a time to a sense of their wrongs, and a resolution to avenge them. The infamous Godoy had nearly proved the first victim to the popular indignation, as the tool of Bonaparte, and the curse of his country. In the tumults of the 3d of May, 1808, he was dragged to prison, whence it was intended he should proceed to the scaffold, but he contrived to make his escape. Charles abdicated a throne which he had disgraced, and the Junta of Seville proclaimed Ferdinand "*el amado*" his successor. This prince, hardly superior to his sire in any qualification of the head or the heart, forgetting his duty to his country, and disregarding the advice of his most faithful counsellors, threw himself into the arms of Napoleon, at Bayonne, and received from him the reward of his folly. He was degraded, dethroned, and sent a prisoner to Valençay, while his sceptre was given to Joseph Bonaparte, the brother of the Emperor. This treacherous act was the consummation of Napoleon's infamy, and was justly followed by the execrations of mankind.

We must now return to the affairs of the North. On the 10th of February the Emperor Alexander published his declaration against Sweden; in which, alluding to the conduct of England towards Denmark, and to the treaties of 1783 and 1800, in which Sweden had engaged with Russia to maintain the principle "that the Baltic is a close sea, with the guarantee of the coasts against all acts of hostility," Alexander considered himself bound to call upon the king of Sweden for his co-operation against England. Gustavus did not disavow the obligation imposed upon him by these treaties, but refused all co-operation until the French troops should be removed from

the shores of the Baltic, and the ports of Germany opened to English ships. Reasoning like this was unanswerable but by the cannon. If Russia sanctioned the occupation of the shores of the Baltic, and the destruction of its trade by the French armies, it was absurd and tyrannical to call on Sweden to oppose a British fleet; an act which, even if founded in right, would have ended in her own destruction. Gustavus replied to the manifesto with firmness; he referred to the insults and injuries which Russia had received from France, to the declarations of the Emperor never to make a peace inconsistent with the glory of the Russian name, and then asked how far this was fulfilled by the treaty of Tilsit? He spoke of the exertions of the Swedish navy in the cause of Alexander at Dantzic, and in Pomerania, a country which he (Gustavus) had in consequence been forced to evacuate. He particularly reminded the Emperor of his having received offers from France to be put in possession of all the provinces lost by Charles XII.; that he had rejected them with disdain, and immediately made them known to Russia; and he added with irresistible force, "His Majesty stands on higher ground than to make a merit of having resisted temptation so mean and contemptible." He then proceeded to remark with just severity on the articles of the treaty of Tilsit levelled against England. "No government," says the gallant Gustavus, "is any longer left to its own light and experience; no people to their own lawful industry."

When the arrangements at Copenhagen were completed, and the Danish ships ready to sail, when the arsenal had been cleared of all its stores, and every ship in the British fleet had received a portion of them to convey to England, Admiral Gambier detached Rear-admiral Stanhope with the first division down the Cattegat: contrary winds obliged us to put into Gottenburg, where the exiled Louis XVIII. was at that time enjoying the hospitality of Gustavus. The Rear-admiral, with becoming attention to the misfortunes of the King, sent me to compliment his Majesty, and to offer such service as might be found acceptable. His Majesty received me courteously, but declined the offer, and the division pursued its way to England, where it arrived in safety. The remaining ships were not so fortunate. The Neptune, a Danish 80-gun ship, was lost in coming out of the Sleve, and dreadful havoc was made among the transports having troops on board. Owing to the want of nautical skill among the masters of the merchant ships hired for that service, some of the most afflicting cases of shipwreck occurred, and in some vessels every person on board perished. Admiral Gambier, on his arrival, was created an

English baron, and the thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to the fleet and army. It is remarkable that Lord Holland opposed the vote as far as it related to the navy, which his lordship conceived was not entitled to such a tribute of approbation. What the motives of Lord Holland were for such opposition I do not presume to say; had it been the opinion of Parliament, an endless feud would probably have been engendered between the two services. In conjoint expeditions, fighting comprises but a part of the duty to be performed; and, if there be a contention between army and navy, it is who should have the greatest share of danger. The safety and success of the troops often depend on the active co-operation of the navy to supply all their wants. A British army on a foreign coast, without a fleet to attend it, is nearly as much at a loss as a fleet would be without a sufficient depth of water: look at Egypt, South America, the Cape of Good Hope, and the West India Islands, Walcheren, and Corunna, and even Copenhagen itself.

In the year 1808 Vice-admiral Sir James Saumarez was appointed to the command in the Baltic; then become one of the most important of our naval stations. Sir James hoisted his flag in the Victory; Rear-admiral George Hope was captain of the fleet. The service became very arduous, in a military as well as political point of view. The admiral was in personal correspondence with the Emperor Alexander and the King of Sweden. The Danes, who, from their geographical position, bore the brunt of our attacks, were not unmindful of their duty: they wanted neither courage nor skill; and the acrimony universally felt against the English added an energy to their motions which made them very formidable enemies.

Rear-admiral Sir Richard Keats sailed from Yarmouth on the 10th of May, with the expedition under Sir John Moore, and reached Gottenburg on the 17th. The arrival of this force in the Baltic was marked by events of vast importance to the interests of Europe.

The Spanish troops under the command of the heroic Marquis de la Romana, amounting to 12,000 men, had been ordered to Hamburg, as we have already observed, and quartered there as part of the army under Marshal Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, and now King of Sweden. Early in the year 1808 this force was marched to the shores of the Baltic, as was alleged, for the invasion of Sweden, in conjunction with a Danish army. In the month of March the vanguard, having safely crossed the Little Belt, to the island of Funen, was preparing for the passage of the Great Belt, when they were surprised by the appearance of a British frigate and

a brig between Nyebourg and Corsoer, at a season of the year when it was thought no enemy's vessel would venture in those seas. The army was therefore ordered to halt, and the Prince Christian Frederick, a fine Danish 74-gun ship, with 620 men, was sent to clear the Great Belt of these intruders. On her arrival she as unexpectedly fell in with two British ships of 64 guns; the Stately, Captain George Parker, and the Nassau, Captain Robert Campbell: by these she was brought to close action in the evening of the 22d of March, and, after a creditable resistance, was driven on shore on the coast of Jutland: the British officers, unable to get her off, took out the prisoners and set her on fire. She had 55 men killed, and 88 wounded; the Stately had four killed, and 28 wounded; the Nassau two killed, and 11 wounded.

That two British ships of 64 guns, and 491 men, should be able to subdue an enemy of this force, is not surprising; but we must admire the seamanship, vigilance, and perseverance with which these officers pursued their enemy, on his own coast, and on which they had nearly grounded in the chase: nor is the merit of this action to be viewed as the mere capture of an enemy's ship of the line. Bernadotte was, according to Mr. Southey, thrown into great confusion by the unexpected position of our ships, in a channel so narrow and so dangerous at that time of the year. By the vigilance of Captain (now Vice-admiral Sir George) Parker, his designs upon Zealand were frustrated; and the liberation of the gallant Spanish army of Romana was probably accelerated by this fortunate action. Some of the men had been conveyed over by stealth during the night to the island of Langland, some to Funen, and others to Zealand; but the greater part remained on the coast of Jutland: that portion of them which reached Zealand became very refractory; attacked their general, who was a Frenchman, killed his aide-de-camp, and, planting their colours, swore to defend them with their lives. The British government, acquainted with this favourable disposition of the Spaniards, contrived, through the means of an agent in the island of Heligoland, to establish a correspondence with Romana. This gallant nobleman received and communicated to his army the cheering accounts of the insurrection in Spain against the oppressors of their country, and convinced them that their deliverance was near at hand. While Sir James Saumarez, the admiral and commander-in-chief in the Baltic, cautiously managed the Swedes and Russians, Sir Richard Keats, in the Little Belt, took upon him to assist the Spaniards in regaining their liberty from the Danes. Sir Richard, with the Superb, of 74 guns, and a small squadron, approached the

harbour of Nyebourg, in Jutland, near which the main body of the Spanish army was encamped; two small vessels of war (a brig and a cutter) opposed his entrance. The Rear-admiral directed his officers to board and bring them out: this was done; but in the conflict Lieutenant Hervey, first of the Superb, was killed. In the harbour of Nyebourg were found 57 sail of sloops and doggers: these, by the activity of the officers and seamen of the squadron, were immediately equipped under the direction of Admiral Keats, who hoisted his flag on board the Hound sloop of war, which, from her light draught of water, was enabled to come into the port. The baggage was shipped the same night and following day on board the prizes, and removed to the point of Slypsharn, four miles from Nyebourg, where the Spanish army was embarked in safety; and on the 11th of August remained under the protection of the British squadron, at the anchorage off Sproe.

The nobleness of the British character was never perhaps more honourably displayed than in all the circumstances of this remarkable transaction. After rescuing an army from their oppressor, the admiral declined taking away the prizes which his valour had won; and, though at war with Denmark, generously restored the brig, the cutter, and the whole of the 57 sail of vessels, as soon as the service was performed for which they had been taken.

Captain George Langford, in the Sappho brig of war, of 18 guns, captured, after an action of half an hour, the Admiral Yawl, a Danish brig of war, of a very unusual construction. She carried 12 18-pound carronades on her lower-deck, and 16 6-pounders on her main-deck; the enemy had two men killed, the Sappho two wounded. Captain Langford was made post for this action.

In the month of April the boats of the Daphne, Captain F. Mason, and Tartarus sloop were sent into Flodshand, directed by Lieutenant William Elliot, of the Daphne; who, under the guns of the fort, boarded and brought out 10 vessels (five of which were brigs of from 130 to 190 tons) loaded with provisions. Lieutenant Elliot and some of his followers were slightly wounded.

In the month of May Lieutenant John Price, acting commander of the Falcon sloop of war, destroyed 27 boats adapted for the transportation of troops, one of them loaded with shells, and one was taken with a 13-inch mortar.

Lieutenant M. R. Lucas, of the Swan, hired cutter, had an action with a Danish cutter off Bornholm; after engaging her for 20 minutes the Dane blew up, and every man on board of her perished. She appeared to be a very fine vessel, of about 120 tons, eight or ten guns, and full of men.

There is scarcely any part of the known world more inaccessible to an enemy than the port of North Bergen; its entrance is narrow, through defiles where anchorage is seldom attainable. The only mode of securing a ship is by making her fast to the ring-bolts fixed at various distances in the rocks for that purpose. The strength and irregularity of the currents baffle the art of seamanship: a ship going six knots is frequently turned round like a top, resisting the action of the helm, the sails, or the boats ahead; while thus embarrassed, the people on the surrounding rocks command a view of the decks, and, being expert marksmen, are capable of doing much execution with their rifle-guns. After the war had commenced between Great Britain and Denmark, the peaceful and happy Norwegians, an innocent and inoffensive race, were compelled to fortify their hills with cannon, and prepare for their defence.

Captain Bettesworth, with whose merit the reader is well acquainted, received his post-captain's commission from Lord Barham in 1805, for bringing home with such admirable diligence the despatches of Lord Nelson from Antigua. Having been appointed to the Crocodile, and afterwards to the Tartar, he was sent off North Bergen in May, 1808: learning that there were five privateers and some merchant-vessels in the port, he anchored at the mouth of one of the numerous passages, and at night went with his boats to cut them out; but, finding the enemy prepared, and being convinced that his boats were unequal to the task, he very prudently resolved to bring his ship into action. Having got under weigh he found himself becalmed, surrounded with rocks, in an intricate passage, and at the same moment attacked by a schooner and five gun-boats, each mounting two 24-pounders, and full manned; they had placed themselves behind a rocky point, whence their guns were directed with almost unerring aim. One of their first shot killed the gallant young Bettesworth while in the act of pointing his gun at the enemy; the Tartar was disabled in her rigging, drifting upon the rocks, the current strong, the heights covered with troops, looking down upon her decks, and not a gun from the ship could be brought to bear on them; such was the painful situation of the Tartar, when the command devolved on Lieutenant Caiger, who conducted himself like a brave officer and a good seaman; by perseverance he brought the broadside of the ship to bear, sank one of the gun-boats, and disabled the others. The Tartar at length, extricated from her difficulties, got to sea again, with the loss of her captain and one midshipman killed, and seven seamen wounded.*

* See "Naval Chronicle," vol. xxxix.

Captain Thomas Forrest, of the Prometheus sloop of war, had the honour of heading a very daring enterprise against the Russians in the neighbourhood of Aspo Roads. The army of the Russians, in Finland, received much of their supplies, particularly of military stores, by their coasting trade, escorted by gun-boats and small armed vessels; a number of these had been observed by Captain Forrest, who, with the boats of the Princess Caroline, Minotaur, Cerberus, and Prometheus, at half past 10 o'clock at night pulled in, boarded, and carried three Russian gun-boats, mounting two long 18-pounders and having 44 men each; besides an armed brig, loaded with provisions. We had 19 killed, and 57 wounded; the enemy had 28 killed, and 59 wounded. The Russians fought with the utmost bravery; in one boat every man was killed or wounded. For this action Captain Forrest was made post.

Captain John Willoughby Marshall, in the Lynx sloop of war, with Lieutenant Fitzgerald, in the Monkey gun-brig, captured three armed luggers off Dais. These vessels had anchored close to the shore, where they waited the attack: the depth of water not admitting the Lynx to approach, the Monkey ran in, and, after a sharp fire, soon drove the enemy from their guns, and brought out the vessels.

The Swedes were now acting in close alliance with us: their fleet had put to sea under the command of Admiral Nauckhoff, and cruised with Rear-admiral Sir Samuel Hood in the Centaur, and Captain Byam Martin in the Implacable. The combined squadrons fell in with the Russian fleet, under the command of Vice-admiral Honickoffe; and, after a chase of 36 hours, compelled them to seek shelter in the port of Rogeswick, with the loss of one ship of 74 guns. The victory would have been much more complete, but for the bad sailing of the Swedes, who could not get up in time to assist our ships. On the morning of the 26th of August the Implacable brought the leewardmost of the enemy's line-of-battle ships to action, and, in about 20 minutes, had silenced her fire, when the Russian admiral bore up with his whole fleet to her rescue; and, although she had surrendered, Sir Samuel Hood felt himself obliged to recall the Implacable, which for a short time only was forced to relinquish her prize. The Russian admiral ordered a frigate to take her in tow, and made sail with his fleet. The Implacable, perfectly prepared to take advantage of the least oversight, was again sent in chase, and compelled the frigate to leave her charge, which again drew down the Russian admiral. Sir Samuel Hood had now a prospect of bringing on a general action, when, to his great mortification, the Russian fleet, taking advantage of a slant of wind, ran into the port of Rogeswick, leaving their disabled consort to her fate. The

Russian ship had fallen to leeward, and grounded on a shoal at the entrance of the port, but soon after appeared to ride at anchor, and to be repairing her damages, while the boats of the Russian fleet were flocking round to tow her into harbour. In this attempt they had nearly succeeded, when the Centaur ran her on board; the Russian's bowsprit took the Centaur's fore rigging, and his bow came in contact with the muzzles of the Centaur's guns; in this position the Russian received a whole raking broadside, which tore her to pieces. Her bowsprit now entangled with the mizen-rigging of the Centaur; Sir Samuel Hood ordered it to be lashed there, and the command was instantly obeyed by Captain Webley (Parry), assisted by the officers and seamen of the Centaur. While this was going on, the enemy kept up a very destructive fire of musketry, which was well returned by Captain Bayley and the marines, as well as by the stern-chase guns of the Centaur. Unfortunately the Russian had dropped an anchor, which being unknown to Sir Samuel Hood, they found it impossible to move the ship. They were now in six fathoms water, and soon after both grounded; and the Russian surrendered after a defence, which we should have called most honourable, had it not been sullied by the striking of his colours in the morning. Captain Martin anchored the Implacable in a situation to heave the Centaur off the shoal, which was fortunately effected at the moment two of the enemy's ships were coming out to take advantage of their distress.

The prize proved to be the Sewolod, of 74 guns; she was fast on shore, and so much water in her, that Sir Samuel Hood, after removing the prisoners and wounded, gave orders that she should be burnt, which was done accordingly.

In this action we shall see much to imitate and admire: the chase was to windward; two British seventy-fours led up the Swedish fleet in pursuit of a superior enemy; only the two British ships were able to get into action with the rear of that enemy, from which they cut off and captured one ship of the line; the Swedish fleet, by their presence, evidently contributing to the defeat. The Centaur had three killed, and 27 wounded; the Implacable six killed and 27 wounded. The force of the Swedes on that day, under Admiral Nauckhoff, amounted to 10 sail of the line.

Swedes.

	Guns.		*Guns.*	
One of	78	One of	46	frigates.
One of	76	One of	44	
Six of	74	Two of	42	
Two of	66	One of	34	

Russians.					
	Guns.		*Guns.*		
One of	120	Two of.	44	}	
One of	108	Two of.	24	}	frigates.
Seven of	74	Two of.	20	}	
Three of.	50	Two of.	18		sloops.

Captain Robert Cathcart, in the Seagull, a brig of fourteen 24-pounders, and two long 6-pounders, when cruising off Christiansand, fell in with a brig of war, which he chased, and brought to action. When they had engaged about 20 minutes, six large Danish gun-boats, mounting two long 24-pounders, and carrying from 50 to 70 men each, came out from among the rocks, and attacked the Seagull in different directions, and, the weather being nearly calm, had so great an advantage as very soon to disable her. In about an hour five of the Seagull's guns were dismounted on the larboard side, the only side they could oppose to the enemy; all her sails and rigging cut to pieces, five feet water in her hold, the second lieutenant, master, sergeant of marines, and five of her men killed; Captain Cathcart and nine others severely wounded, and 10 men slightly wounded. The vessel being perfectly disabled, the British colours were struck to the Danish brig of war Lougan, of 20 guns, 18 long 18-pounders, and two long sixes, besides the gun-boats. Scarcely had the wounded men been taken out of her when the Seagull went down. Captain Cathcart was most honourably acquitted by a court-martial, and promoted to the rank of post-captain.

Captain Lord George Stewart, in L'Aimable, of 32 guns, fell in, off the Well Bank, in the North Seas, with L'Iris, a French national corvette, of 24 guns, and 160 men, which he captured, after a chase of 28 hours, and a short action. She was from Dunkirk, loaded with flour, and bound to Martinique.

On the 8th of June Captain James Caulfeild, of the Thunder bomb, with the Piercer, Charger, and Turbulent gun-brigs, under his orders, was passing through Malmo Sound, with a convoy of 70 sail of merchant vessels. The Danish gun-boats, always on the alert, and remarkably well manned and conducted, came out to the number of 25, and began a furious attack on the convoy, of which they very shortly captured 12 sail; and the Turbulent, being disabled, was also forced to submit. It being perfectly calm, it was not in the power of the British officers to assist each other. The enemy, after their first success, united their whole force against the Thunder; the Piercer and Charger still at too great a distance to afford him any relief. Captain Caulfeild, after four hours' conten-

tion, obliged them to fly, and retook two of his convoy. For his gallant defence he received the highest commendation of the commander-in-chief; and the merchants at Lloyd's connected with the Baltic trade presented him with 100 guineas to purchase a piece of plate.

The admiral, after this attack of the gun-boats, added the Africa, of 64 guns, commanded by Captain Barrett, to the escort of the merchant vessels passing through the Sound; but the gun-boats were still as daring as before, and attacked the Africa on one occasion with so much perseverance, that they killed and wounded between 30 and 40 of her crew, besides doing her other very considerable injury. The Melpomene, of 44 guns, was attacked by them near the same place, while lying at anchor in a calm, and during a very dark night. Captain Frederick Warren, who commanded the ship, did all that became a gallant officer; his men were cut down at every shot, while the Melpomene was unable to return a gun, either from the position they had taken, or from the darkness concealing their object: a breeze of wind fortunately saved the ship. These facts are sufficient to prove the necessity of our paying greater attention to the gun-boat service in general. It would be difficult to keep a force of this description in a country where we had not the command of harbours; but every ship of war should have as many as she could stow, and this is very rarely the case. The harbour of Dover should always have at least 12 ready to push outside of the piers in a calm, or to run upon the beach. In Gibraltar Bay we never had a sufficient number of gun-boats, nor of a proper description. The introduction of steam-boats, if applied to this species of warfare, may produce a great change in the manner of attacking and defending convoys.

Captain Caulfeild, after the retreat of the Russian fleet into Rogeswick, or Port Baltic as it is often called, was ordered to bombard that place, which he did for a fortnight, but without producing any visible effect, until a shell fell into a magazine, and caused a destructive explosion. Sir James Saumarez, who with a small squadron was present, saw the strength of the place forbade a nearer approach or more vigorous attack, and therefore recalled the Thunder, whose destruction he supposed inevitable, unless speedily removed, the shot and shells of the enemy falling thick about her. Captain Caulfeild being regardless of the signal of recall, Sir James sent an officer to desire he would move out of gun-shot; but the gallant officer returned for answer, that "as he conceived his position was a good one, he hoped he might be permitted to remain a little longer!"

On the Channel station there is little to relate of national importance, but we have some noble examples of successful valour and seamanship. Captain F. Lewis Maitland, of the Emerald, of 36 guns, ran into the harbour of Vivero, on the coast of Spain; and while his ship engaged two very strong batteries, his boats, under the command of Lieutenants Bertram and Smith, of the Emerald, and Meek and Hubbard, of the Royal Marines, landed, and took the outer fort by storm, as they would also have done the inner one; but, having ceased its fire, they could not find it in the darkness of the night, Lieutenant Smith, on his landing, met with a body of Spaniards, whom he immediately dispersed or killed. A large French schooner lying in the harbour was boarded by these gallant officers and taken, but being fast aground, they were forced to burn her. She mounted eight guns, was about 250 tons burthen, and had then recently returned from the Isle of France with despatches. This, though a victory, was dearly bought. The Emerald had 9 men killed and 16 wounded. The loss of the enemy was never known.

On the 22d of April, while Sir Charles Cotton commanded the British fleet on the coast of Portugal, and the ports of that kingdom were blockaded by our ships of war, Captain Conway Shipley, of La Nymphe, frigate, and Captain Pigott, of the Blossom, sloop of war, agreed to board, and, if possible, cut out a Portuguese brig of war, of 22 guns, and 150 men, then lying in the Tagus, above Belam Castle, with four boats from the Nymphe, and three from the Blossom, carrying in all 100 officers and men. The captains were to board on opposite sides: unfortunately an error in the calculation of the tide delayed the attack till the ebb had made so strong as to keep the boats of the Nymphe some time under the fire of the brig, and prevented those of the Blossom from getting alongside at all. Captain Shipley, after receiving in his gig the repeated discharges of the enemy's great guns and small arms, boarded her on the larboard bow, and, followed by his brother (now the Rev.) Charles Shipley, and his boat's crew, leaped at once into her boarding nettings, when a shot struck him, and he fell overboard. Mr. Shipley, regardless of every other consideration, instantly commanded the boat's crew to save their captain. The men obeyed, and put off for the purpose, but he had sunk, and never was seen afterwards. The officers in the other boats, seeing Captain Shipley's boat put off, considered the enterprise abandoned, and the whole returned to their ships.

On the 19th of May, Captain Edward Brace, in La Virginie, of 44 guns, fell in with, and engaged, the Dutch frigate Guelderland, of 36 guns, and 257 men. The ship was de-

fended for one hour and a half with very surprising gallantry by the Dutch captain, whose masts fell by the board before he surrendered: 25 of his men were killed, and 40 severely wounded. The Virginie had only one man killed, and two wounded.

Captain C. F. Daly, in the Comet, sloop of war, of 18 guns, and 120 men, fell in with three vessels of war, each in appearance as large as the Comet. Captain Daly, against such superiority, had no wish to seek an action; he therefore kept on his course, and the enemy, intimidated by this steadiness, tacked and ran: the corvette, outsailing the two brigs, separated from them. Captain Daly made all sail in chase of the brigs; came up with one of them; engaged her as close as he could lay, and in 20 minutes took her. She was called La Sylphe, mounted 16 26-pound carronades and two long nines, with 90 men: she had seven of her officers and men killed, and five of them wounded: had sailed from L'Orient two days before, in company with her consorts, who so shamefully forsook her. This gallant action procured for Captain Daly the rank of post-captain.

A frigate action of a very superior kind was fought off the Isle of Groix, near L'Orient, between the Amethyst, of 38 guns, commanded by Captain Seymour, and the French frigate La Thétis, of the same force in number of guns, but far superior in complement of men. The action began at 10 o'clock at night, and continued till 20 minutes past 12. Soon after 10, the French frigate fell on board the Amethyst, and again separated; but at a quarter-past 11 she intentionally laid the British frigate on board, and continued in that situation until finally subdued: the fluke of the Amethyst's best bower anchor entering the foremost main-deck port of the enemy. After great slaughter she was boarded and taken, and some prisoners received before the ships could be separated. The prize was entirely dismasted and much shattered, having her captain, Monsieur Puisun, and the incredible number of 135 men killed, and 102 wounded, among whom were all her officers except three. The Amethyst suffered also more than usually falls to the lot of a British frigate; Lieutenant Bernard Kendall, of the royal marines, and 18 men were killed, and 51 wounded. The prize was taken into Plymouth; and Captain Seymour received the well-earned honour of knighthood for his victory.—Captain A. W. Schomberg, in La Loire, of 38 guns, captured, after a long chase, L'Hébé, French corvette, of 20 guns, with a complement of 160 men. She was from Bordeaux, bound to St. Domingo, loaded with flour.

Early in 1808, Admiral Allemande escaped out of Rochefort, pursued by Sir Richard Strachan, with five sail of the line; the enemy had about the same number. Allemande entered the Straits, and proceeded to Toulon, where he joined Gantheaume; and that officer, with 10 sail of the line and four frigates, sailed with troops for Corfu. Sir Richard Strachan, having lost all traces of his enemy, steered for Palermo, whence he despatched the Spartan and Lavinia frigates for intelligence. The Spartan, touching at Cagliari, learned that Gantheaume had been seen steering to the southward; this information was immediately conveyed by that ship to Lord Collingwood, whom she fell in with off Maritimo, in quest of the enemy. His lordship, going first to Naples, sailed thence round the south-west end of Sicily, detaching the Spartan to cruise between Cape Bonn and Sardinia, where, on the 1st of April, she discovered the French fleet carrying a press of sail to get to the westward. Captain (now Sir Jahleel) Brenton, placing his ship about two leagues on the weather-beam of the French admiral, under an easy sail, watched his motions during the day; the enemy chased, but without gaining on him; in the evening, having previously prepared his launch with a temporary deck, he hove to, and sent her under the command of Lieutenant Coffin with despatches to Trepani, then 130 miles distant. This officer narrowly escaped capture by the enemy's fleet, which, before he had got two miles from the ship, came close upon him: he very judiciously lowered his sails, and lay quiet until they had passed. He reached Trepani on the following evening, whence, despatching the launch agreeably to his orders to Malta, he set off for Palermo, and gave the intelligence to Rear-admiral Martin. The launch reached Malta on the third day, and vessels were detached in every direction in search of the British fleet: the enemy in the mean time continued in chase of the Spartan, dividing on opposite tacks, to take advantage of any change of wind, so frequent in the Mediterranean. Confident in the sailing qualities of his ship, the Captain at night again placed himself on the weather-beam of the French admiral; and at daylight made sail from him on the opposite tack, to increase the chance of falling in with the British fleet. The enemy tacked in chase: the Spartan was becalmed, whilst they were coming up with the breeze, and for a short time her capture appeared almost inevitable; but, as she caught the breeze, she again took her position on the admiral's weather beam. This was the close of the third day, when a frigate was seen to run along the French line, and speak all the ships in succession:

soon after the whole of them bore up, steering with the wind a-beam; and the captain of the Spartan concluding that the French admiral had shaped his course for the Gut of Gibraltar, and had given up the chase, steered the same way, with a strong breeze at N.N.W. The night was excessively dark, and a most anxious look-out was kept for the enemy: at half-past seven they were discovered on the lee quarter, close hauled, and very near: this was evidently a stratagem of Gantheaume's to get to windward of his enemy; but the manœuvre failed. All hands were on deck and at their stations: the Spartan wore and crossed the enemy within gun-shot, before they could take any advantage of their position; the French squadron also wore in chase, and the next morning was hull down to leeward.

The fourth day was passed in the same manner; the Spartan keeping a constant and anxious look-out for the British fleet, while the enemy crowded every sail in pursuit of her. In the evening a shift of wind brought them to windward; and, the night being very squally and dark, Captain Brenton lost sight of them, and made the best of his way to Minorca, to ascertain whether Gantheaume had gone there to get possession of the Spanish ships of the line in the harbour of Mahon. Making Mount Toro, a heavy gale prevented his reconnoitring the port, and he steered for Cadiz, to put Admiral Purvis on his guard. Gantheaume, notwithstanding the vigilance with which he was watched, eluded the pursuit of his enemies, and returned to Toulon, where he was closely blockaded, with all his fleet, which soon increased to 16 sail of the line.

That Admiral Gantheaume did relieve Corfu is most true; but that he cruised a few days on the coast of Africa, as has been asserted, is very improbable. We know that he carried all possible sail against a north-west wind, and was unable to weather Sardinia: a landsman might, perhaps, call this cruising; we do not so consider it in the navy.

That two hostile fleets should be at sea, and not fall in with each other, even if both were anxious to meet, might appear strange to any person unacquainted with the subject; we can therefore easily account for Mr. James's wonder: but there was no want of vigilance or attention on the part of our naval officers in the Mediterranean, as far as regarded the escape of Gantheaume, who was as anxious to avoid an interview as Lord Collingwood was to get sight of him.

In the month of December, Captain Searle, in the Grasshopper, captured off Carthagena one out of three vessels of war which had come on purpose to take him; and in the

month of April, 1808, the same officer, in company with Captain Maxwell, of the Alceste, attacked a large convoy bound out of Cadiz to the northward: when off Rota (the Mercury frigate in company), the enemy was discovered coming close along shore, escorted by 20 gun-boats, and a numerous train of flying artillery on the beach. Notwithstanding these, and shot and shells from the batteries of Rota, seven sail of the convoy were taken, two of the gun-boats sunk, and the others compelled to retreat. The Grasshopper, drawing the least water, was the most distinguished vessel in this affair: she ran so near the batteries as to drive the people out with her grape-shot, keeping at the same time a division of the enemy's gun-boats in check, which had come out of Cadiz to assist the convoy. The captures were effected by the boats of all the ships, under the command of Lieutenants Stewart, Allen, Pipon, Gordon, and Whylock; W. O. Pell, of the Mercury, and Lieutenant Hawkey, of the royal marines. The prizes were loaded with naval stores bound to Cadiz. The affair took place in the mouth of the harbour, in the presence of an enemy's fleet of 11 sail of the line.

The Grasshopper had the honour very soon after of performing still more brilliant deeds. On the 24th of April, in company with the Rapid gun-brig, Lieutenant W. F. Baugh, on the coast of Spain, she fell in with two merchant-ships, under the protection of four heavy gun-boats. After a short chase, they took refuge under the batteries of Faro, followed by the British vessels, which immediately anchored within reach of grape-shot; and, after an action of two hours and a half, the people on shore fled from their guns, two of the gun-boats surrendered, and the other two ran on shore; the two merchant-ships were taken, and proved to be worth £30,000 each.

In November, the boats of the Renommée and Grasshopper attacked and captured two armed vessels under the protection of the Torre del Estacio; one was a Spanish brig, the other a French tartane.

Captain Thomas Usher, in the Redwing, a brig of 18 guns, fell in with a convoy of Spanish merchant vessels, escorted by gun-boats: the winds being light, the enemy handed their sails, and approached the Redwing in a line as if determined to board her; when so close as not to run the risk of expending a shot in vain, Captain Usher opened his fire, and, after an action of near two hours, the enemy fled, pushing their vessels into the surf, and leaving their wounded men to the mercy of their generous enemies. The seamen of the Redwing in vain endeavoured with their boats to rescue these unfortunate people from drowning, for the surf was too high;

and in a short time many of these vessels were sunk, some were destroyed in the surf, and others were captured; three only escaped. The number of vessels, and their force, as opposed to the Redwing, consisted of seven heavy gun-boats carrying one, two, and four 24-pounders, and manned with from 25 to 60 men each. Seven merchant vessels were captured, four sunk, and one escaped.

This, we think, is giving a very good account of an enemy. The Redwing had only one man killed, and three wounded. This was the last action between our marine and that of Spain.

The Spaniards, ever since the battle of Cape St. Vincent, in the year 1797, had entertained feelings towards Great Britain very different from those which had been instilled into them by the artful policy of the court of France, cultivated with so much success by the Convention, the Directory, and finally by Napoleon Bonaparte. As they did not possess the liberty of the press, their knowledge of our true character was very limited; their intercourse with the British officers, after that battle, tore aside the veil by which they had been kept in ignorance of the true causes of the war between England and Spain. This newly-acquired information was quickly spread from the sea-coast to Madrid, and produced in a few years a wonderful change in our favour.

From the moment of the retreat of the infatuated Ferdinand to Bayonne, the people of Spain threw off all restraint, and no longer concealed their indignation at the conduct of Napoleon; a spirit of insurrection showed itself in almost every corner of the kingdom, and the words of Talleyrand and Fouché were repeated by the dismayed Frenchmen—"*Laissez là l'Espagne.*"

The council of Seville, one of the principal provincial jurisdictions of Spain, availed itself of the statutes in the Constitution which authorize it to reject the orders of the supreme council of Madrid when the capital shall be in possession of foreign troops; that body therefore assumed an independent authority in the name of Ferdinand VII., whom it proclaimed king, formally declared war against France, appealing to the Spanish nation for support, and its supremacy was acknowledged by most of the provinces. In Andalusia the people flocked to the standard of the Junta of Seville; men were raised and armed, and Castaños was appointed to the chief command. Many small detachments of the French were cut off, and in most instances massacred. General Dupont was at that time in the south of Spain, with an army of from 18,000 to 20,000 men.

The Portuguese rose in arms simultaneously with the Spaniards; and the whole Peninsula, from the Pyrenees to the

ocean and the Mediterranean, breathed nothing but vengeance against the French and Napoleon.

This brings us to that important era in the history of Europe when the war of the revolution took an entirely new turn, greatly to the advantage of rational liberty and good order in society. But Spain could scarcely expect deliverance from her own hands. Bigotry, superstition, and moral slavery, the natural and invariable results of ignorance, joined to the enormous power of the Catholic priesthood, had left this beautiful portion of Europe almost without a single individual with the talents and experience necessary to raise the unhappy country from its degradation. Romana was a brave soldier, and beloved by his countrymen, but the artful Napoleon had removed him and his gallant army far away from the calls of their native land.

In their state of despondency, with their coast from Bayonne to Rosas surrounded by British cruisers intercepting every cargo from her colonies, while a French army rioted in the interior, and imperiously demanded that treasure for its support which Spain had not to give, the unhappy people turned their eyes upon the English for deliverance; and were not disappointed. The inhabitants of Cadiz were the first to call for our assistance, and loudly demanded that the fire of the batteries should be turned on the French squadron of five sail of the line, then lying in the harbour, under the command of Rear-admiral Rossilly. To this demand the Marquis de Solano replied, "that, much as he was disposed to prevent the escape of the ships, Spain was not in a condition to commence hostilities against the French." Shortly after the governor gave out his pass and countersign—"Paris" and "Napoleon." This, though perhaps meaning nothing, was fatal to him. The mob surrounded his house, and furiously demanded to see him. He had been frequently cautioned to quit the city. The unhappy marquis, conscious that he was doing his duty, disregarded the advice of all his friends until it was too late. Mrs. Strange, an Irish lady long resident in Cadiz, concealed him in her house. The mob broke in and demanded his person: she denied any knowledge of him: they made her swear to it, which she did with heroic resolution, and received a pistol-shot in her arm. Her house had then recently been painted, and in a corner there was a closet, concealed by a sort of sliding door: into this she had thrust the marquis, where he might have remained in safety till night, had not a painter, who had been employed in the house, showed the place of his concealment. The miserable victim was dragged forth and insulted. Mrs. Strange narrowly escaped with her life. They

fiercely demanded how she could take a false oath? She boldly replied, "To save the life of an innocent man!" and they let her go with mingled applause and disapprobation. Solano was hurried away to the fish-market: the poissardes are ever active revolutionists. Here he received a stab under his right shoulder, and, turning round to see whence the blow came, he calmly exclaimed, "*Es possible!*" Instantly the rabble fell upon him, tore him in pieces, and bathed their hands and their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they displayed as tokens of victory. He was succeeded in his office by Don Thomas de Morla, who was appointed by the provisional government. The war between England and Spain ended with the life of Solano.

Lord Collingwood, commanding the British fleet off Toulon, was perfectly aware of what was passing in Spain, and wrote to Rear-admiral Purvis, then commanding the detachment off Cadiz, to put him on his guard against the expected exit of the Spanish fleet.*

For 11 years, with the exception of the short interval of the peace of Amiens, the English had blockaded Cadiz; but England, the Spaniards knew, possessed honour, bravery, and a hatred of tyranny and oppression. The French squadron under Rossilly had taken possession of the harbour, and used the dock-yard and the stores at the Caraccas as their own. The tide of popular opinion had long been turning against the French in the Peninsula: their rapacity and cruelty had disgusted the Spaniards in the same proportion as they admired the generosity and humanity of the English.

Admiral Rossilly placed his squadron in a defensive position in the channel leading to the Caraccas, and out of the reach of the works of Cadiz, where he refused to listen to any terms. The Spanish gun and mortar boats, and the batteries erected on the isle of Leon, commenced hostilities at three o'clock in the afternoon of the 9th, and the firing continued on both sides till night. It was renewed on the morning of the 10th by the Spaniards, and partially continued till two, when a flag of truce was hoisted by the French admiral, but the terms proposed by him were rejected, and the Spaniards augmented their works. The offer of assistance from the British rear-admiral and general was declined, as the Spaniards wished to

* This appears to be the proper place to speak of the *Memoir of Lord Collingwood*, a book which no well-educated sea officer will be without; at this period of my work it is particularly applicable, but I am always sparing of quotations from living authors. Sometimes, indeed, it is not easy to avoid it, but here I would rather recommend that admirable volume than quote from it.

have all the honour to themselves. The truth was, they saw that as long as the British squadron lay off Cadiz the French could not escape, and that, consequently, they must surrender without the active interference of the English. A small French force having assembled at Trevisa, with an intention of entering Spain by passing the Guadiana, Admiral Purvis, to evince his zeal in the cause, sent three sail of the line off the mouth of that river, and a land force of British troops was prepared to march, to co-operate with them against the common enemy.

Admiral Rossilly now saw that from the harbour of Cadiz he had no means of escaping. He proposed to dismantle and disarm his ships, and keep his people on board, without showing any colours. Morla would not accede to the terms proposed, nor to any but an unconditional surrender, which at length took place on the 14th, when the Spanish colours were displayed on board the French ships. On this occasion the popular excitement against their oppressors exceeded all bounds. The British squadron was immediately admitted into the harbour, with the most joyful acclamations. As soon as the account of this event reached England, about 8,000 Spanish prisoners were liberated and conveyed back to their native country; and the union of the two nations was complete. Admiral Purvis detached the Windsor Castle, with a land force under the command of General Spencer, to assist the royalists near Ayamonte. On his arrival, Major general Spencer informed the Secretary of State that the appearance of the British force had induced the French to retire towards Lisbon. The Windsor Castle was immediately joined by tne Zealous, of 74 guns, with a body of troops embarked in transports: they came to anchor in Lagos bay, and Junot, the French commander-in-chief in Portugal, was now forced to retire and act on the defensive in Lisbon.

On the 15th of June Lord Collingwood, who had arrived off Cadiz, received information from the governor, that the commissioners nominated by the Junta of Seville to negotiate a peace with England would be ready to embark in two days; and Sir John Gore was ordered to convey them to England in the Revenge of 74 guns. Application was also made to his lordship, by the same authority, to give a passport to a Spanish frigate and four despatch vessels, to carry to the several governments and presidencies in the West Indies information of the events which had happened in Spain, and their instructions to the governors. They also requested that a British sloop of war might take out officers to that country, whose presence there was of importance: this request they

urged as affording a proof to the colonies of their connexion with Great Britain.

On the 20th of June Captain Creyke, of the Eclipse sloop of war, addressed a letter to Sir Charles Cotton, from Oporto, in which he described the revolutions and counter-revolutions which had succeeded each other in that city. At length, the populace, inflamed by the priests, broke open the dépôts, and supplied themselves with 25,000 stand of arms. From that moment the French authority ceased; D'Oliveira, the governor, was displaced, and the bishop of Oporto elected in his room. Twenty thousand men instantly marched to meet the French, who had advanced, with only 900, to within six leagues of Oporto. Portugal was in arms from north to south; and such was the popular hatred against the French, that the Captains Creyke and Jones, of his Majesty's navy, after having begged the life of the French intendant of police, had the greatest difficulty in conveying him to their boat: love and respect for the English alone prevented the populace from tearing him in pieces.

At St. Andero, on the 25th of June, Captain George Digby, of the Cossack, of 22 guns, and Captain C. F. Daly, of the Comet, finding that the French army had gained the pass of the mountains, and was approaching the town, and that the inhabitants were flying in every direction, landed and blew up the magazines, and spiked all the guns. Having accomplished this, the British officers had only time to put off with their boats, when the French army entered the town. Captain Daly was severely scorched by the explosion; as was Lieutenant Read, of the royal marines.

The cause of the French in the Peninsula appeared to be perfectly desperate, when on the 24th of July Sir Hew Dalrymple, the commander-in-chief at Gibraltar, acquainted Government with the surrender of the French army to that of Castaños. This force amounted to 14,000 men; of which 8,000 were under Dupont, and 6,000 under General Wedel. This event caused the evacuation of Madrid by the new king and his army ,who retreated to Segovia. The whole of Andalusia was cleared of French troops, and the British were everywhere received as friends and liberators. This intelligence was officially communicated to Lord Collingwood by the Supreme Junta of Seville. Still more important events crowd upon us in the course of that interesting year: the celebrated Sir Arthur Wellesley, who had distinguished himself in India and at Copenhagen, was sent with an army to support the Portuguese, and preserve, if possible, the remnant of liberty existing on the Continent.

This distinguished warrior sailed from Cork on the 12th of July, 1808, with about 10,000 men; and, leaving the fleet as soon as he had got clear of the coast, he made sail in a frigate for Corunna, where he arrived on the 20th. By this timely effort of diligence he obtained the most valuable information before his troops arrived, and agreed with the Junta of Gallicia to land with his army at Porto, to which he immediately went. The French had at this time gained the victory of Rio Seco. Sir Arthur Wellesley received on his arrival at Porto a letter from Sir Charles Cotton, advising him to leave the troops either at Porto or the mouth of the Mondego, and join him at Lisbon. The fleet was accordingly ordered to Mondego bay; and Sir Arthur Wellesley went to Lisbon, where he learned that General Spencer had landed his troops in Andalusia. Sir Arthur ordered the general to join him off the coast of Portugal, and determined to attack the French army under Junot in the neighbourhood of Lisbon, where the enemy was reported to have from 16,000 to 18,000 men. Returning instantly to Mondego bay, he landed on the 1st of August; though, owing to bad weather, the whole of his army was not on shore till the 5th. He heard of the defeat of Dupont; and received advice from his own Government that Brigadier-general Ackland with 5,000, and Sir John Moore with 10,000 troops, were coming to his assistance.

General Spencer joined him on the 5th, and his corps was not landed before the 7th and 8th.* The British general defeated the French at Caldas and Rolica. The Russian fleet in the Tagus, moored in a line from Boa Vista to Junquiera, prepared for action, to support the French, and to fire on the city of Lisbon if attacked by our squadron. The Portuguese ship Vasco de Gama lay also in the Tagus, and afforded an asylum to the French general La Garde during the night; the conduct of this intendant of the police having rendered him justly obnoxious to the resentment of the Portuguese.

The landing of Major-general Anstruther's brigade, on the 19th of August, which was effected by the skill and perseverance of the navy, under the most serious difficulties, increased the force of Sir Arthur to such a degree as to enable him to meet Junot, and fight the battle of Vimeira on the 21st. Sir Harry Burrard, the second in command, was on the field of battle, but would not interfere with Sir Arthur Wellesley's judicious plans; and Sir Hew Dalrymple, on the 22d, took the chief command of the British army, the enemy retreating to the lines of Torres Vedras. This brings us to the con-

* See Southey's "Peninsular War," vol. i. p. 534.

vention of Cintra, concluded between the British general and Junot, by which the latter was allowed to evacuate Portugal with his whole army. To those who were well acquainted with the character and the conduct of the French towards the Portuguese and Spaniards, it was mortifying to see them secure a retreat in British ships of war and transports from a country whence, after committing every enormity, they carried off the last dollar, and even the wearing apparel, of many of the wretched inhabitants. The evacuation of Portugal was, however, at that time of such vast importance to the great cause of Europe—so much was supposed to have been gained by the expulsion of 24,000 men from the kingdom—that all the sacrifices which were made for the attainment of this end were considered to be perfectly insignificant, when compared to the advantage obtained. The lines of Torres Vedras, behind which Junot and his army were strongly intrenched, would have cost the lives of thousands to have stormed; and, what was perhaps of still more importance in the great struggle, would have detained our army in its front, until a superior force came up in the rear, and placed us between two powerful enemies. The military part of the convention, we may therefore safely say, was at least as advantageous to the interests of Portugal, and even of Spain, as could have been expected. The events which followed so soon after had no reference to this transaction, which, if considered in whatever point of view, must have been favourable to the future operations of the allied armies in the Peninsula. The surrender of the Russian squadron of nine sail of the line, "in trust," till six months after a general peace, was a far more exceptionable part of the treaty; but even this was not unprecedented. The Dutch fleet, in the year 1799, was surrendered to Vice-admiral Mitchell on nearly the same conditions; they were not prizes, but held for the Prince of Orange. Upon the whole, taking a calm retrospect, and considering all the circumstances under which the army and navy were placed at that eventful period, the neutralizing even for a few weeks of so great a force of the enemy was an object of too much importance not to be attained by all which we gave in exchange; and both Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir Charles Cotton were treated with unmerited severity and cruel ingratitude. The Vice-admiral, with the British fleet, was fortunately in such a position as to give effect to the negotiations, and the surrender of the Russian squadron, without firing a shot, was the more to be desired, as an action, though it would undoubtedly have ended in victory to us, would have disabled our fleet at an important crisis. Captain (now Admiral Sir Laurence William) Halsted, cap-

tain of the fleet to Sir Charles Cotton, was the bearer of the despatches to the Admiralty, announcing the convention of Cintra and the surrender of the Russian ships. This is the squadron which we left at the Dardanelles, under the command of Vice-admiral Siniavin, after the retreat of Sir John Duckworth, when the politics of Russia assumed on that and other accounts an unfavourable turn towards England, and shortly after ended in war between the two countries.

We must now quit the coast of Portugal, and observe the movements of the British squadron in the Mediterranean. Lord Cochrane commanded the Impérieuse, of 38 guns, on the southern coast of Spain: on the 31st of July his lordship attacked the castle of Mongal, an important post, held by the French, and commanding the road between Barcelona and Gerona, while the French were besieging the latter place. The marines of the Impérieuse took possession of the castle, and the Spanish militia gallantly carried an outpost on a neighbouring hill. His lordship blew up the castle, destroyed the guns, and delivered the small arms and ammunition to the Spaniards, bringing off a captain and 70 men prisoners. He also kept the coast of Languedoc in a perpetual state of alarm, suspending the trade, and occupying the attention of a large body of troops.

Although Great Britain had made peace with Spain, she had still enemies enough to contend with. The Russians in the North, and the Turks in the East, more than counterbalanced the friendship and assistance of the Spaniards. The Turks, after the affair of the Dardanelles, became our open enemies.

Captain John Stewart, in the Sea-horse, of 38 guns, fell in with two Turkish ships of war and a galley, coming round the east end of the island Scopolo; Captain Stewart chased, and brought them to action at half-past nine in the evening, going off the wind, under easy sail; the Turks endeavoured to run the Sea-horse on board, which Captain Stewart by good management prevented. At 10 o'clock, the Sea-horse by her fire had disabled the smaller ship, which had partly blown up forward; and Captain Stewart was enabled to turn his whole attention to the other, which he engaged till a quarter past one, when she became a motionless wreck: her fire ceased, but she would not reply to any demand whether she had surrendered or not. Captain Stewart, knowing the treacherous and desperate character of the Turks, was unwilling to expose the lives of any of his people by going on board of her: he therefore waited till daylight, when, seeing her colours displayed on the stump of her mizen-mast, he poured a broad-

side into her stern, and she struck. She proved to be the Badere Zaffere, a frigate of the largest dimensions, carrying 30 24-pounders on her main-deck, and mounting in all 52 brass guns, two of which were 42-pounders: she had 12-pounders on her quarter-deck and forecastle, and a complement of 500 men, of whom 165 were killed, and 195 wounded. The Turkish captain, Scanderli Kichuc Ali, was prevented only by his own people from blowing her up. The Sea-horse had five killed, and 10 wounded. The other frigate was called the Ahs Fezzan, carring 22 13-pounders, and 230 men. The galley put most of her men on board the frigates before the action, and went away.

Lieutenant Price, of the Porcupine, cut out from under the fire of the batteries in the harbour of Dango, on the coast of Romania, an armed vessel of eight long 6-pounders, and between 20 and 30 men.

Captain H. W. Pearse, in the Halcyon, and Captain Prescot, in the Weazle sloop of war, in conjunction with a small detachment of troops, under the orders of Lieutenant-colonel Bryce, of the Royal Engineers, attacked the town of Diamante, destroyed the works, spiked the guns, and captured a convoy of merchant vessels, without any loss on our part.

Captain Rogers, in the Kent, of 74 guns, with the Wizard, sloop of war, was equally active and fortunate on the coast of Genoa, taking and destroying, during one cruise, 23 sail of coasting vessels.

Lord Cochrane, in a letter to Lord Collingwood, of the 28th of September, says, "With varying opposition, but with unvarying success, the newly-constructed semaphoric telegraphs, which are of the utmost consequence to the numerous convoys that pass along the coast of France, at Bourdique, La Pinde, St. Maguire, Frontignan, Canet, and Foy, have been blown up and completely demolished, together with three telegraphic houses, 14 barracks of the gendarmes, one battery, and the strong tower on the lake of Frontignan."

The army of the Marquis de la Romana having been extricated from the trammels of Gallic perfidy, by the valour and judgment of Sir James Saumarez and Sir Richard Keats, was, in the month of September, safely landed at Corunna, at which place, in the following month, the expedition under Sir David Baird also arrived; it consisted of 13,000 men. Sir John Moore, who had returned from Gottenburg, was employed in Spain with his army in support of Spanish independence; and in the month of December the two British generals formed a junction at Benevento: but the forces of Great Britain and their allies were still found to be totally inadequate to the purposes of

affording any effectual check to the armies of France. The British generals, with hearts above fear, and resolution which, under more favourable circumstances, would have crushed the enemy beneath their feet, supposed themselves under the hard necessity of seeking a retreat to the water side. Thus the successes of Sir Arthur Wellesley, and the exertions of Romana, were nearly rendered ineffectual by the disasters which attended the British army at Corunna.

The British admiral commanding in the Mediterranean afforded every assistance to the Spaniards on the sea-coast. On the 6th of November the French appeared before the town of Rosas, which they invested with 6,000 men. The inhabitants fled to their ships or the citadel for safety; but the fire of the Excellent, of 74 guns, commanded by Captain John West, the Meteor bomb, commanded by Captain Collins, and the Lucifer, by Captain Hall, both of which were within point-blank-shot, soon compelled them to retire. The defence of this port is to be attributed entirely to the zeal of Captain West and his officers and men. Barcelona was invested by the French at the same time.

The Fame, of 74 guns, commanded by Captain Bennet, was sent to support Rosas; and Lord Cochrane (an imperishable name in the late war) defended in the most heroic manner the castle of La Trinité; but when Rosas surrendered to the French, his lordship blew up the castle of Trinité, and retired. He then commanded the Impérieuse, of 40 guns.

CHAPTER XI.

West Indies.—Spanish settlements revolutionized by the news from the mother country—Duckworth pursues the Rochefort squadron—Spear's action with the French corvettes—Découverte destroys La Dorade—Marie Galante taken—Martinique blockaded—Capture of the Carnation by the Palinure—Court-martial; execution of Sergeant Chapman for cowardice—Collier's action—Capture of La Cygne—Death of the gallant Lieutenant Bennet of the Maria—The Laurel taken by the Canonnière.

In the month of July, 1808, a new line of policy was adopted in the West Indies towards the colonies of Spain, in consequence of the mother country having become suddenly friendly to Great Britain. The governor of Cuba refused to acknowledge Joseph Bonaparte, and called in the assistance of England to support him in the fidelity which he honourably retained to his unworthy though lawful monarch, Ferdinand VII. The flame of liberty soon spread to the shores of the Continent; Cumana, Barcelona, and all the settlements along the coast, from Trinidad to Mexico, declared open hostility to France, and received the British shipping into their ports with the most affectionate welcome. From that moment the war in the western hemisphere possessed little interest for us, in point of profit or glory; but we had the superior satisfaction of beholding a people throw off the chains of tyranny, and assert the freedom to which they were justly entitled. That they have not yet reaped the entire fruits of their labours is to be lamented; but long years of discord must succeed a convulsion the result of tyranny, bigotry, ignorance, and avarice.

The Rochefort squadron having again escaped, the active and indefatigable Sir John Duckworth, with a squadron of seven sail of the line, and having his flag in the Royal George, sailed for Martinique, off which island he arrived in the month of February, 1808, but the enemy had not been seen, and he shaped his course once more for England, where he arrived on the 18th of April, and the Rochefort squadron got safe into Toulon on the 10th of the same month.

On the 22d Captain Joseph Spear, in the Goeree, a ship sloop, of 18 guns, and 120 men, had a very spirited action with two French brigs of war, the Palineure and the Pylade, of 16 guns each, 24-pound carronades, and 110 men. The enemy escaped, leaving the Goeree too much disabled to follow.

On the Jamaica station Lieutenant Colin Campbell, in the Découverte schooner, drove one of the enemy's cruisers and her prize on shore, on the coast of St. Domingo, and destroyed them; and on the following day the same officer chased another privateer, which he brought to action, and subdued in 45 minutes; she was called La Dorade, mounted a long 18-pounder, two long nines, and was manned with 72 men, of whom 14 were killed and three wounded.

In the month of March the island of Marie Galante was taken by Captain Selby, of the Cerberus, who, having the Captains Hugh Pigot, of the Circe, and Brown, of the Camilla, under his orders, in the blockade of Guadaloupe, landed these officers with 200 seamen and marines, and to this force the island surrendered without resistance. Captain Selby was sent shortly after with the Cerberus, and a squadron of small vessels, to take the island of Desiada, or Desirade, which he captured without loss, though after much resistance, and a heavy fire from the batteries. In this service he was assisted by the Captains Sherriff and Ward.

In the month of December, 1808, Captain Charles Dashwood, in La Franchise, of 36 guns, with the Aurora, Dædalus, Reindeer, and Port Mahon brig, attacked the port of Samana, on the east end of St. Domingo. The place was taken after very little resistance. Two privateers, of five guns each, with a complement of 100 men, and three merchant vessels, were found in the port.

In the month of November, 1808, Rear-admiral Sir A. Cochrane received orders to blockade Martinique, preparatory to its invasion. The island, from the vigilance of our cruisers, became daily more straitened for provisions; the Americans in vain endeavoured to relieve it; and the British merchants of the neighbouring islands scrupled not, in defiance of the blockading squadron, and of every moral obligation and duty to their country, to supply our enemies with the most essential articles for their defence and subsistence. The captures made by our cruisers, and the number of American vessels condemned for breach of blockade, exceeded that of any former period; and so deeply sensible was Bonaparte of the wants of the island, and of its importance to France, that he despatched squadrons of fast-sailing frigates, corvettes, and schooners, with provisions, ammunition, and artillerymen, most of which were intercepted.

Captain George Saunders, in the Belette, and Captain Joseph Spear, in the Goeree, each took valuable letters of marque, bound with provisions to the French islands. Two small frigates were also captured on the home station, by the Loire and the Aimable, with similar cargoes for the same des-

tination. The Melampus captured a brig of 16 guns, called the Colibri, bound also to Martinique with flour.

The Palinure, one of the brigs which had engaged the Goeree, fell in, to windward of Martinique, with the Carnation, a brig of 18 guns, commanded by Captain Gregory, who, after a long chase, and a running fight of three hours, in which he had fired away all his filled powder, came fairly alongside the enemy, when Captain Gregory was killed, the first and second lieutenants desperately wounded, and taken below: the two vessels then fell on board of each other, when the master of the Carnation ran from his quarters, as did the sergeant of marines, followed by every man in the vessel except the boatswain, a tall, daring, athletic man. This brave fellow mounted the main-rigging, and saw no one on the decks of the enemy except the captain, who, as it afterwards appeared, was too ill to walk the deck, but had caused himself to be placed there in his chair. In vain did the boatswain use every means of threat and of entreaty to animate the crew. "If 25 men (he exclaimed) will follow me, she is ours;" but they were panic-struck, and not a man would come up from below. The Frenchmen finding all quiet, a few of them came over the bows of the Carnation, and took her without farther resistance. This was one of the most disgraceful transactions that had occurred during the war, and was entirely to be attributed to the unfortunate death of the captain, and the severe wounds of the lieutenants. Without leaders, the men lost their spirits, and the vessel was sacrificed to the cowardice of the master and sergeant of marines. The Carnation arrived in Marin Bay, Martinique, where she was soon after burned by the enemy, to prevent her falling into our hands; and the Palineure was captured by Captain Hugh Pigot, in the Circe, as she went into Fort Royal Bay. The crew of the Carnation were retaken in her, and the commander-in-chief immediately ordered a court-martial to be assembled for their trial. The facts above stated came out in evidence before the court. Sergeant John Chapman was sentenced to be hanged at the yard-arm, which was carried into execution on the following day, on board the Ulysses, in Fort Royal Bay, Martinique. The master died of the yellow fever previously to the trial, or he would have shared the same fate. Thirty of the men were sentenced to 14 years' transportation, as unworthy to belong to the British navy; but this sentence was declared by the 12 judges to be illegal, and was not carried into effect. The lieutenants were most honourably acquitted. The name of the first lieutenant was Decker, now deservedly a captain; the name of the second is unfortunately forgotten. The boatswain was strongly recommended to the

notice of the admiral, by whom he was immediately appointed to the largest frigate on the station.

In October Captain Cockburn, in the Pompée, took the Pylade, the consort to the Palineure.

Captain F. A. Collier, in the Circe, with a squadron of sloops and small vessels, was stationed off the town of St. Pierre and the Pearl Rock; near which he discovered, on the 12th of December, a brig and two schooners at anchor. He immediately made all sail towards the enemy. On nearing them, he perceived that the shore was lined with troops and field-pieces, besides regular batteries. The Circe, followed by the Stork sloop and Morne Fortunée brig, soon cleared the beach of the soldiers, and silenced the batteries, which they engaged within pistol-shot. One of the schooners had run on shore, and Captain Collier, leaving the Morne Fortunée to watch her, went on with the Stork to attack the brig and the other schooner lying at anchor, covered by batteries and troops of flying artillery, the boats of both ships being prepared to board as soon as the fire of the enemy was in any degree subdued. Unfortunately the daring intrepidity of Lieutenant Crook, who commanded the boats of the Circe, induced him to put off from his ship, and attack the enemy, before the boats of the Stork could come to his support, or the fire of the brig and the batteries was silenced by the Circe. So closely had Captain Collier placed his ship, that his men were wounded with musketry from the beach. At this critical moment the boats under the command of Lieutenant Crook interposing between the Circe and the enemy, the fire of the British frigate was necessarily withheld, and Captain Collier could only engage the batteries, or fire on the troops who lined the beach. Coming alongside the brig, the lieutenant found her with boarding nettings triced up to her yard-arms, and so well manned and prepared, that the boats were in a very few minutes nearly destroyed, with 56 of the officers and men either killed, wounded, drowned, or taken prisoners. The Circe and Stork stood off for the night. In the morning the brig weighed, and attempted to get into St. Pierre, but her movements were so closely watched that she was driven on shore, and burnt by the Amaranthe, as was also one of the schooners; the other was bilged on the rocks. The brig was called La Cygne, mounted 18 guns, 24-pounders, and had 140 men. This vessel, as well as the schooner, was loaded with flour for the garrison. They had sailed from Cherbourg in company with La Vertu, La Junon, and L'Amphitrite frigates, and Lapillon brig. The schooners were both armed, and were a part of this squadron. The Amaranthe had one man killed and five wounded, one of them

mortally; the Stork had one man killed and two wounded; the Express, one killed and three wounded.

A very noble defence was made by Lieutenant Bennet, in the Maria, a small brig of war, of 14 guns, 12 12-pound carronades, and two long fours, against Le Sard, a French brig of war, of 22 guns, of which 16 were 32-pound carronades, four long 9-pounders, and two long sixes, with a complement of men in proportion. Lieutenant Bennet chased and brought this vessel to action under the lee of Guadaloupe, but the wind dying away to a dead calm, the British vessel lay exposed to the raking broadside of a superior enemy, until perfectly disabled, notwithstanding every exertion of the lieutenant to get his brig's head the right way. When this was effected the fire was renewed with great vigour, but the Maria was sinking, and her colours being shot away, the Frenchman hailed to know if she had struck. The brave lieutenant answered "No," and a moment after three grape shot passed through his body, and he fell dead under the British flag, which he had rehoisted. The master continued the action till not a hope remained, and then struck. The enemy ran the vessel on the rocks, where she was wrecked. Besides the lieutenant, five men were killed and nine wounded.

We have very little to say respecting the East Indies during this year: the enemy was quiet in that part of the world; their naval operations were confined to the predatory excursions of their frigates and privateers. The Laurel, of 22 guns, commanded by Captain J. C. Woolcomb, was taken after a severe action by the Canonnière, of 38 guns. Captain Woolcomb was cruising off the Isle of France when he fell in with the enemy, and, having no wish to engage a force so much superior, declined the action; but the Canonnière coming up, they fought for an hour and a half, when the Laurel, being disabled, was forced to surrender. Her damage was confined to her masts and rigging, to which the fire of the enemy seems to have been chiefly directed, and in which he completely attained his object; while, on the other hand, the fire of the Laurel being directed to the hull, the French frigate had five men killed, and 19 wounded. The character of Captain Woolcomb received no blemish from this misfortune, a court-martial having honourably acquitted him. In his mode of fighting he appears to have adhered to the old English maxim, of firing at the tier of guns. In a case of this sort, where the opponent was of so much greater force, perhaps it would have been better to have directed the whole fire at the main-mast head; that fallen, the ship might have become an easy prey to the Laurel.

In South America we find nothing to remark in the year 1808.

CHAPTER XII.

North America and West Indies.—Capture of the Furieuse by the Bonne Citoyenne—British seamen desert from the Africaine—Are demanded by the British consul, and refused to be given up—Observations thereon—Attack of the British land and sea forces on the island of Martinique—Landing of the troops—Forces employed, and description of the siege—The island surrenders—Horrible instance of cruelty in the French soldiers—Observations on the distributing of medals to the army on this occasion and withholding them from the navy—Capture of La Topaze—Action between the Horatio and La Junon—Capture of the latter by the Latona—The Belleisle sails for Europe with the garrison of Martinique—Arrival of the convoy in Quiberon Bay—Infamous conduct of the French Government—Captain James Lucas Yeo takes the settlement of Cayenne from the French—British forces take the Saintes—Capture of Le D'Hautepoule—St. Domingo held by blacks and creole Spaniards—The French finally expelled from that island—Small sea-fights in the West Indies—Capture of La Junon and death of Captain Shatland—Destruction of the two French frigates which captured her—Death of Captain Cameron.

The coast of North America, where Vice-admiral Sir J. B. Warren held the command, offers some incidents of naval interest. The feeling of the public mind in the United States was rapidly heating to the war pitch against Great Britain. The American Government, notoriously courting popularity with its democratic supporters, fanned the flame against us, and succeeded in convincing the most ignorant, and consequently the larger portion of the people, that we were tyrants and oppressors. If, however, the most unexampled and powerful efforts of our enemy to destroy us, compelled us to use the means in our power for our defence, none had therefore a right to accuse us of tyranny and oppression; and, should the trident of the ocean ever be wrested from our hands, I only pray that it may be wielded by a nation equally generous, and equally disposed to protect the weak and unoffending against the powerful and guilty.

Captain William Mounsey, who commanded the Bonne Citoyenne, a corvette-built ship, with a flush deck, carrying eighteen 32-pound carronades and two long nine-pounders, with a complement of 121 men, sailed for Quebec with the Inflexible, of 64 guns, and a convoy, from which he accidentally parted company in chase. On the 5th of August, at three in the afternoon, he saw a French frigate boarding an English

merchant-ship, which she relinquished the moment the Bonne Citoyenne stood towards her, and ran to the northward under a press of sail. Captain Mounsey made all sail in pursuit, and, after a chase of 18 hours, at half-past nine in the morning, he laid his sloop alongside of the enemy, and engaged her within pistol-shot. The action lasted, with inimitable gallantry on the part of the British vessel, till 16 minutes past 4 P. M., when, his powder being nearly expended, Captain Mounsey determined to carry his adversary by boarding with all hands; and, at the instant of laying her alongside for that purpose, the enemy called out that they had surrendered, and struck their colours. This action stands nearly unrivalled (in its class) in the annals of our navy—a large frigate chased and captured by a sloop of war!—that of the Speedy and Gamo is alone superior to it. The French frigate, it is true, had not her complement of guns, having only twelve 42-pound carronades, and two long 24-pounders on her main-deck, with six guns of a smaller calibre; these were, however, more than equal to the metal of the Bonne Citoyenne, which had three of her guns dismounted early in the action. The frigate had her full complement of officers, and 200 seamen, together with a colonel, two lieutenants, and a detachment of the 66th regiment of the line. She was called La Furieuse, was a frigate of the largest class, pierced for 48 guns, and was one of those which had escaped from the Saintes, when Captain Fahie chased and captured the D'Hautepoule, as will be hereafter related: she was laden with sugar and coffee. The battle was one of peculiar obstinacy; it lasted 6 hours and 50 minutes. The enemy fired 70 broadsides; and the British sloop 129 alternately from her starboard and larboard guns. This was a very able and judicious manœuvre of Captain Mounsey, relieving his guns from over-heat, and availing himself of the superior skill of his men, and the fast sailing of his ship, to distract and annoy his enemy; nor is it possible to conceive how much this small vessel had damaged a ship nearly three times her size. She had 14 shot-holes between wind and water, and five feet water in her hold when taken possession of; her topmasts and all her topsail-yards were shot away, and her lower masts were so badly wounded that they fell the next day. She had 35 men killed, and 36 wounded, among whom were her captain and two lieutenants. Nor was the Bonne Citoyenne in a much better condition; she was literally cut to pieces in hull, masts, and rigging; but she had only one man killed, and five wounded. The prize arrived at Halifax.

In September the Africaine, of 38 guns, having been in one of the ports of North America, 13 of her men deserted, and

OMIRAL THE HON^BLE SIR ALEX^R INGLIS COCHRANE, G.

ENGRAVED FOR BRENTON'S NAVAL HISTORY

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went to Baltimore; they were claimed by Mr. Wood, the British consul. Mr. Hunter, the mayor of Baltimore, on the application of Mr. Wood, caused seven of them to be arrested; but, on the consul appearing in court to claim them as British subjects, it was decided that no cause was assigned for their detention, and they were released. The decision was received with three loud cheers, and the men were borne away in triumph by the mob of the most democratic city of the Union. I care very little about British seamen who desert their colours; but I doubt the expediency as well as the legality of Mr. Wood's demand. Let us suppose a parallel case. England and France are at peace; but France and America are at war. An American ship puts into Portsmouth; her men desert. The captain, or, in his name, the American minister, demands them to be given up. Should we restore them? or should we not exclaim, "The demand is a violation of our rights!?" We cannot compel any foreigner to return to his colours as long as he conforms to our laws. The day may not be distant when America may practically experience the truth of this proposition. The question assumes a very different shape when our men are discovered on board a ship of war, as in the case of the Chesapeake. I have no hesitation in saying, that I should most certainly take a deserter, knowing him to be one, whenever I had the power, without violation of territory; but I apprehend that neither the law of England nor of America could have compelled men to re-embark under the circumstances here described. The fact is mentioned to show the spirit of America towards Great Britain in 1809.

In the month of January the British land and sea forces began to assemble at Barbadoes, and soon after took their positions round the island of Martinique; the fleet under the command of Rear-admiral the Honourable Sir A. Cochrane, the army under Lieutenant-general Beckwith. The debarkation of the troops to windward was intrusted to Captain Philip Beaver, of the Acasta; and the transports, having the principal part of them on board, anchored in Bay Robert, on the windward side of the island. Major-general Sir George Prevost, who commanded that division, was on board the Penelope, of 36 guns; and the landing was effected on the 30th and 31st of January, with very little opposition. The second division, under Major-general Maitland, landed at St. Luce, under the superintendence of Captain Fahie, of the Belleisle. Major Henderson, of the Royal York Rangers, was detached in the York, of 74 guns, to take possession of the battery of Point Solomon, on the south side of the bay of Fort Royal. This being done, a safe anchorage was secured for the fleet, and the

same officer pushed on with his men, and invested the fort of Pigeon Island (Ile aux Ramiers). A fourth division landed at Trinity Bay; and very active operations immediately commenced.

The reduction of Pigeon Island has always been a prelude to any attempt against the town of Fort Royal and the once tremendous fortresses of Bourbon and Fort République. This island commands the anchorage in the upper part of the bay. Captain Cockburn and Brigadier-general Sir Charles Shipley reconnoitred the ground, and fixed on Morne Vanier as the most proper situation to erect their batteries. On the night of the 31st of January a 13-inch mortar was landed and mounted by Lieutenant Burton, of the Neptune; and, on the morning of the 1st of February, opened its fire on the astonished garrison of Pigeon Island, which, however, returned the fire with much spirit, but with little injury. On the same day the Neptune, of 98 guns, bearing the admiral's flag, anchored with the squadron and transports within half a mile of Point Solomon, in 17 fathoms water. A ship of the line and a frigate cruised across the bay; and the Intrepid, of 64 guns, Captain C. W. Neesham, watched St. Pierre, and took possession of Ance du Serron. The artillery was landed under the direction of Captain Cockburn, who was directed by the rear-admiral to hoist a broad pendant on board the Pompée, of 74 guns, and to take the rank of a brigadier-general.* The obstructions to our landing were numerous; the ruggedness of the rocks, and the fire of the enemy's battery of Pigeon Island on our boats, as they opened the point of land between the fleet and that fort, gave us considerable annoyance. A road was cut through a very thick wood to the top of a steep hill called Morne Vanier, which overhung Pigeon Island. A nine-inch halser was next carried up and secured to the stumps of the trees, and from this halser tackles were attached to the guns. The sailors, delighting in such works, ran down the hill with the tackle falls (or ropes) as the guns flew up with incredible velocity, notwithstanding the depth of the mud, the incessant rain, and the steep acclivity of the newly-cut road.

There is something indescribably animating to the mind of British seamen whenever they are ordered to land with a great gun. The novelty of getting on shore, and the hopes of coming into action, give a degree of buoyancy to their spirits, which carries them to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. A

* I was on this occasion appointed flag-captain to the commodore, and took command of the Pompée, but in two days was removed into the Belleisle.—Author.

hundred sailors, attached by their canvass belts to a devil-cart, with a long 24-pounder slung to its axle-tree, make one of the most amusing and delightful recollections of former days. On this occasion, when the governor, the worthy and gallant Villaret, was told how they were dragging the cannon along, he replied "*C'en est fait de nous*" ("it is all over with us.")

Works were in the mean time thrown up behind some brushwood on the top of the hill; and in the evening of the 3d a battery of one 13-inch mortar, and three 8-inch howitzers, was ready to open from Morne Vanier against Pigeon Island. The fire began at six o'clock the same evening, and continued with very little intermission till daylight the next morning, when the fort hung out a flag of truce and surrendered. This was no sooner perceived at Fort Royal than the Amphitrite, a beautiful frigate of 44 guns, lying in the carenage, was set on fire and destroyed.

Having reduced Pigeon Island, Commodore Cockburn was directed to cross the bay, and take possession of the anchorage at Negro Point. This was immediately effected in a small, but beautiful, sandy cove. All the guns and mortars intended for the investment of the fort of Bourbon, on the side of Tartanson, were landed. In the mean time Major-general Sir George Prevost defeated the enemy on Morne Bruno, after an action which lasted the whole day; and, on the following day, Sir George attacked the works in front of Bourbon. Our troops advanced to the muzzles of the enemy's guns, but the fire of their artillery was too heavy for them, and they fell back in good order. In these two actions the loss of the enemy was computed at 700 men, and ours at 330. Captain Taylor, of the royal fusiliers, and Captain Sinclair, of the 25th, were killed. The Honourable Lieutenant-colonel Pakenham, of the 7th, and Major Campbell, of the rifle corps, were wounded.

Admiral Villaret, the captain-general, and governor of the island, perceiving that he was overpowered, shut himself up in his forts, having about 3,000 men, with an abundant supply of ammunition, and waited the destruction of our forces by the operation of the climate, and the heavy rains which fell incessantly. Supposing (as he afterwards declared) that Fort Bourbon was impregnable, he abandoned Fort République, or Fort Edward, leaving in it four 13-inch mortars, and 38 heavy guns, with a quantity of shot and shells. From this fort, being commanded by Bourbon, he had no doubt he could expel us at any time; but he was deceived. On the 7th, at night, Major Henderson, of the Royal York Rangers, and Captain Dilkes, of the Neptune, with a strong party, entered and took posses-

sion of the fort; and at daylight the British flag was displayed on its walls. This drew on it a furious though unheeded bombardment from Bourbon, which demolished the houses and barracks, but hurt no one; and, in the course of two days, the mortars were unspiked, and returned the fire, while Commodore Cockburn, who had crossed the bay and landed at Negro Point, with a brigade of 600 seamen, formed a strong battery within 1,200 yards of Bourbon, on the side of the river Monsieur. The lower-deck guns of the Intrepid (thirteen 24-pounders) were landed at Paradise Bay, where the enemy had abandoned two strong forts. The navy, without any interruption to their labours, advanced with their guns to a hill called Tartanson, where "the sailor's battery" was constructed; and, on the 19th of February, we had completely invested the fort with the following works:

1. On Tartanson . . .	4 13-inch mortars. 4 8-inch howitzers.
2. — Folleville . . .	4 10-inch mortars. 2 8-inch howitzers.
3. — Sailor's battery .	7 long 24-pounders.
4. L'Archer, or the Windmill . . .	1 13-inch mortar. 1 8-inch howitzer.
5. Colville's	1 10-inch mortar. 1 8-inch howitzer. 4 24-pounders.
6. Fort Edward . . .	4 13-inch mortars. 3 long 24-pounders.

Besides these other batteries were preparing. Fort Dessaix, or Bourbon, was now summoned to surrender, but refused, Admiral Villaret declaring that himself and his staff had sworn to bury themselves under its ruins. Sunday the 19th, at half-past three P. M., was the time agreed on for commencing the attack: at the same minute the fire from all our batteries opened. The scene was awfully grand; and, as the evening advanced, was magnificent beyond all description. The whole hemisphere was illuminated with continued streams of fire, with the flashes of guns, and the bursting of shells. The fire of the enemy was equally severe. The trees which had hitherto concealed our works were cut down at every shot either by the French or English. The brushwood in front of our guns caught into a flame, but was soon extinguished. On our side we had a great advantage: the ground having been rendered soft by the rain, the shells buried themselves where they fell, and did little or no execution; one artilleryman was killed at our batteries. On Monday the enemy ceased firing during

the whole day, but recommenced on Tuesday the 21st, when it was faintly kept up, and in the evening was again silent. On Wednesday the 22d a great explosion was observed in the fort, which we afterwards learned was occasioned by their small magazine having been blown up by one of our shells. On the same night the laboratory tent, in the rear of our great mortar battery, exploded, killing and wounding nine men belonging to the Amaranthe. This accident was caused by the tent having been incautiously placed directly to leeward, and within a few yards of the mortars, the sparks from which ignited the powder.

On the 23d, the enemy sent out proposals to capitulate; but, the terms being similar to those of Cintra, were rejected. The fire of the fort, for the last two days, had gradually diminished; and, on the 24th, after an almost incessant bombardment of five days, Villaret capitulated.

Thus fell the island of Martinique a third time under the British flag. The terms were nearly similar to those of other colonies, with the exception of the entire demolition of Fort Dessaix, and that the garrison should be taken to France in British ships, and there exchanged for British subjects.

The capture of this island was, as it has ever been, a serious blow to the commerce of France. The ships of war employed on the service were as follows:

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Neptune	98	Flag—Rear-admiral Hon. Sir A. Cochrane. Captain Charles Dilkes.
Pompée	80	Commodore Cockburn. Captain (*pro tem.*) E. P. Brenton.
Belleisle	74	Charles Fahie.
York	74	Robert Barton.
Captain	74	Sir James Athol Wood.
Intrepid	64	C. J. W. Neesham.
		Frigates.
Acasta	38	P. Beaver.
Penelope	36	J. Dick.
Ethalion	38	T. Cochrane.
Æolus	32	Lord William Fitzroy.
Circe	32	Hugh Pigott.
Ulysses	44	Honourable Warwick Lake.
Eurydice	24	T. Bradshaw.
		Sloops of War.
Goree	18	Joseph Spicer.
Wolverine	18	John Simpson.
Cherub	18	T. T. Tucker.
Stork	18	George Le Geyt.

Sloops of War—(continued).

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Amaranthe.	18	James Hay (acting).
Forrester	18	—— Richards.
Recruit	18	C. Napier.
Star	18	F. A. Collier from the Circe.
Frolic	18	Thomas Whinyates.
The Swinger and Haughty gun-brigs.		
Express	14	brig of war.

The loss of killed and wounded among the seamen was very small, and these all or chiefly at the batteries on shore.

	Killed.	*Wounded.*
Neptune	0	3
Pompée	3	6
Belleisle	0	4
Amaranthe	3	6
Total	6	19

The loss of the army was much more considerable: that of the enemy was never certainly known. The prisoners, including general officers and all others, amounted to about 2,400 men; with a very large supply of artillery and ammunition. The garrison marched out with the honours of war. Six pieces of artillery preceded the troops of the line, matches lighted, drums beating; the British troops in two lines on each side the road presented arms as they passed, the band playing "God save the King" and "Rule Britannia." The troops marched into the town of Fort Royal in the most perfect order. The French, we must admit, possess the *art militaire* in a very superior degree. There was not in the whole course of this affecting scene one instance of misconduct: the men mostly shed tears as they laid down their arms; and their wounds, and their appearance, and even their enemies, bore testimony to their well-tried valour. The windows of the town of Fort Royal were crowded with females, but all absorbed in grief, as their gallant countrymen marched down to the quay and silently embarked in the boats prepared for them. By these they were in a few minutes conveyed over the calm surface of the beautiful bay, and safely deposited on board the ships of war and the transports provided for their accommodation. It was declared, on a narrow inspection of the interior of the fort, that no place had ever undergone so severe a bombardment.

The Fort Dessaix, or Bourbon, no longer exists: it was by this capitulation doomed to utter destruction; and, by treaty,

the French are bound not to erect another on its site. Its ruins now lie in huge masses on the surface of the hill, at the foot of which is situated the town of Fort Royal, and the once noble castle called Fort Bourbon. The island of Martinique is one of the most beautiful, if not superior in other respects, of all the other Caribbee Islands. The bay of Fort Royal is, with the carenage, the most perfect anchorage in the Caribbee Islands; but not secure in the hurricane months. English Harbour at Antigua is safer from storms, but more liable to sickness.

During the operations of this short campaign, a circumstance occurred which I deem it my duty to hold up to the execration of posterity: the fact is undenied, even by the French, and proved by the most credible witnesses now living.

When the gallant and much-lamented Colonel Pakenham made an attack on the enemy's post at the windmill, he was met by the French with such superior numbers, that he was compelled to retreat, leaving some wounded men in their possession. The French, knowing that the post would be again assaulted, which it was on the following morning, had left it during the night, setting fire to the houses and sheds. Our detachment entered, and found the bodies of their gallant wounded countrymen half-burned; seven British soldiers in their regimentals taken prisoners, burnt to death by these worse than cannibals! Lieutenant Goldrisk, of the light dragoons, was present, and bears witness to the horrible fact. "The victims lay," he says, "when found, some with their heads, some with their arms burnt off; nor was it likely that they were dead when brought in, or that they had all died of their wounds in the course of a few hours." Lieutenant Goldrisk mentioned the circumstance to a French officer the next day, who peevishly replied, "*Blamez celui qui a tort.*" Every Frenchman of the present day, we are sure, will be ashamed of this dreadful deed, and none in future will ever imitate it. The thanks of both Houses of Parliament were voted to the admiral, captains, officers, seamen, and marines, employed on the expedition. The army had medals given to them, the navy none!!! This is a distinction for which I am at a loss to account. I represented the fact to Sir George Cockburn when he was at the Admiralty, and also to the late Sir Alexander Cochrane, who was commander-in-chief of the fleet on the occasion. General Gordon, who, like myself, held the rank of lieutenant-colonel at the siege, lent me his medal to show at the Admiralty. I did so. I now only revert to the subject for the sake of my profession: for myself, personally, the day of honour and reward is gone by. The army and navy at Mar-

tinique, I know, fought side by side: their rewards should have been equal, and no good reason can be given for the omission.

On the 23d of January, while the Jason and Cleopatra, frigates of 32 guns, and Hazard, sloop of war, commanded by the Captains William Maude, S. I. Pechell, and William Cameron, were cruising off Guadaloupe, they fell in with another of the enemy's frigates bound for the relief of these islands with troops and provisions. The Cleopatra, being the nearest ship, was the first in action. The enemy ran under a small battery near Cabs Terre, and came to an anchor close to the shore. Captain Pechell followed, anchored alongside of him, and shot away his spring, when the Frenchman swung round and exposed himself to the raking fire of the Cleopatra. Having engaged him in this manner for 40 minutes, the Jason and Hazard came up and joined in the fight, when the frigate surrendered to superior numbers. She proved to be La Topaze, of 44 guns, 18-pounders, and 350 men; and 1,100 barrels of flour. Such was the success and activity of our cruisers, that almost every vessel which sailed from France, for the relief of the islands, fell into our hands.

In the month of February, Captain Hugh Pigott, in the Latona, was watching a French frigate lying in the Saintes, into which she had escaped from Guadaloupe, on the night of the 8th, laden with colonial produce, and bound to France. Finding in the morning that she had sailed, Captain Pigott proceeded to the Mona Passage; and, falling in with the Supérieure and Asp, British sloops of war, he learned that the former had engaged a French frigate the night before, without being able to arrest her flight. Captain Pigott continued his pursuit, and the next day had the satisfaction of seeing the gallant Captain Ferrie, in the Supérieure, alongside of the same frigate, in close action; the Latona, from bad sailing, was considerably to leeward. Soon after, two square-rigged ships hove in sight on the weather bow of the enemy; one of them kept the private signal flying a considerable time, which was answered by the Supérieure: these proved to be the Horatio and Driver. About one P. M. the Horatio brought the enemy to action, which Captain Pigott saw from the main-top of the Latona, whence he had a distinct view, the upper part of their hulls being visible from his deck. The Horatio was throwing in stays under the stern of the Frenchman, raking him with very great effect; but was, unfortunately, by a flaw of wind, prevented coming round and regaining her position on the same tack, and remained, as the sea phrase is, "in irons," while the French frigate, in her turn, raked her opponent, cleared her quarter-deck, and shot away her three topmasts,

after which both ships engaged broadside to broadside on the same tack. At this time the Latona was about five or six miles to leeward.

The Horatio was completely disabled, having no sail which she could set, her mainyard shot away in the slings, her foresail in tatters, and her topmasts hanging over the side.

The Supérieure, in the mean time, was gallantly engaging the enemy, raking him with repeated broadsides, and running away to reload his guns. Nothing could be finer than the conduct of Captain Ferrie, in this little vessel. The enemy perceiving, whatever advantage he might have over the Horatio, that he could not expect to succeed against a fresh ship united to the Supérieure, set all his square sails, topmast, topgallant studding-sails, and royals, and attempted to cross the bow of the Latona, having left the Horatio a wreck five miles to windward. He now very gallantly opened on the second English frigate, and Captain Pigott received an irregular fire without returning a shot until within such a distance as to be sure of his mark, when he gave him into his larboard bow two broadsides, double-shotted; by which time he had got so far ahead of the enemy as to be forced to wear, and renew the action on the larboard tack. Passing again under the lee of the enemy, he gave her one more broadside, which brought the French frigate's masts over the sides. Captain Clarridge, in the Driver, who had till this kept out of action, now ventured up, and while the Latona (whose boats had been stove) was preparing to board the prize, he sent and took out the French first lieutenant, whom he conveyed on board the Horatio, about four or five miles off. On joining company Captain Pigott went on board, and found Captain Scott severely wounded, and the ship in so disabled a state as to be perfectly unmanageable: her mainmast fell shortly after. From these facts it may be fairly presumed that, although the capture of the Junon was owing to her contest with the Horatio, yet she would not have been taken but for the fortunate interference of the Latona.

The loss on board the Junon was very great; 130 men were killed or wounded. The gallant captain, Augustin Rousseau, expired soon after the action from the wounds he had received. The loss on board the Horatio was seven killed; the captain, first lieutenant, boatswain, and 14 men badly wounded, and nine slightly wounded. The Latona had also six men slightly wounded.

When the British troops had been put in possession of Martinique, the French garrison was embarked on board the Belleisle, of 74 guns, to which ship I had then been recently appointed captain, under the broad pendant of Commodore Cock-

burn. The Ulysses, of 44 guns, and seven sail of transports, accompanied us, conveying all the prisoners. The captain-general, the Admiral Villaret, with his staff, was on board; and we proceeded to Europe, agreeably to the terms of the capitulation, to land the prisoners in France, and to receive as many British prisoners in return, rank for rank.

On the 23d of April we anchored in Quiberon Bay, with the Ulysses and convoy. Colonel Boyer, chief of the staff taken on the island, was immediately sent with a letter from the captain-general to the Minister of the Marine, and another from Commodore Cockburn to the same personage, stating the circumstances under which they had arrived. The boat which landed Colonel Boyer, in the Morbihan, brought a note from him, stating that an officer was waiting there for the arrival of the prisoners, with full powers to treat for their exchange. The word "treat" was understood to conceal some chicanery, by which the enemy were to gain possession of their men, without returning ours. The capitulation of Martinique had been received in France previously to our arrival, or how should an officer have been "waiting for us with full powers?" and, had there been any honourable intention of fulfilling the treaty, an equal number of British prisoners would have been prepared to embark. "Treating" had ended at Martinique. The commodore, therefore, after considerable delay and dispute, weighed, and brought all his prisoners to Spithead.

These brave fellows were the sad remains of 8,000 soldiers and sailors, who, within the six years, had fought and bled in the pestilential climate of the West Indies, for the honour of the despot and the advantage of their country.

At the same time that our land and sea forces were employed in the reduction of Martinique and the other islands belonging to the enemy in the Caribbean Sea, Captain James Lucas Yeo, in the Confiance, expelled the French from the settlement of Cayenne, on the continent of South America. The command on that station was at that period held by Rear-admiral Sir Sydney Smith, who had followed the court of Portugal soon after its migration from Europe. After the treatment which the house of Braganza had experienced from the French they had no wish to have them for neighbours in their new habitations; a force was therefore detached by the rear-admiral, and placed under the enterprising Captain Yeo, so distinguished by his conduct at Muros, and the capture of the Confiance, the ship he now commanded.

Having, in conjunction with Lieutenant-colonel Manuel Marques and some Portuguese land and sea forces, taken possession on the 8th of December (1808) of the district of

Oyapoh, and, on the 15th of the same month, of that of Apesaque, Captain Yeo proceeded with the Lieutenant-colonel to attack the settlement of Cayenne, with the Confiance, accompanied by the Voader and Infanto, two Portuguese sloops of war, and some smaller vessels, which contained 550 Portuguese troops. On the morning of the 6th of January he landed these, together with 80 seamen and marines, at the mouth of the river Mahuree. Captain Yeo took upon himself the business of storming the principal forts which defended the approach. Fort Diamond fell into his hands; it mounted two 24-pounders and one 9-pounder, with 50 men. In this attack Lieutenant John Read, of the Royal Marines, was mortally, and six of his men badly, wounded. Major Perito, Portuguese service, with a detachment, had, at the same time, with equal gallantry, taken the fort of Grande Cane. Advancing up the river, Captain Yeo took two more forts, one on each bank, commanding each other; these cost him a struggle and great loss. After his small vessels had encountered the fire of the enemy's artillery for some time, the calibre of the cutters (the only vessels which could approach) being but 4-pounders, he determined to storm, which he did with perfect success, taking the forts, and securing the guns. The enemy retreated and rallied, and were again defeated, until the British and their allies had advanced to the strongest position, the residence of that monster, Victor Hugues, whose name and crimes have been recorded in this work. The most obstinate resistance was offered, and flags of truce sent by Captain Yeo were disregarded or fired on. Finding they had to deal with a ferocious wild beast rather than a human being, our brave fellows left their field-pieces in a ditch, and with their pikes and bayonets advanced into the governor's house, taking his artillery, driving every man into the woods, and levelling the habitation to the ground. Victor Hugues, seeing that, notwithstanding his superiority of numbers and local advantages, he was overmatched in valour, surrendered the colony and city of Cayenne, and the British and Portuguese flags were displayed on the forts. Four hundred of the enemy's troops laid down their arms on the parade, and were immediately embarked on board the British vessels: at the same time 600 militia, and 200 blacks, who had been embodied and trained with them, delivered in their arms.

Captain Yeo, on this occasion, afforded a convincing proof how much might be achieved by an allied force when prudently conducted. Colonel Marques and all the Portuguese officers and men, naval and military, behaved like Britons. Lieutenant (now Captain W. H.) Mulcaster, first of the Confiance,

and Lieutenant Samuel Blythe, were distinguished by their bravery, and the good example they set, which was followed by all their countrymen. The conquest of this extensive settlement was another severe blow to the "commerce and colonies" of Napoleon.

From Martinique the British land and sea forces, in the month of April, steered for the Saintes, where a squadron of three French ships of the line and two frigates had taken up an anchorage. These ships had been sent out for the relief of Martinique; but, finding the island was taken, had repaired to the Saintes, as the only place of refuge remaining to them in the Windward Islands. Lieutenant-general Maitland found means to render even this asylum insecure; for, having landed a body of troops, in conjunction and with the assistance of Captain Beaver, of the Acasta, he got possession of the islands, which it appears had been again retaken. The French squadron now began to move again; but the three outlets of the anchorage were so guarded by our ships, that it was long before they could make up their determination which way to run. Sir Alexander Cochrane was in the Neptune, of 98 guns, off the south-west passage, when the signal was made at half-past nine in the evening that the enemy had put to sea. The rear-admiral instantly closed with the Pompée, Captain Fahie: the night was extremely dark; and great was the anxiety of the rear-admiral lest the number of the ships left behind at the Saintes should be more than a match for the garrison under General Maitland. The Neptune, however, pursued her course; and, as one of the French ships passed, received her fire, and had one man killed and four wounded. At daylight the enemy's squadron was seen flying under a crowd of sail, the Pompée coming up with them; and Captain Napier, in the Recruit brig, of 18 guns, actually firing into and receiving the fire of a French ship of the line, endeavouring to disable her by firing at her masts and rigging. Captain Fahie had brought these ships to action on the night of the 14th of April, when Sir Alexander Cochrane first perceived they had escaped. One of them received two broadsides from the Pompée without returning a gun, and had gained considerably on her before daylight. At five o'clock the next day the Pompée had run the Neptune out of sight from the masthead; the Latona and Castor still keeping up in pursuit of the enemy, who had separated, and one ship of the line was now the object of pursuit. The chase continued with great spirit the whole of the 16th; and, as the night was dark, and the high land of Porto Rico bounded the horizon ahead, it

was extremely difficult to keep sight of the stranger: this was however done. At half-past three in the morning of the 17th Captain Roberts, in the Castor, of 32 guns, succeeded in bringing him to action; when the enemy yawing, to give his broadside, the Pompée ranged up, and a regular fight commenced between these two noble ships, which lasted till a quarter past five: at this moment both ships were wrecks in rigging and sails, within their own length of each other, the Pompée nearly unmanageable, the enemy entirely so, when she struck her colours, having fought with valour, and surrendered with honour. She was called Le D'Hautepoule, and was a remarkably fine ship (quite new) of 74 guns, and 680 men, commanded by Captain Armand Le Duc. She lost in the action between 80 and 90 men in killed and wounded. The loss on board our ships was,

	Killed.	*Wounded.*		*Killed.*	*Wounded.*
Pompée	9	30	Neptune	1	4
Castor	1	6	Recruit	0	1

Many years after the action Captain Fahie was created a Knight-Commander of the Bath, as the just reward of his merit on this and other occasions. He was, during the peace, appointed commander-in-chief in the Leeward Island station, and died some years since highly respected.

When we look back to the horrors which had desolated the island of St. Domingo, to the hardships and sacrifices endured by the troops, to the vigorous and determined resistance offered by the infuriated blacks, and to the exterminating wars which they had for 18 years carried on against the French, I shall probably excite the astonishment of my readers by telling them that the city of St. Domingo, once the capital of the Spanish part of the island, contained, in 1809, a French garrison, which, without a foot of land outside of its walls, had continued to maintain itself against a host of enemies. To the English by sea and the Negroes by land were now added the creole Spaniards, who, having been deprived of their legitimate rights by the treaty of Basle, in which their side of the island was ceded to France, now took up arms to regain their lost freedom.

Vice-admiral Rowley, commander-in-chief on the Jamaica station, and Major-general Carmichael, having been made thoroughly acquainted with the state of the garrison of St. Domingo, which had endured a siege for eight months, determined to send a British force which should be sufficient to expel the last of the French from the island. The troops were

commanded by Major-general Carmichael in person; the naval force by Captain Cumby, of the Polyphemus, of 64 guns, who had under his orders the Aurora frigate, and a number of sloops and small vessels, conveying troops and artillery. The landing of the soldiers, and the appearance of the ships of war before the city, offered a sufficient justification, under existing circumstances, to surrender the place; and the French general sent out a flag of truce, with terms of capitulation, which were very soon finally arranged. The treaty was signed on the 7th of July. General Barquier and his garrison, with all such French or Spaniards as chose to retire, were conveyed to the places agreed on or required. Thus terminated the existence of the French power in the ill-fated island of Hispaniola.

Captain Hugh Cameron, in the Hazard sloop of war, blockading Point à Petre, in the same island, saw an enemy's privateer schooner moored under the battery of St. Mary. He stood in, with the Pelorus in company, and, while both vessels were engaged with the fort, the boats, under the command of Lieutenants Robertson and Flinn, boarded, and found her moored to the shore with chains from the mast-head and each quarter. The enemy, from the battery and the bushes, with the crew of the privateer, kept up an incessant fire of round, grape, and musketry, but without checking the ardour of the assailants, who, in defiance of an enemy only a few yards from them, concealed in the bushes, drove out the crew of the privateer, set her on fire, and blew her up. She had one long 18-pounder, was 100 tons burden, quite new, and appeared to be manned with from 80 to 100 men. The loss on our side was 15 killed and wounded.

In the course of the blockade of the island Captain Ballard had to report another act of intrepidity performed by the Captains Miller, of the Thetis, and Elliott, of the Pultusk, with their officers and men. A French corvette was seen lying in a port called Les Hayes. Captain Miller ordered Captain Elliott, with the marines of the Pultusk, Achates, and Bacchus, and a party of 75 seamen, to land, to pass through a thick and pathless wood, to take the fort in the rear, while the Thetis guarded the place in front. It was dark before the party had accomplished the object of getting into the fort, driving out the garrison of 300 men, and turning the guns upon the privateer, which one moment before considered herself under its safe protection. She surrendered immediately. Captain Elliott left Mr. N. Belchier, first of the Thetis, to destroy the battery, which he effected. Lieutenant Carr was also equally distinguished, and the whole party returned with their

prize, having only four Englishmen slightly wounded. The vessel was called Le Nisus. She had recently arrived from L'Orient with a cargo of provisions for the island, which she had landed, and received on board a lading of coffee. On entering the enemy's battery, Captain Elliot was personally engaged with the sentinel, whom he shot with a pistol, and received at the same time a severe contusion by a blow with the but-end of the man's musket.

The last gallant action, and the glorious death, of Captain John Shortland, require to be particularly noted, as affording a bright example to the British navy; and are recorded as a just tribute to the memory of a departed naval hero.

I have related the capture of the Junon by the Latona. On her arrival at Halifax she was taken into the service, refitted, manned, and equipped, as well as the means of the admiral on the station would admit, and the command of her given to Captain Shortland, who sailed on a cruise in the month of September. On the 13th of December, in the neighbourhood of Guadaloupe, he fell in with four large frigates, which having Spanish colours flying, and answering the private signals established between the British and Spanish navies, Captain Shortland stood towards them in perfect confidence of their being friends; nor did he discover his error until within gunshot, when the strangers, showing French colours, poured in a broadside, killed the man at the helm, and the Junon fell on board of one of the frigates. The others closed round her, and all chance of escape was gone. Resolved, however, to sell his ship as dearly as possible, Captain Shortland, with a crew of only 200 men, prepared to board the enemy, but was repulsed with slaughter, as were the Frenchmen, who rushed in numbers to the gangways of the Junon. Mr. Greme, and 10 or 12 men, fell dead by a discharge of grape. Captain Shortland was soon after conveyed below senseless, and mortally wounded. Lieutenant Decker, who had but recently recovered from his wounds when captured in the Carnation, now had to contend against this mighty force; but, every man on deck being disabled, he had no choice but to submit to his hard destiny, and become once more a prisoner, severely wounded. Ninety of his men were killed or wounded; and the ship was so much disabled that the enemy were forced to burn her. The Observateur, a British sloop of war, was in company; but, being convinced that she also would have fallen had she come into action, the gallant Shortland, previously to his being wounded, despatched her to acquaint Sir Alexander Cochrane with the event. The names of the enemy's frigates which effected this cap-

ture were, La Renommée, La Clorinde, La Seine, and La Loire. The two first were of 44 guns; the two last of the same size, but *armées en flûte*, and all of them with troops on board. The Junon is said to have gone down with the British pendant at her mast-head. Her brave and lamented captain survived his numerous wounds six weeks, and died at sick-quarters in the island of Guadaloupe. Lieutenant Samuel B. Decker was immediately promoted, and in 1814 was advanced to the rank of post-captain. How the French became possessed of the private signals by which they deceived Captain Shortland, my readers will have no difficulty in devising, given, as they must have been, to men who were insensible to the high honour of their trust—to the degenerate Spaniards, who would have admitted the French into Cadiz.

Captain Weatheral, in the Observateur, made the best of his way to Fort Royal Bay, Martinique, where he did not arrive before the 25th of December. He communicated to Sir Alexander Cochrane, by signal, the fate of the Junon, and the force of the enemy. The admiral immediately proceeded to sea, and learning that the French frigates were at anchor about three leagues to the northward of Basseterre, in the island of Guadaloupe, he steered directly for them, and found two of them closely watched by Captain John Ballard, in the Sceptre, of 74 guns; the Blonde, of 38 guns, Captain V. V. Ballard; Thetis, of 38 guns, Captain G. Miller; Freya, of 36; Castor, 32; Cygnet, Hazard, and Ringdove, sloops of war, ready to attack them; nor could the admiral in the Pompée, from light and baffling winds, get his ship into action until the two frigates and the batteries, which defended the anchorage, were completely destroyed. The brunt of the action was borne by the Blonde and Thetis, by their being a-head of the other ships. One of the French frigates was very soon dismasted, when the men began to desert their ships, and set fire to them. On seeing this, Captain Hugh Cameron, of the Hazard, with the boats of the squadron, gallantly landed and stormed the batteries, which still kept up a fire on our ships, both with guns and musketry. After striking the colours of the fort with his own hands, the brave Cameron received a shot in his breast, which instantly proved mortal. This gallant officer, on taking possession, as above stated, of the French flag on the battery, unfortunately, in the exultation of victory, wrapped it round his body; a British sailor seeing this, and supposing him to be a Frenchman, fired and shot him through the heart. Lieutenant Jenkins, first of the Blonde, was also killed, with six seamen and marines of that ship; and 17 were wounded. Captains

V. V. Ballard and George Miller, of the Blonde and Thetis, were much distinguished in this affair. The Thetis had only six men wounded. Captain Dix, of the Cygnet, was also mentioned with high approbation. The ships destroyed were the Loire and the Seine, of 44 guns each. Their triumph over the gallant Shortland, and the Junon, was of short duration.

Captain Edward Hawker, in the Melampus, captured Le Bernais, a brig of war, of 16 guns, and 109 men, after a chase of 28 hours. She was, like all the others from France, loaded with provisions for the islands. Captain B. Walker, of the Rosamond, took one of exactly similar dimensions, with the same number of guns, men, and similar lading, after a chase of 38 hours. She was called Le Papillon.

CHAPTER XIII.

1. *Meeting of Parliament.*—The Address opposed.
2. *Channel.*—Affairs of Sable d'Olonne and Basque Roads—Defeat and destruction of Allemande's squadron—Courts-martial on Admiral Harvey, and on Lord Gambier—Surrender of the island of St. Louis—Capture of the Niemen.
3. Various actions—Gallant cutting out of Russian gun-boats, and trade—North Seas—Expedition to Walcheren—Forces, naval and military—Object of the attack—State of Belgium—Disposition of our ships—Cause of sickness in Walcheren—Preparations of the King of Holland—Bombardment and surrender of Flushing—Sickness appears in the army—Evacuation of the island—Statement of loss of British troops.

On the meeting of Parliament on the 13th of January, his Majesty, in the speech from the throne, adverted to the overtures for peace made by Russia and France, who insisted on the abandonment of the cause of Spain as a preliminary to any negotiation. His Majesty declared his firm determination never to forsake the Spaniards as long as they were true to themselves; and while expressing his admiration of the conduct of his troops in Portugal, animadverted with severity on some of the articles of the convention of Cintra. His Majesty eulogized the noble conduct of Gustavus, King of Sweden, and recommended Parliament to augment the military force of the country.

Strong opposition was made to the address in the House of Lords.

In the House of Commons Sir Arthur Wellesley proved the necessity of entering into the convention of Cintra, as the best means of ridding Portugal of a cruel and destructive enemy. The terms on which the surrender of the Russian squadron took place were dictated at home, and sent out to Sir Charles Cotton. They were nearly similar to those under which the Dutch fleet in 1799 was given up to Sir Andrew Mitchell.

If the convention of Cintra did not give us all we could have desired, it was, nevertheless, a very wise and judicious measure, and I cannot, on a cool retrospect, think that any blame was imputable to the Government of the day.

The transactions in the Channel this year (1809) were important in themselves; and much more so, as they formed a

powerful diversion in favour of Spain. The active and successful Admiral Allemande had, in the month of February, effected his retreat into the Pertuis d'Antioche, and taken up, as he conceived, a secure anchorage between the Ile d'Aix and the Boyart Shoal. His force amounted to 10 sail of the line (one of them a first-rate), one 50-gun ship, and four frigates.

The outer part of this anchorage is called Basque Roads; here, during the war, our squadrons had been accustomed to ride in perfect security, defended from every wind, except from west to north-west. The holding ground is, however, so good between the islands of Ré and Oleron, that we have no instance of any accident by our ships driving from their anchors.

The British squadron stationed in Basque Roads was not at its anchorage at the time of the arrival of Allemande; a very fortunate circumstance, as Rear-admiral the Honourable Robert Stopford, who commanded, had with him only three sail of the line and three frigates. The moment he received information of his enemy, he despatched the Naiad to acquaint Lord Gambier, off Ushant; and that ship had only got a few miles from the squadron, when she made the signal for three strange sail. These were immediately pursued by our ships, until they took shelter in a bay formed by the Sable d'Olonne, where, being defended by strong batteries, they considered themselves no doubt in perfect security; the rear-admiral, however, soon brought them to action. The Defiance and the Amelia, from their light draught of water, being enabled to get much closer than the Cæsar and Donegal, Captain Hotham, one of our best pilots for the coast of France, anchored the Defiance within half a mile of them, and by his fire, and that of the other ships, soon obliged the frigates to cut their cables, and run on shore. The ebb tide making, our ships stood out, leaving the enemy without much chance of getting off; and, when seen on the following day, they were lying on their beam ends, completely unrigged. The Defiance had 2 men killed and 25 wounded; the Donegal had one killed, and six wounded. Captain the Honourable F. P. Irby, of the Amelia, reported that these ships were the Italienne, Calypso, and Furieuse. After this affair the rear-admiral was joined by the Theseus, Triumph, Revenge, and Valiant, of the line, and Indefatigable frigate, making his force amount to seven sail of the line.

Not satisfied with the security of their strong position under the Ile d'Aix, the French threw up works on the Boyart Shoal; but from this they were soon dislodged by the Hon. Captain Irby, who, with the Amelia frigate and Conflict gun-brig, went in and compelled them to retire.

The French admiral having committed himself to this roadstead, was vigorously blockaded by Lord Gambier, with a strong division of the Channel fleet. In the month of March his lordship occupied the anchorage of Basque Roads. The shoals which lay in the Pertuis d'Antioche, and the strength of the batteries on the Ile d'Aix, seemed to forbid the approach of our ships near enough to bring the enemy to action. Lord Gambier, either acting on a proposal of Sir Richard Keats, made two years before, or on one more recently sent in by Lord Cochrane, perhaps on both, wrote to the Board of Admiralty for permission to destroy the French ships by means of fire-vessels. Lord Mulgrave and his colleagues having in the mean time conversed with Lord Cochrane, had anticipated the admiral's wishes; and preparations were immediately made for carrying their resolutions into effect.

The enemy's squadron was moored in two compact lines, within point blank range of the guns of Ile d'Aix, where the extent of deep water was so confined as to bring the ships into close order, at the same time a wider distance would have been desirable.

Such was the position of our fleet, when, on the 19th of March, Lord Gambier received an order to attack the enemy in their anchorage, and was informed that the means for enabling him to do it with success would be speedily furnished.

(Most Secret.)

My Lord, *Admiralty Office, March* 16, 1809.

I am commanded by my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to acquaint your lordship, that they have ordered twelve transports to be fitted as fire-ships, and to proceed and join you off Rochefort; and that Mr. Congreve is also under orders to proceed to your lordship in a coppered transport (the Cleveland), containing a large assortment of rockets, and supplied with a detachment of marine artillery instructed in the use of them, and placed under Mr. Congreve's orders. That the bomb-vessels named in the margin (Ætna, Thunder, Vesuvius, Hound, and Fury) are likewise under orders to fit for sea with all possible expedition, and to join you as soon as they may be ready. That all these preparations are making with a view to enable your lordship to make an attack on the French fleet at their anchorage off Ile d'Aix, if practicable. And I am farther commanded to signify their lordships' directions to you, to take into consideration the possibility of making an attack on the enemy, either conjointly with your line-of-battle ships, frigates, and small craft, fire-ships, bombs, and rockets, or separately by any of the above-named means.

You are to man the fire-ships with volunteers from the fleet, intrusting the said ships in charge of officers of the rank of commanders who may happen to be present, and shall volunteer their services on this occasion; but, as it is not likely there will be officers sufficient of that rank to command all the fire-ships, you are to make up the deficiency by such lieutenants of the line-of-battle ships as shall volunteer their services, giving the preference to the first lieutenants; and when the said fire-ships are manned by volunteers from the fleet, you are to cause their original crews to be received on board the ships of your fleet; and, in the event of the said fire-ships being destroyed, you are to send home the said men, in order to their being discharged, furnishing them with such certificates or protections as shall secure them from being impressed into his Majesty's service. You are also to hold out to the volunteers and the officers to whom the command of the fire-ships may be intrusted, every expectation of reward in the event of success.

It is their lordships' farther direction, that you state to me, for their information, whether any farther augmentation of force of any description is in your opinion necessary, to enable you to perform this service with full effect, that it may be prepared and forwarded to you without a moment's delay; their lordships having come to a determination to leave no means untried to destroy the enemy's squadron.

In order to give your lordship every information on this important subject, my lords have directed me to enclose to you a paper drawn up by Sir Richard Keats, in 1807, proposing a mode of attacking the enemy's squadron under Ile d'Aix.

I have the honour to be, my lord,
Your lordship's most obedient humble servant,
W. W. Pole.

On the 3d of April Lord Gambier was joined by Lord Cochrane, in the Impérieuse, who brought with him an order from the Admiralty, directing the employment of Lord Cochrane to lead the attack.

The fire-vessels and explosion-vessels were fitted for this service in a new and singular manner. The first were intended to burn without immediate explosion; the others were filled with live shells, barrels of powder, stones, and every sort of projectile likely to be destructive to the enemy. The whole of them arrived in Basque Roads on the 8th of April.

The arrangements for the attack having been completed, Lord Cochrane made the signal to weigh, and ran in with the Impérieuse until he judged his own ship sufficiently near; he then anchored, and went with a lieutenant and his gig's crew on board of one of the fire-brigs to execute the great object of the expedition.

It was a most fortunate circumstance that the Mediator had been provided for the service of breaking the boom, as it is

certain it would have resisted a smaller vessel; still more fortunate that the command of her was intrusted to a young hero, who, in defiance of his enemies, was resolved to bear down this obstacle or perish in the attempt. With a strong breeze, and a flood tide, Captain James Wooldridge ran his ship on the boom at a right angle; it yielded to the shock; and the passage up to the very sides of the enemy's fleet now being open, the smaller fire-vessels followed. That in which Lord Cochrane was exploded outside of the boom, and sooner than his lordship intended; some of the vessels mistook their course, owing to the darkness of the night, and failed entirely. As soon as the Mediator had broken the boom, and not before, some of the enemy's ships of the line cut their cables, and ran on the sand-banks. Captain Wooldridge set fire to his train; the ship was instantly in flames; the lieutenants, Clements and Peart, with the crew, got into the boats, followed by the captain, who was dreadfully scorched.

After the daring Wooldridge, in the Mediator, had broken the boom, Captain Joyce, in the Zephyr fire-ship, ran in, and when distant from one of the French ships of the line about two cables length, fired his trains, placed his people in the boats, himself and Mr. James Sedgwick Lean (a young midshipman) only remaining on board, till the vessel was in flames fore and aft, when they jumped into the sea, and swam to the gig, which they reached with great difficulty. By this time the Zephyr was so close to the French ship, that she was kept off only by fire-booms, while the enemy cut their cables, and by that means avoided the danger. The batteries and all the ships at the same time kept up a constant and furious fire of shot, shells, grape, and musketry, but without doing any injury to Captain Joyce and his boats. The flood tide, which ran strong, and the wind and sea being all against them, the boat was exposed to this fire; and what considerably increased their danger was the explosion of another fire-vessel just without them, which distinctly showed their position to the enemy.

After the officers had performed their duty, and sent the burning convoy into the enemy's anchorage, they had an arduous and difficult task to perform in regaining the Impérieuse, which was the nearest ship, and placed to receive them. Many of the officers and men, on getting on board, were found to be much wounded, and exhausted with fatigue, having been four hours in the boats.

When daylight came, seven sail of the French line lay on shore, and Lord Cochrane made the signal to the admiral that they might be destroyed.

Lord Gambier immediately made the signal to weigh, and

the fleet ran up and anchored within three miles of the Isle of Aix. The enemy, as the tide rose, succeeded in removing all but three sail of the line into deep water, towards the entrance of the Charente. Captain John Bligh, of the Valiant, was ordered to take his own ship, with the Revenge, Captain Alexander Robert Kerr, Indefatigable, Aigle, Emerald, Pallas, Beagle, Ætna bomb, Insolent, Growler, Conflict, Encounter, and Fervent gun-brigs, to effect the destruction of those which remained on the Boyart Shoal. At 20 minutes past two, Lord Cochrane, in the Impérieuse, advanced to the attack of the Calcutta, which surrendered to his fire. Captain Bligh's squadron soon after joined in the attack on the Aquilon, 74, and Varsovie, 80, both of which surrendered before five o'clock. The prisoners were immediately removed, and the ships set on fire. The enemy, to save our brave fellows the trouble, set fire to the Tonnerre, of 74 guns, at the same time.

Rear-admiral Stopford, in the Cæsar, was ordered up to support the advance, with the Theseus, of 74 guns, three fire-ships, and all the boats of the fleet, to throw Congreve rockets into any of the enemy's ships exposed to such attack; but the ships of the line not having water enough to anchor, were ordered out, and the service left to be executed by the frigates and smaller vessels, better adapted to the nature of the attack.

The names of the ships composing the enemy's squadron were—

Ships.	*Guns.*	
L'Océan	120	Vice-admiral Allemande—ship on shore under Touras.
Foudroyant	80	Rear-admiral Gourden.
Cassard	74	On shore under Touras.
Tourville	74	On shore in the river.
Regulus	74	On shore under Madane.
Jean Bart	74	On shore.
Jemappe	74	On shore.
Tonnerre	74	Nine months old, burnt.
Aquilon	74	Old ship, burnt.
Ville de Varsovie	80	Never at sea, burnt.
Calcutta	56	Loaded with flour and military stores, burnt.
Indienne	44	On shore, on her beam-ends, afterwards burnt by the enemy.

Elbe, Pallas, Hortense: one of them on shore, name not known.

On board the British squadron two officers and eight men were killed, nine officers and 26 men wounded; one man missing, supposed to have been drowned.

The Captains Wooldridge and Joyce were promoted to the rank of post-captains. The former had a medal from his Majesty for having broken the boom. The Patriotic Fund presented him with a sword valued at 100 guineas; and to each of his lieutenants one of 50 guineas.

Lieutenant Clements and some other officers were also promoted.

Here then the enemy had sustained a defeat almost as disastrous, and much more disgraceful, than those of the 1st and 23d of June, in the years 1794 and 5. They had lost three ships of the line besides the Calcutta; a fourth, the Jean Bart, was lost on the Pallais shoal a few days after, in consequence of this attack. All the other ships were forced to retreat into shallow water, where they were dismantled and laid up for a long time, useless to the enemy. The praises and reward bestowed on Lord Cochrane he fully merited. His lordship was created a knight of the bath, when the admission to that noble order was reserved for the highest services rendered to the state, either in the cabinet or the field. There were also other officers who deserved well of their country, but who sank into silent and modest retirement, and would never have been mentioned again for that service, but for the disagreements which ensued on the arrival of the despatches in England. The Captains Bligh, Prouse, Kerr, Rodd, Wolfe, Wooldridge, and many others, were greatly distinguished, as were the first lieutenants of ships of the line, commanding the fire-vessels, and the lieutenants of gun-brigs. The names of these officers are too numerous for insertion; but never had Britain more reason to be proud of her navy than on this occasion, when the fleet of their rival was pursued and destroyed under their own batteries, and in one of their best anchorages; never was more zeal displayed, from the highest to the lowest rank, and it is not too much to say, that the just expectation of England was not disappointed—"Every man did his duty."

Unfortunately, though the king and the country were satisfied with the deeds of the navy, the navy was at variance with itself, and two courts-martial of singular importance to the service succeeded the rejoicings for the victory.

Rear-admiral Eliab Harvey, of whom I have had to make honourable mention, being at this time second in command of the Channel fleet, conceived that he had a right to fill the situation assigned to Lord Cochrane, then a very young and a junior officer. The rear-admiral appears to have been excited almost to a degree of mental aberration, when denied the opportunity of meeting the enemies of his country; he indulged in the most violent invective against the commander-in-chief,

in an open and undisguised manner, on the quarter-deck of the Caledonia, as well as privately in the admiral's cabin; it was therefore justly conceived that the discipline of the service must be destroyed, unless an appeal was made to the laws of the country for its vindication and support. Lord Gambier, with this view only, and, as I sincerely believe, without any personal animosity against the rear-admiral, applied for a court-martial on him. It was granted, and the trial took place on the 22d of May, on board the Gladiator, in Portsmouth harbour.

The facts, as stated in Lord Gambier's letter, were clearly proved before a court composed of officers of high rank and character, to many of whom, as the rear-admiral said in his defence, he had the honour of being personally known. With a naval court-martial, I shall ever maintain, that partiality has as little influence as in any human institution. The rear-admiral was found guilty, and dismissed from his Majesty's service; but, in consideration of his former unblemished and distinguished character, particularly for his conduct in the battle of Trafalgar, he was shortly after restored to his rank. I was present at this trial, and never shall I forget the sensation which the sentence produced on the admiral, and the numerous spectators who crowded the court.

Without partaking in any way of the feelings of the rear-admiral, Lord Cochrane was hostile to the commander-in-chief on very different grounds. His lordship openly asserted that more might have been done had his (Lord Cochrane's) signals been attended to; and that the enemy was allowed to escape for want of proper energy in the pursuit. Whether instigated by the spirit of the party with which his lordship was at that time connected, or whether he really conceived the interests of the nation had been abandoned by the admiral, it is not for me to determine; perhaps both these causes combined to sour his mind, and produce that reply to Lord Mulgrave's communication, which, I believe, has been the parent of all the succeeding misfortunes of Lord Cochrane.

The Earl of Mulgrave, as First Lord of the Admiralty, having intimated to his lordship that it was intended by his Majesty's government to move the thanks of both houses of parliament to Lord Gambier, and the other officers and crews of the fleet serving in Basque Roads, Lord Cochrane observed, that in the event of such a measure, he should feel himself bound by his public duty (being a member of parliament) to object to the thanks, so far as they would apply to the commander-in-chief. These sentiments being officially communicated to Lord Gambier, his lordship very naturally demanded

a court-martial, to investigate every part of his conduct relative to the attack on the French fleet in Basque Roads.

In looking back to the whole transaction, I cannot help regretting that Lord Cochrane had not preferred his charge officially, according to the rules of the service, instead of leaving it to be drawn by inference from the journals of the fleet.

It should not be forgotten that the situations of Lord Gambier and Lord Cochrane, on the 11th and 12th of April, were essentially different; the first having responsibility, the second none. Had Lord Cochrane lost the Impérieuse on the Boyart Shoal, his character would, if possible, have received a higher lustre. Had Lord Gambier so committed the fleet under his command, as either to have run the ships on shore, or exposed them to conflagration in a narrow anchorage, the nation might have felt the effects of his imprudence, and his character would have suffered in the eyes of the world. The object in view, the total destruction of the enemy's fleet, was not to be obtained by the risk of loss of the Channel fleet, the main support of the empire. Such are the opinions of many officers of talent and enterprise, and these opinions received their highest confirmation by the sentence of a court-martial, as well as by a majority in both houses of parliament.

The court assembled on board the Gladiator, in Portsmouth harbour, on the 26th day of July, 1810. It was composed of the following officers:—

Admiral Sir Roger Curtis, Bart., President.

Admiral William Young.	Vice-admiral Sir J. Duckworth.
Vice-admiral Sir H. Stanhope.	———— B. Douglas.
———— G. Campbell.	Rear-admiral Sutton.
Captain John Irwin.	Captain R. Hall.
——— Dickson.	——— R. D. Dunn.

The order directed to the president was as follows:—

ADMIRALTY ORDER.

By the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

Whereas Admiral the Right Honourable Lord Gambier has, by his letter to our secretary of the 30th of May, 1809, requested that his conduct as commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet, employed in Basque Roads, between the 17th day of March and the 29th of April, 1809, may be inquired into by a court-martial:

And whereas by the log-books and minutes of signals of the Caledonia, Impérieuse, and other ships employed on that service, it appears to us that the said Admiral Lord Gambier on the 12th day

of the said month of April, the enemy's ships being then on shore, and the signal having been made that they could be destroyed, did for a considerable time neglect or delay taking effectual measures for destroying them: We, therefore, in compliance with his lordship's request, and in consequence of what appears in the said log-books and minutes of signals, think fit that a court-martial shall be assembled, for the purpose of examining into his lordship's conduct, and trying him for the same. We send you herewith his lordship's letter of the 10th of the said month, therein referred to, together with an attested copy of a letter of our secretary, dated the 29th of last month, and addressed to Lord Cochrane, and his lordship's reply thereto, with the log-books and minutes of signals above mentioned, and we do hereby require and direct you to assemble a court-martial on Monday the 19th of this month (if the witnesses shall be then ready, and if not, then as soon after as they shall be so) to try the said Admiral the Right Honourable Lord Gambier, for his conduct in the instance hereinbefore mentioned. And also to inquire into his whole conduct as commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet, employed in Basque Roads, between the 17th day of March and the 29th day of April, 1809, and to try him for the same accordingly.

Given under our hands the 5th day of June, 1809,

(Signed) MULGRAVE. R. BICKERTON.
W. DOMETT. R. MOORSOM.

By command of their lordships,

(Signed) W. W. POLE.

One paragraph of this document must strike the most cursory reader, namely, that "by the logs and signal minutes of the Caledonia, Impérieuse, and other ships, it appeared that Lord Gambier did for a considerable time neglect or delay taking effectual measures for destroying them (the enemy)." This was neither more nor less than the language of Lord Cochrane, and thus far certainly justified his lordship's proceedings; the ordeal therefore of a court-martial, composed of men of talent in the profession, was of the utmost importance to the character of Lord Gambier. The details of this highly interesting trial are much too long for insertion in a work of this nature; and, as they are to be found at large in the *Naval Chronicle* of the year 1809, and other publications, I shall only give the result, referring the reader to the official papers for farther information.

After a most laborious and minute investigation of all the circumstances, occupying the attention of the court from the 26th of July to the 9th of August, the following sentence was given:—

That the charge "that Admiral the Right Honourable Lord Gambier, on the 12th of April, the enemy's ships being then on

shore, and the signal having been made that they could be destroyed, did for a considerable time neglect or delay taking effectual measures for destroying them," had not been proved against the said Right Honourable Lord Gambier; that his lordship's conduct on that occasion, as well as his general conduct as commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet employed in Basque Roads, between the 17th of March and 29th day of April, 1809, was marked by real judgment and ability, and an anxious attention to the welfare of his Majesty's service, and did adjudge him to be most honourably acquitted.

Sir Roger Curtis, the president, then returned the sword of the admiral (which during the trial had lain on the table), with an appropriate eulogium. His lordship made a proper but very laconic answer, then bowed, and retired with his friends.

In the month of July, Captain Columbine, of the Solebay, of 32 guns, and Major Maxwell, commanding the garrison of Gorée, learnt that the neighbouring French settlement of Senegal had become a rendezvous for privateers, and had given much annoyance to our trade; it was therefore determined by these two gallant officers to attack it. They proceeded against it with the Solebay, Derwent sloop of war, Tygress gun-brig, and some small merchant vessels, having on board a detachment of 160 troops, to which were added 120 seamen and 50 marines. The enemy's force consisted of 160 regulars and 240 militia; but they surrendered the island of St. Louis, and its dependencies, to the British crown with little opposition, the garrison becoming prisoners of war. Captain Frederick Parker, of the Derwent, and his boat's crew were drowned in crossing the bar, and the Solebay was wrecked in going up the river, but her people were saved.

Captain (the late Sir Michael) Seymour, of the Amethyst, of 44 guns, captured on the 5th of April the Niemen, of 44 guns, a very fine frigate, quite new, copper-fastened, just out of Verdun Roads, with a complement of 319 men, and having on board six months' provisions, with a quantity of naval stores. She was bound to the Isle of France, and commanded by a distinguished French officer, Monsieur Du Potet.

The chase began at 11 o'clock in the forenoon. The Emerald was in company, but at seven in the evening the Amethyst lost sight of the Emerald, and had gained nothing on the enemy. After dark Captain Seymour so shaped his course as to fall in with the object of his pursuit about half-past nine; a running fight commenced, and lasted till one in the morning, when, the Amethyst coming fairly alongside, a very determined action was sustained till three. At this time the

main and mizen mast of the enemy falling, his fire slackened, while that of the Amethyst continued in full vigour. In the mean time Captain Mends, in the Arethusa, came up, and the French ship surrendered, having 47 men killed, and 73 wounded. The main and mizen-masts of the Amethyst fell also in the course of the action: she had 8 men killed, and 37 wounded. Captain Maitland, though possessing an uncommon share of vigilance and attention, was unable, from the darkness of the night, to keep sight of either the chase or the Amethyst.

On the 1st of January Captain Charles Gill, in the Onyx brig of war, of 10 guns and 76 men, captured the Dutch national brig Manly (formerly British), of 16 guns, 12 of which were 18-pound carronades, and four long sixes, with a complement of 94 men. It was blowing hard, with a heavy sea running, when Captain Gill brought his enemy to action, which continued for two hours, and the Dutchman surrendered, having five of his men killed, and six wounded. The Onyx had three wounded. For this action Captain Gill was promoted to post rank.

In the month of May, 1809, Captain Selby, of the Owen Glendower, of 36 guns, assisted by Captain Edward Nicholls, of the Royal Marines, took the island of Anholt in the Sleeve or passage to the Baltic. The garrison surrendered at discretion; 170 men were made prisoners, and the post became of great importance to us in the prosecution of the northern war. A lighthouse had been erected, and a light kept burning by the Danes, who, on the breaking out of the war, had extinguished this and all the lights on their coast, rendering the navigation (at all times difficult) nearly impracticable in the winter season, and during the night. On our taking the island, this important light was restored.

Captain Goate, in the Musquito sloop of war, entered the river Elbe, and took possession of the fortress of Ritzbuttel at Cuxhaven, which he entered without opposition. The French garrison of 86 men retreated. The marines and seamen of the British vessels disarmed the place, bringing off all the brass guns, destroying the fortifications, and reinstating the senate of Hamburg in the possession of the town and castle.

Captain T. B. Martin, in the Implacable, with the Melpomene in company, on the 6th of July entered the gulf of Narva, and captured nine sail of merchant vessels, laden with timber and naval stores belonging to the Emperor of Russia. Lieutenant Hawkey, of the Implacable, boarded with the ships' boats three more, and brought them out. The Russian flotilla took up a position off Percola Point, which appearing to Cap-

tain Martin an act of defiance, he ordered Lieutenant Hawkey, a young officer of most distinguished talent and bravery, to attack them. The boats of the Implacable, Bellerophon, Melpomene, and Prometheus having assembled for this purpose, put off at nine o'clock in the evening, "and," says Captain Martin, in his public letter, "proceeded with an irresistible zeal and intrepidity towards the enemy (who had the advantage of local knowledge), to attack a position of extraordinary strength within two rocks, serving as a cover to their wings, whence they could pour a destructive fire of grape on our boats, which, notwithstanding, advanced with perfect coolness, and never fired a gun till actually touching the enemy, whom they boarded sword in hand, and carried all before them. I believe a more brilliant achievement does not grace the records of our naval history. Of eight gun-boats, each mounting a 32 and 24-pounder, and 46 men, six have been brought out, together with the whole of the ships and vessels (12 in number) under their protection, laden with powder and provisions for the Russian army, a large armed ship taken and burnt, and one gun-boat sunk." In the performance of this service the gallant young Hawkey fell by a grape-shot, which struck him after he had boarded and taken a gun-boat, and was in the act of attacking a second. His last words were, "Huzza —push on—England for ever!" Lieutenant Stirling, of the Prometheus, was mortally wounded. The command of the boats devolved on Lieutenants Allen, Sheridan, and Skekel, of the Bellerophon, supported by Lieutenants Houghton and Vernon, of the Implacable; Rennie, of the Melpomene; and the lieutenants of marines, Cracknell, Clerke, Kendall, and Carrington. The number of killed amounted on our side to 17, and of wounded to 37; on that of the Russians to 63 killed, besides a great number drowned, and 127 prisoners, of whom 51 were wounded.

Captain Lord George Stewart, in the Aimable, of 32 guns, having the command in the river Elbe, annoyed the French, who still hovered on the banks of that river, and the Weser. His lordship landed with the Captains Goate, Pettit, and Watts, of the Musquito, Briseis, and Ephira, who, with a party of their marines and seamen, dislodged the enemy from the town of Gessendorf, spiked their guns, destroyed the works, and brought away six waggon-loads of valuable merchandise.

While the Archduke Charles was contending against Bonaparte on the banks of the Danube, and Sir Arthur Wellesley fought with still greater success against the French in Portugal; while the lovers of peace and of real liberty were cheered with the accounts of the battles of Aspern and Vimiera, the British

Government, in order to give effect to these advantages, and to distract the attention of the French Government, planned one of the most stupendous expeditions that this country had ever sent forth.

Napoleon discovered, in spite of his nominal blockade of England, that the use of the seas was interdicted to himself, and that colonial produce could not reach the ports of France without first paying the fine at a British custom-house. This state of things, the consequence of his own violent policy, was felt by the French, as well as by other powers, as utterly ruinous to their commerce. Holland, which for 14 years had groaned under the despotism of the governments that had ruled France, seemed willing to make a third effort for her emancipation. It was reasonably conjectured by the Ministers of George III. that the moment was at length arrived when, by a great and simultaneous movement of England, Austria, and Spain, the idol of the French revolution might be broken in pieces. Bonaparte had begun his campaign on the Rhine and Danube; Spain was up in arms; the best generals and the choicest troops of France were employed in that country; and the British Ministers began to prepare such an armament for the invasion of Holland as it was conceived would put down all opposition, and give to the friends of the house of Orange, in that country, an opportunity of declaring themselves.

The land forces ordered on this service, under the command of the Earl of Chatham, amounted to 37,000 men, including 2,000 cavalry, 16 companies of artillery, one troop of horse artillery, 300 military artificers, 28 officers of engineers, two companies of the staff corps, and a detachment of the waggon train.

The naval preparations were of a proportionable magnitude. The fleet was under the command of Rear-admiral Sir Richard Strachan; and the following list of his ships will show to what an extent the Government was willing to go in order to effect the objects which they had in view. These were, "to sink, burn, and destroy the whole of the enemy's ships of war afloat in the Scheldt, or building at Antwerp, Terneuse, or Flushing; and, if possible, to render the Scheldt no longer navigable for ships of war."

Names of Ships of the Line and Frigates, with their Commanders, which accompanied Sir Richard Strachan to the Scheldt.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
St. Domingo	74	Flag—Charles Gill.
Cæsar	80	Rear-adm. Edw. Albany Otway. Capt. C. Richardson.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Denmark	74	James Bisset.
Victorious	74	J. Talbot.
Blake	74	Rear-admiral Lord Gardner. Capt. E. Codrington.
Audacious	74	Donald Campbell.
Theseus	74	William Prowse.
Repulse	74	Hon. A. K. Legge.
Powerful	74	
Superb	74	R. Jackson.
Centaur	74	W. H. Webley (now Parry).
Venerable	74	A. King, acting for Sir H. Popham.
Valiant	74	G. E. Hammond.
Courageux	74	R. Plampin.
York	74	R. Barton.
Princess of Orange	74	Francis Beauman.
Monarch	74	Richard Lee.
Belleisle	74	George Cockburn.
Orion	74	A. C. Dickson.
Resolution	74	G. Burlton.
Bellona	74	J. E. Douglas.
Eagle	74	Charles Rowley.
Impétueux	74	J. Lawford.
Revenge	74	Hon. C. Paget.
Hero	74	James N. Newman.
Illustrious	74	William Broughton.
Ganges	74	Peter Halket.
Aboukir	74	G. Parker.
Marlborough	74	G. Moore.
Royal Oak	74	Lord Amelius Beauclerk.
Alfred	74	J. R. Watson.
Sceptre	74	John Ferrier.
Achille	74	
Namur	74	
Leyden	64	*Armées en flûte.*
Agincourt	64	
Monmouth	64	
Iris	50	
Adamant	50	
Weymouth	54	
Ulysses	44	
Serapis	44	

Frigates.

Impérieuse	44	T. Garth.
Rota	38	P. Somerville.
Perlen		
Lavinia	44	Lord William Stewart.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Clyde	38	C. Owen.
Amethyst	38	Sir M. Seymour.
Fisgard	38	William Bolton.
Statira	38	C. W. Boys.
Hotspur	38	Hon. J. Percy.
Euryalus	38	G. H. L. Dundas.
Salcette	38	W. Bathurst.
St. Fiorenzo	36	
Thalia	36	
Aigle	36	—— Wolfe.
Nymphen	36	K. Maxwell.
Dryad	36	—— Galway.
Heroine	32	
Bucephalus	32	
Aimable	32	Lord G. Stewart.
Pallas	32	
Circe	32	
Camilla	24	

To these were attached,

33 sloops of war, of from 14 to 18 guns—5 bomb-vessels—23 gun-brigs—17 hired cutters—14 revenue ditto—5 tenders—82 gun-boats—150 flat-bottomed boats—all the dock-yard lighters, with anchors, cables, and halsers, for assisting ships that might get on shore—all the fast-sailing smuggling-vessels which could be procured by hiring them—every rowing galley at Deal and Folkstone—transports to convey military stores and provisions, making the amount of hired shipping near 100,000 tons.

The strength of the enemy's fleet in the river Scheldt is collected from a set of official documents laid before Parliament in 1810. By these we readily perceive the double object of sending a force to attack Walcheren, admitting that the peace between France and Austria had been signed.

The country of Belgium, with Holland, forming at that time a large portion of the maritime empire of France, contained in its ports a fleet of such magnitude as to render its destruction an object at any time worthy of our attention, and doubly so when the situation of Spain was considered.

A letter from Vice-admiral G. Campbell to the Honourable W. W. Pole, secretary to the Admiralty, dated on board the Princess of Orange, in the Downs, January 18, 1809, says, that in the port of Flushing there were nine sail of the line, two frigates, and some smaller vessels; at Antwerp an equal number of ships of the line, five of which were under jury-masts, and coming down to be docked and coppered in the basin of Flushing. On the 3d of March the same officer reported

the enemy's force in Flushing to consist of four ships of 80 guns, seven of 74, two frigates, two corvettes, and a brig.

A letter from Rear-admiral Sir Richard Strachan to Lord Mulgrave, dated Venerable, in the Downs, 5th of April, 1809, confirmed all the above, on the authority of Captain Boxer, of the royal navy. This officer had been so near Flushing as to take a sketch of the position of ships which were then moving out of the basin, and assembling in the road before the town. At this time it also appeared, by intelligence from Captain M'Keslie, of the Calliope, that the building of the ships at Antwerp had been suspended, in consequence of the artificers being ordered away to the Rhine, to construct rafts and boats for the passage of the French army. It is singular that the same officer reported in this despatch the alarm which prevailed in the town of Flushing at an expected attack from the English; this was confirmed by the hurry and confusion with which the ships were turned out of the basin, and removed higher up the river, leaving their lower-deck guns at Flushing. There were at this time lying in Helvoet Sluys two ships of the line, one frigate, and two brigs. The Antwerp correspondent of Government was certainly in error, and probably unworthy of any notice, when he acquainted the Admiralty, in the month of May, that there were 10 sail of the line on the stocks at that place, all 80-gun ships. The fact I know to be otherwise; there never were more than nine slips for building in the dock-yard, and the ships built there were not all of 80 guns. The same person asserts that there were two 74-gun ships on the stocks at Flushing, when it is well known there was but one slip. Government, at that period, was in the habit of paying vast sums of money for intelligence, and was often greatly imposed upon.

The Dutch fleet in the Texel was, in the spring of 1809, in so deplorable a state as to give us no sort of alarm; and every account from Antwerp and the Low Countries confirmed the fact that the land forces were few in number, and of the worst description. The flotilla of every class, from the Texel to Havre, was out of repair. At Boulogne there were 600 sail of vessels rotten, or rotting, and none of them fit for service.

The Scheldt, which, for its depth of water and good anchorage, is unrivalled by any river in Europe, is three miles and a half wide from Cadsand to Flushing, and 1,200 yards wide from Antwerp to the Tête de Flandres, where it has 20 feet water abreast of the dock-yard, at the lowest spring tides. The channel of the river is intricate, but has a sufficient depth at half flood for a small-class 74, with her lower-deck guns in. She will require a leading wind through all the reaches; the

best points would be from W. to S. W. Opposite to Antwerp stands the Tête de Flandres, a strong fortification, planned by Bonaparte, but never completely finished. Its objects were at once to guard the dock-yard, command the anchorage, and overawe or protect the city; a combination for which it was perfectly calculated. The defences of the river, lower down, were thought impassable for ships of war; but experience proved that nothing on its banks could resist our soldiers and seamen united, at least as far as the experiment was made. The boom at Lillo did not exist when we first went over in the summer of 1809; and the forts were in that dilapidated state that they could have offered no effectual opposition to a very small naval force. This I gathered from accurate and personal inquiry at Antwerp.

France, by the acquisition of Belgium and Antwerp, found herself placed in the midst of the three great seas of Europe; a situation which would one day have given her the same preponderance over the maritime powers which her central situation had already assured her over the Continent. Antwerp offered the same advantage to her marine and commerce in the North Seas which she had possessed in the Atlantic and Mediterranean. Napoleon felt its importance towards the accomplishment of his plan for the conquest of England, and would have made it one of the strongest of his maritime stations. Many hundreds of houses on the banks of the Scheldt were destroyed, to make room for his quays and his dock-yard, which, it must be confessed, were laid down in a style of singular magnificence.

Antwerp, by means of the tributary streams which, running into the Rhine and the Waal, join the Scheldt, received an abundant supply of ship-timber: this was furnished by the northern departments of France and the forests of Germany. Napoleon, finding the Scheldt sufficiently deep for ships of war of the second class, commanded his brother Louis, the King of Holland, in 1807, to cede the port of Flushing to France, by which he obtained the entire command of the river. Nor was it without well-grounded fears that England beheld a new maritime power starting into existence, almost within sight of her eastern shores. To destroy this power in its infancy—to rouse the Dutch to a sense of their own wrongs—to drive the French out of Belgium, and to afford some relief to the armies of Austria on the Danube, as well as to our allies in the Peninsula—to support the heroic efforts of the Duke of Brunswick, of the gallant Schill in Prussia, and of Dornberg at Cassel, were the objects which the British Cabinet had in view when it planned the expedition to Walcheren.

That the British army, after its landing, and the favourable reception it met with in the Low Countries, should have been deposited in the swamps of Walcheren, or the damp and mouldering storehouses of Flushing, are facts which we may deplore, but for which we cannot offer any satisfactory reason. The reader who wishes for more detailed information is referred to the Parliamentary Debates for 1809-10, and to the "Account of the Expedition," supposed to have been written by a naval officer of high character, who was present. See "A Short Narrative of the Late Campaign," &c., Ridgway, Piccadilly, 1810; a book which I have the authority of the late Admiral Sir Richard Strachan in saying, is written with perspicuity and a knowledge of the facts, although the author has thought proper to conceal his name.

Previously to the sailing of the expedition, the duties of each division were assigned to the several naval and military leaders. The left wing of the army, under the command of Major-general Sir Eyre Coote, consisting of 13,000 men, was directed to land and occupy the island of Walcheren. The point of debarkation was to depend on the wind, and the landing was to be conducted by Rear-admiral Edward A. Otway. Lieutenant-general the Marquis of Huntly was directed to land upon the island of Cadsand with 5,000 men, and cut off the communication between Walcheren and the main land. Captain Owen, in the Clyde frigate, was directed to co-operate with him in this service, and to take charge of that division of the army. Unfortunately this important movement was prevented by bad weather until the enemy was so strongly reinforced as to render the attempt on our part too hazardous, if not entirely impracticable.

Lieutenant-general Grosvenor, with 5,000 men, was to occupy Schonen, and Lieutenant-general Sir John Hope, with the reserve of 7,500 men, was to land on South Beveland, to carry the enemy's defences on that island, and to act as a corps of observation. This division was under the care and superintendence of Rear-admiral Sir Richard Keats.

The Earl of Rosslyn's division, with the cavalry, was to remain embarked until their services were required.

The Venerable, of 74 guns, having on board General the Earl of Chatham and Rear-admiral Sir Richard Strachan, accompanied by the divisions of Sir John Hope and the Marquis of Huntly, sailed from the Downs on the morning of the 28th of July, and in the evening the commander-in-chief anchored off the west coast of Walcheren. Sir John Hope took his station about seven leagues to the westward of that island; and on the 31st the Marquis of Huntly anchored off Cadsand.

Sir Eyre Coote, with the left wing, joined head-quarters on the evening of the 29th, and morning of the 30th of July. Veere and Middleburgh capitulated on the 31st. General Grosvenor's division, which sailed from Harwich, anchored in the Roompot on the 1st of August, on which day the whole of the island of Walcheren, except the city of Flushing and the fort of Rammekins, was in our possession.

The artillery with the flotilla having advanced through the Sloe passage to Rammekins, the investment of Flushing was complete by land and sea, except on the south side. The want of defences in the East Scheldt, and the depth of water, from five to ten fathoms, as high as Wemeldinge in South Beveland, were satisfactorily proved on the 30th of July by Captain Peake, of the royal navy, and Captain Squire, of the engineers, who reported the important, and till then unknown fact, to the commander-in-chief, thus clearing a doubt which had caused the greatest anxiety. Three of the enemy's line-of-battle ships, which on the 31st lay at anchor off the eastern end of South Beveland, weighed on the following day, and joined the rest of their ships above Lillo. The magistrates of Tergoes, the capital of South Beveland, gave up the place to the English army; and on the same day the fort of Bathz, situated on the eastern point of the island, commanding the united channels of the East and West Scheldt, the anchorage in the bay of Saeftingen, and the ford of Bergen-op-Zoom, surrendered to General Disney. This was a post of far greater importance to our success than Flushing itself, giving us at once the command of an entrance into Brabant. The British flotilla kept pace with the army, but it was not for many days after that a squadron of frigates could by any means reach so high up the river. It was an observation of Lord Castlereagh, that "if the fleet in the Scheldt was not in our possession in a fortnight from our first landing, it would not be so at all." This was then the only favourable moment to accomplish the work; but false intelligence kept back the army, and the navy was prevented by foul winds from coming up to cover their advance.*

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* A witty epigram appeared about this time which I cannot resist giving:—

"The Earl of Chatham, with his sabre drawn,
Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan;
Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham."

Sir Richard was a near neighbour of mine when I was writing the history. He constantly rode a fine black horse, and to his last hour, I believe, was a great admirer of the ladies. I one day said to him, "Sir Richard, I am puzzled about Walcheren: what shall I say for you?" "D—— me if I know," he replied; "I did the best I could, and we only waited for orders." This corroborates the epigram.

In the mean time the enemy had employed themselves in strengthening and fortifying Cadsand, a place, however, of no importance to us, after having taken Walcheren and South Beveland.

By means not very difficult to conceive, the French were informed of our intentions to attack Cadsand, and had prepared accordingly. Our Ministers were in the habit of receiving much of their intelligence from smugglers, and, consequently, every question put to them, as to the strength of any particular point, became to the enemy, on the return of these people, an article of the most valuable communication.

Filled with troops, the island of Cadsand was enabled to contribute powerfully to the defence of Flushing. On the 4th, 5th, and 6th of August 3,000 men passed from it into the island of Walcheren, nor was it in the power of the fleet, from the state of the weather, to prevent their crossing the Scheldt.

Still Flushing, with all its reinforcements, had not the means of arresting a British ship in its passage up the river. As soon as the wind and tide concurred, a squadron of 10 frigates, under the command of Lord William Stewart, in the Lavinia, passed the batteries on the 11th, with the trifling loss of two seamen killed and 11 wounded. This squadron anchored under the fort of Bathz. About the same time the enemy made a sortie from Flushing, in which, though they were driven back, our troops suffered some loss; but a partial inundation rendered our batteries in a degree useless.

As the conduct of Sir Richard Strachan, and the officers employed under him, became subject to much animadversion through the public prints, which imputed a want of energy to the commander-in-chief and the navy, I shall give an extract of a letter addressed by the Rear-admiral to the Honourable Wellesley Pole, dated on board the Kangaroo, in the West Scheldt, August 11th, 1809, when the fleet and army had been 13 days on the coast.

I am this moment going up to Bathz, which has been attacked by a strong detachment of the enemy's flotilla, and which Sir Richard Keats reports to consist of two frigates, one bearing a vice-admiral's flag, 30 brigs, eight luggers, a schooner, and 14 gun-boats.

I was under the necessity of detaining our flotilla, to prevent supplies being thrown into the garrison of Flushing, and to assist in cutting off its communication with Cadsand, which service was effectually done, except during the late heavy gales, which drove the gun-boats from their stations, and prevented our ships entering the Scheldt, from the circumstance of their not being able to weigh their anchors. Since the weather has moderated, the wind has

drawn round to the south-east, which is the only obstacle to Lord William Stewart, with a squadron of 10 heavy frigates, passing Flushing, as well as Rear-admiral Gardner, with the effective line-of-battle ships, taking up the anchorage in Dyesbroek bay, and eventually to proceed up the Scheldt.

The batteries are not yet ready to open on Flushing; therefore I hope to be here in time to co-operate with the army in the attack on that garrison.

I am concerned to add, that the enemy has cut the dyke on the right of the town, and the island is likely to be inundated. I have ordered Rear-admiral Otway to send the Monmouth and Agincourt to England for water, and earnestly entreat that means may be adopted for supplying the army and navy from England, as I apprehend all the water in this island will be spoiled by the inundation, and there is not more on the other islands than will supply the inhabitants.

This letter will sufficiently account for the delay of the advance of the naval part of the force up the Scheldt; and proves that, however actively the army was engaged on shore, the navy was in no manner deficient either in zeal or ability.

The shores of the East Scheldt having been found defenceless, were taken by General Grosvenor, who, instead of landing on Schonen with his division, as had been intended, disembarked on Walcheren, and proceeded to join the army before Flushing. Sir Home Popham, who appears not to have been on good terms with the commander-in-chief of the army, requested Sir Richard Strachan would employ him in the flotilla, which he did; and Sir Home, with a vast number of gun-boats and small craft, advanced up the Scheldt as high as Lillo, obliging the enemy's ships to quit that part of the river, and retire as high as Fort St. Philippe. Sir Richard Keats was directed by the admiral to assume the command of the whole of the flotilla, and to co-operate with the Earl of Rosslyn for the annoyance of the enemy.

Rear-admiral Lord Gardner, with the St. Domingo, Blake, Repulse, Victorious, Denmark, Audacious, and Venerable, was placed off Dyesbroek, ready to act as occasion might require.

Sir Richard Strachan was preparing to go up the Scheldt with the advance, when he was informed by the Earl of Chatham that the batteries would be ready on the following day, the 13th, to open on the town. Sir Richard, therefore, hoisted his flag on board the St. Domingo, and prepared to lead his ships into action. Having thus far accounted for the disposition of our forces, naval and military, let us see what was doing in the neighbourhood of Antwerp to resist or to counteract our enterprise.

The enemy the most to be dreaded by our forces in the Scheldt, was the disorder, by the inhabitants called the fever of the polders. It is produced by two or three concurring causes; damps, bad water, and the putrid exhalations of the marshes in the fall of the year, when the vegetable matter, the growth of the summer months, begins to decay and decompose. The waters thus polluted have no means of running off, but, mingling with the rain-water, destroy the resource of the inhabitants. Hence these people are subject to disease, which afflicts them from the hour of their birth to their death. It returns every year, but is seldom fatal to those inured to the climate. The French, for these reasons, never sent their national troops to Flushing, unless for punishment: its garrison consisted in general of Prussians, Spaniards, Irish, and prisoners.

Napoleon had spent much time and devoted much attention to the arsenals of Antwerp and the commerce of the Scheldt; and, probably, at any other period, would have hastened with his whole army to the relief of Belgium; but he was at the time of our expedition deeply engaged on the Danube, and absorbed in the hopes of destroying the houses of Austria and Brandenburgh.

Louis, the King of Holland, received at Aix la Chapelle, on the 1st of August, the news of the invasion, and instantly departed for Amsterdam, leaving orders for all his disposable forces at Liege and Maestricht to assemble at Antwerp, the sum of which amounted to 900 men, composed of the wreck or refuse of 25 different regiments, dragoons, chasseurs, hussars, infantry, and dismounted cavalry. These, for the two first days of their march, were without a general, and their progress, instead of having the appearance of an offensive operation, resembled the most disorderly flight.

Approaching Antwerp, confusion, alarm, dismay, and false reports, threw the self-elected leaders into a still greater perplexity. The roads were crowded at once with helpless families flying from the city, and waggons loaded with maimed soldiers going to its relief. There was no preparation for resistance; cannon, ammunition, and soldiers, were all swallowed up in the armies of the Danube and the Peninsula. The best troops were raw recruits, without discipline, or disabled soldiers, placed in the retirement of garrisons not likely to become the seat of war; but, nearer to the mouth of the Scheldt, the forces and condition of the enemy were very different. Cadsand, Walcheren, and Lillo, were supposed to be in such a state of defence as might occupy our forces until these places could be covered by detachments from Germany.

An anxious multitude occupied the quays of Antwerp, gazing

on the horizon to the north, where the white sails of the British fleet increased in number each moment to the eyes of the timid spectators; and the French fleet or ships from the road of Flushing were driven up the river to seek an asylum beyond the reach of their pursuers. On the 12th of August the King of Holland assembled 6,000 men near Antwerp; these were composed partly of his own guard; the Dutch troops formed a corps-de-réserve; and Louis commanded that a large ship, loaded with stones, should be sunk in the channel of the river, opposite to the fort of Lillo: this was never executed. Distraction and discord prevailed in the French army between the generals Chamberlac and D'Allemagne. Doubtful who ought to command, neither would obey; the public service, as is usual on such occasions, suffered by the selfishness of individuals; and Flushing had surrendered before Marshal Bernadotte arrived to take the command in chief of the Belgian army, which he assumed on the 16th. Four field-pieces (4-pounders) were all they could muster; and the guns which defended Antwerp were of the very worst description, mounted on old ship-carriages. The army consisted of Poles, Hanoverians, Prussians, Russians, French, Dutch, and Spaniards, prisoners, invalids, and disaffected. Such were all that could be offered to oppose us. The genius of the best French generals could scarcely have organized this disjointed assembly, and placed it in anything like military array. Antwerp and the arsenal must have fallen; the magistrates were prepared at the first summons to surrender the keys of the city;* but the 14 days which had been uselessly spent in the reduction of Flushing had totally changed the relative situation of the contending forces. The forts of Lillo and Lieftenshoeck, which, on the arrival of our fleet, were dismantled, and unprepared to fire a shot, were, by the exertions and superior abilities of Marshal Bernadotte, put into a state of defence with artillery, and a boom of immense length, extending across the river, from one fort to the other, supported by a great number of gun-brigs, gunboats, and two frigates. The sluices were opened, and an inundation would have left our army no ground to stand on but the dykes; while our fleet, crowded together in a narrow anchorage, was exposed to the nightly attacks of fire-ships.

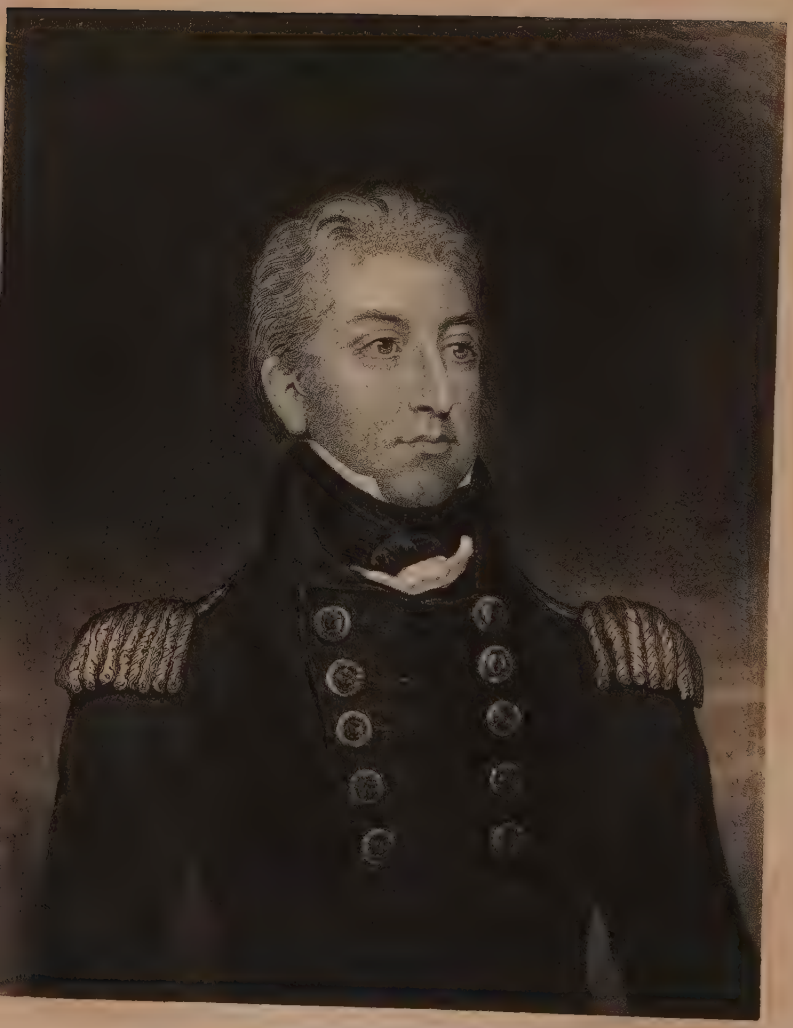
Such were the means possessed by the King of Holland to defend himself against an enemy of more power than any which had ever entered his country, since its first existence as a

* I cannot help thinking that there was some secret order which prevented the advance of Lord Chatham with the army. There is no other way of accounting for his conduct.—AUTHOR.

nation: and if to this irresistible weight of military force we add that the Dutch and Belgians were generally inimical to his government, we can only express our wonder that they did not rise as one man, and break the yoke of their oppressor. This indeed they probably would have done, had our army reached Antwerp before the truce had been signed between France and Austria.

In the mean time the preparations for the bombardment of Flushing having been completed, the garrison was summoned to surrender; and on the refusal of the general, the firing began at one o'clock on the afternoon of the 13th, and was returned with spirit by the enemy. The bombs and gun-vessels, under the orders of Captain Cockburn, of the Belleisle, took their station off the south-east end of the town: those under Captain Owen, of the Clyde, were off the south-west end. The shot and shells from these divisions were thrown into the place with great precision. The wind did not permit the commander-in-chief to bring the ships of the line into action before the following day. At 10 o'clock in the morning of the 14th Sir Richard Strachan weighed, and stood in, followed by Lord Gardner in the Blake, and the other ships in succession. The St. Domingo soon after grounded on the Dogsand, which Lord Gardner not knowing, attempted to pass within her, when the Blake also grounded; the other ships were immediately directed to haul off, and anchor, agreeably to the preconcerted plan. Captain Owen, in the Clyde, hastened to the assistance of the two ships of the line, and by his exertions they were soon got into deep water. The fire of the squadron and flotilla was vivid during the whole afternoon. At seven o'clock hostilities were suspended, while a flag of truce went into Flushing; but at eight the fire recommenced, and continued without intermission till two o'clock in the morning of the 15th, when the French general (Monet) offered to surrender. At daylight the admiral directed that flags of truce should be hoisted, and hostilities cease. Captain Cockburn, and Colonel Long, the adjutant-general, were selected by the Earl of Chatham to settle the terms of the capitulation, which was finally concluded on the evening of the 15th. The garrison was to march out with the honours of war. The casualties sustained on board of our ships from the fire of the enemy were trifling; about nine men were killed, and 47 wounded; and very little damage was done to the hulls and rigging.

When our army entered Flushing, 247 private houses, two churches, and the town-house, containing many important public and private documents, had been destroyed; and about 335 men, women, and children, had lost their lives, and an



SIR GEORGE COCKBURN, G. C. B.

MAJOR GENL. OF MARINES

ENGRAVED FOR CAPT. BRENTON'S NAVAL HISTORY

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immense number of people had been wounded. About 5,000 troops were made prisoners, and sent to England.

The islands of Schonen and Duiveland capitulated on the 15th to the Earl of Rosslyn and Sir Richard Keats; but Schonen and North Beveland were evacuated by our troops on the 30th and 31st of August. At the same time the advanced squadron of the British fleet, which had taken up a position above Bathz, was compelled by the enemy's batteries to seek protection under the guns of that fort.

The surrender of Flushing, instead of producing that advantage to our allies which might have been expected, seemed to be the commencement of all our disasters. It was conjectured that the enemy were mustering in great force on either bank of the river; at the same time their positions in the streams of the East and West Scheldt were strengthened by every means which their resources and the art of war could supply. That the British admirals and their fleet were in their proper places, and ready to advance under any circumstances, is proved by the following official documents, which, in the year 1810, were laid before Parliament. Whatever impression might have been made by the narrative of the Earl of Chatham, these letters place the merits of the sea-officers in such a point of view as completely to exonerate them from all responsibility for the failure of the expedition.

In a letter to the Rear-admiral, commanding-in-chief, dated West Scheldt, August 15th, Sir Richard Keats says :—

The enemy's flotilla, considerably increased in number, has retired under the protection of Lillo; and 13 men of war, with their top-gallant yards crossed (but we differ as to their exact number of ships of the line), are anchored off and below Antwerp, as far down as (St.) Philippe. Six of our frigates are off Waerden, waiting for an opportunity to come up.

From this representation it will be evident, that, although it may not be probable the enemy will advance, and attack our present situation, still that he has abundantly the means so to do, until a stronger force arrives.

In the passage of the East Scheldt, between Bergen-op-Zoom and Tholen, the enemy has collected 44 vessels, which I am doubtful if we can with propriety attack; but the situation is now reconnoitring, and, if it shall appear that they are not too strongly posted, it shall be done as soon as the frigates arrive. As the navigation of the river is now opened sufficiently high to admit of the co-operation of the army, and it does not appear to me that any thing material can be effected by the navy (with a view to the accomplishment of the ulterior object) without such a co-operation, I have ordered most of the flat boats from the East Scheldt to Bathz; and presume those at Campveer will be also required, if it be determined to

remove the troops from South Beveland. The sloops and gun-brigs are mostly short of provisions and water; farther supplies are much wanted.

Sir Richard Strachan, in a letter to Mr. Wellesley Pole, dated the 22d August, from the same anchorage, says :—

As the enemy have moored most of their ships rather above Antwerp, except three sail of the line and three frigates, I have stopped the division of Lord Gardner at Waerden, and intend only to have the St. Domingo, Venerable, and Courageux, at this anchorage. The enemy are constructing a battery between Lillo and Fort Frederick Hendrick. We had some firing yesterday, to prevent their mounting their guns; but they work in the night, and will effect their purpose: a strong boom extends from Lillo to Lieftenshoeck. The enemy appear in considerable force on both sides of the river; it is said, 15,000 men are collected in the neighbourhood of Sandvleit; the beach near that place appears favourable for landing the troops. I have directed Sir Richard Keats to undertake the arrangement. To Captain Cockburn I have given the command of the flotilla, and to Sir Home Popham that of the fire-vessel department. It is the opinion of Sir Richard Keats and myself, and I believe of every sea-officer, that, without the co-operation of the army, we cannot effect the ultimate object of the expedition.

On the 17th Sir Richard Keats addressed the following letter to the Earl of Rosslyn :—

My Lord, *Camilla, off Sandvleit, 17th August*, 1809.

By a letter which I received yesterday from Sir Richard Strachan, and by a second which I have just received, I find myself vested with full authority, and it should seem Sir Richard Strachan considers your lordship, who commands the troops in South Beveland, has similar authority, to concert and act without delay in any plan that may appear to us best calculated to promote the ultimate object of the expedition, namely, " the destruction of the enemy's ships of war near Antwerp." If your lordship's instructions are of a corresponding nature, I shall have the honour of waiting on you immediately; and am ready to apply the naval means under my orders in co-operation with the troops under your lordship's command, in prosecution of any plan we may approve.

I have the honour to be, &c.

R. G. Keats.

To Lieutenant-general the Earl of Rosslyn.

To this unqualified offer, on the part of the admiral, the following answer was returned on the same day, dated from Tergoes :—

SIR,

I have this moment had the honour to receive your letter, and, in answer to it, can only say, that I have received no instructions whatever on the subject of any ulterior operations.

I have some reason to expect the commander of the forces to remove his head-quarters to this place in the course of to-morrow, or next day; and I will not fail to give you the earliest notice of his lordship's arrival, or of any information that may occur on that subject. I have the honour to be, &c.

ROSSLYN.

To Rear-admiral Sir R. G. Keats.

I have good authority for saying that the boom of Lillo would have been attempted by the ships of war, had the army advanced by land to the rear of that fort; but the offer was declined, and from that moment retreat was decided on.

Diseases incidental to the climate broke out among the troops on the 20th of August. By this time the enemy had, or was supposed to have collected, on the banks of the Scheldt, between 30,000 and 40,000 men. On the 15th of August, the day on which Flushing capitulated, Rear-admiral Sir Richard Keats, having his flag on board the Camilla, of 20 guns, had advanced with 18 sloops of war, and four divisions of gun-brigs, as high as the shoals of Saeftingen, cutting off the communication between the East and West Scheldt; but all was now unavailing. The labour of buoying off the shoals of the river, as high as Bathz, had been nearly completed, but there was not more than one pilot who could be depended on to conduct a ship up the Scheldt from Lillo, although the water was sufficiently deep at half flood to float a ship of the line. The narrow and intricate channels afforded no space for working; and, had one ship grounded, she would have prevented the approach of the others. Such were the difficulties against which the admiral had to contend with his heavy ships. Yet, notwithstanding these, he was ready to proceed; but, in order to give him time to conduct his ships through the dangers of the shoal water, it was absolutely necessary that the banks of the river should be cleared of the enemy. On the 27th of August it was decided by the Earl of Chatham, and a council of seven lieutenant-generals, that nothing more could be done. This resolution, whatever may have been the causes which led to it, was founded in wisdom. There were no more than 10 days' provisions for 70,000 men: the fever was making the most frightful ravages. On the 3d of September the mortality among our soldiers had been from 200 to 300 in a week, and the number of sick amounted to 8,194; of these about 1,400 were sent home, and died in the hospitals: many of these gallant men had served

in the Peninsula with the lamented Sir John Moore. On the 14th of September the Earl of Chatham landed at Deal, and, proceeding to London, gave in to his Majesty an account of the expedition. Sir Richard Strachan continued in the Scheldt, affording every assistance to the army and navy. Never was service more arduous—never was the presence of an admiral more indispensable. A ship of 74 guns, found on the stocks at Flushing, was taken to pieces and sent over to England: a frigate and a brig of war were also launched, and brought away. The slips had not been calculated for the construction of more at one time.

Notwithstanding the ravages of the fever among our troops, it had been determined by the British Government to keep possession of the island of Walcheren, and to repair the walls and defences of Flushing. The plan was changed; an order came to blow up the basin, and destroy every thing belonging to the French Government. It was not till the 11th of December that this was completed, under the direction of Rear-admiral Edward Albany Otway. Six hundred seamen and artificers, under the orders of Captain Moore, of his Majesty's ship the Marlborough, assisted by Captains Tomlinson and Henderson, of the royal navy, soon performed the part allotted to them. The mines, prepared by Lieutenant-colonel Pilkington, of the royal engineers, were exploded on the 10th of December (the day after the army had embarked), and every injury done to the public works, as far as could be effected without destroying the town.

This being accomplished, "Flushing," says the rear-admiral, "is rendered useless as a naval arsenal."

While the rear-admiral was employed in this manner, the enemy endeavoured to enter the island of Walcheren, on the side of Woolvertsdyke; but they were kept out by Captain Owen, of the Clyde, and Captain Carteret, of the Naiad, whose ships lay in the Veere Gat. On the 8th of December these officers, with their division of gun-boats, destroyed the batteries erected by the French. This was nearly the last act of hostility between us and the enemy in that fatal expedition. Commodore Owen remained in the Veere Gat till the 27th, when, having seen every thing clear on the East Scheldt, as Sir Richard Strachan had done on the West, the rear-admiral and his gallant colleagues anchored in the Downs on the 28th of December; having done their duty to the very letter and spirit of their instructions.

The land fortifications of Flushing, the fort of Rammekins, and the harbour of Veere, were left uninjured; and, in some respects, improved by our labour.

Monet, the French general, who surrendered after a bombardment of 36 hours, and without cutting his dykes in time, was declared guilty of cowardice and treason. It is pretty evident he might have held out for many days longer; the quantity of ordnance, ammunition, and provisions in the place would have served for a long siege.

The original intention of our government was to invest Flushing with the forces under Sir Eyre Coote, and land them agreeably to an excellent plan prepared by Sir Home Popham, the only naval officer (except Captain Plampin) who professed to have any practical knowledge of the Scheldt. They were to have landed in Zoutland Bay in the Duerloo Passage, of which the enemy were apprized. The knowledge of this fact, and the state of the weather, caused the British fleet to anchor in the Roompot, and effect the landing near the Haek battery on the Breesand. The same reasons prevented the landing on Cadsand, but this was rendered unnecessary by our success in the Eastern Scheldt. The want of pilots was so great that several ships got aground, and lay so for many days. Yet, with all those difficulties, a sufficient force was advanced up both Scheldts to co-operate with the troops in South Beveland; and had the commander-in-chief of the army ordered an advance to cover a landing at Sandfleet, as had been originally intended, the whole force in this case, not otherwise employed, would have proceeded at all risks into the West Scheldt: but, as Sir Richard Strachan was aware of the general's intentions, he did not think proper to send more ships into the river than were absolutely necessary. It certainly was a matter of debate in the cabinet, whether the expedition should be sent to Spain or to Holland; and decided in favour of the latter, even after the news had arrived of the armistice between France and Austria. Lord Castlereagh went down to Deal to hasten the embarkation.

During the time of the expedition, the persons who were employed to convey intelligence to the commanders-in-chief, furnished the most exaggerated accounts of the preparations of the enemy; but no sooner did our army retire from Beveland, and prepare to return home, than the same persons gave information that the enemy was not advancing, and that there were no preparations, and very few troops in Antwerp. While our Government was in doubt whether to keep Walcheren or to leave it, the most alarming accounts were brought of the advance of the enemy into South Beveland, to attack Flushing.

The battles of Aspern and Essling were fought on the 21st and 22d of May. In these, though the Austrians had certainly done better than on former occasions, still they were not

decidedly victorious. Bonaparte a second time entered Vienna in triumph. The battle of Wagram was fought on the 6th of July, and on the 12th the truce was signed between France and Austria.

The policy of evacuating the island of Walcheren after the immense expense of its acquisition, has been questioned by men of high military character. The Polder fever had subsided; the troops were becoming what the French call "*acclimatés.*" The barracks on the sand-hills would have contained them in the sickly season, and have preserved them in health.

Our ships of war lying in the bay of Saeftingen, or the road of Flushing, out of reach of the enemy's batteries, would have blockaded the fleet at Antwerp with far less danger and expense, and far more effectually, than by cruising in winter time on the Flemish banks. The only danger to guard against would have been that of fire-vessels coming down the river; but here would have been a post of honour, and the road to preferment for young officers, in dock-yard lumps moored with chains, connecting one with the other in mid-channel. The commerce of the Scheldt, of great importance to the Low Countries, would have been annihilated; and, if the war had been transferred from Spain, or from Basque Roads to the Scheldt, the advantage would undoubtedly have been on our side, as nearer to the seat of our own Government, and the fountain-head of our resources.

If, then, the destruction or blockade of the Belgic fleet, and the prevention of an invasion of England from the Low Countries, were the objects for which the expedition sailed, after the truce on the Danube, why were those objects abandoned at the very time when they had been attained by the valour and perseverance of our troops? Here only we should rest our objections to the policy of our proceedings. Sir Richard Strachan, Sir George Cockburn, and other excellent officers, were convinced of the practicability of keeping Walcheren; and to have remained there till the ensuing summer would have been a great point gained; but every other consideration appears to have been sacrificed for the safety of Spain.*

As the result of this expedition caused much discontent, and became in the following year the subject of parliamentary in-

* I well remember sailing in the Donegal, of 74 guns, from Spithead, to carry Lord Wellesley to Cadiz, when this immense fleet was getting under way to go to the Scheldt: and I observed to his lordship, that I thought if they were to follow us to Cadiz, they would do much more good; his lordship replied, to the best of my recollection, "I think so too; but the Cabinet has decided otherwise." Having then so decided, why was the object abandoned without an effort?

vestigation, it would be useless to make any further observations at present. I shall therefore conclude the melancholy subject with the subjoined statement of the losses of the army; for it is remarkable that the navy was perfectly healthy during the whole of the time the ships lay in the Scheldt, as were the marines and seamen of the fleet in garrison at Ter Veere: a sufficient proof that the greater part of the disease was to be attributed to the water used by the troops on the island of Walcheren.

			Officers.	*Privates.*
Officers embarked	1,738	Killed	7	99
Privates	37,481	Died of fever	20	2,041
		Died at home	40	1,859
Total	39,219	Deserted	—	84
		Discharged	—	25
			67	4,108
Early in 1810, there were sick in England, from this expedition			217	11,296
			284	15,404
		Officers.		284
		Grand Total		15,688

CHAPTER XIV.

Spain.—Sequel of the retreat of Sir John Moore—Squadron at Corunna—Battle at that place—Death of Sir John Moore—Exertions of the navy—Observations on the retreat of our army, and its severe losses—Lord Cochrane—Vigo capitulates to Captain M'Kinlay—Sir Arthur Wellesley in Portugal—Henry Hotham, William Parker, James Brisbane, Honourable Frederic Paul Irby, Captain Jahleel Brenton, Honourable Henry Duncan, William Hoste, are all severally engaged with the enemy—Pesaro taken—Cesenatico taken—Lusin Picolo taken—Sir Arthur Wellesley commander-in-chief in the Peninsula—Lord Wellesley embarks in the Donegal for Spain—Arrives at Cadiz—Battle of Talavera—Enthusiasm of the Spaniards—Festivities at Cadiz—Lord Wellesley's remarks at the dinner—His lordship's return to England—Sicily—Sir J. Stewart commander-in-chief—Ischia and Procida attacked—Staines, in the Cyane, distinguishes himself, and is wounded—Captain Stewart in the Seahorse—Maxwell in the Alceste—Bullen in the Volontaire—Griffith in the Topaze—Lord Collingwood on the coast of Catalonia—Rear-admiral Martin falls in with French squadron—Robuste and Lion, two French ships of the line, destroyed—Hallowell's success—Hoste's success—Zante and Cephalonia taken by the British—Cerigo taken, &c.

The affairs of the Peninsula wore an unpromising aspect at the commencement of 1809; yet, notwithstanding the disasters which the Spaniards experienced, the prophetic words of Mr. Badaxi, the Spanish minister from the Central Junta to the Court of Vienna, were completely fulfilled. He observed to Captain (now Sir Jahleel) Brenton, of the Spartan, that Bonaparte would find in Spain the tomb of his ambition: few who witnessed the events of that period would have concurred with him. Sir John Moore, one of our most gallant, able, and distinguished generals, was so deeply impressed with feelings entirely opposite, that he began his retreat from Salamanca towards the sea-coast on the 8th of December, 1808. The hardships endured by the British troops on that occasion almost equalled those sustained by the army under General Dundas in its famous retreat through Holland in the winter of 1794-5. Their discipline, it is true, was shaken for a time, but instantly resumed its sway when the enemy appeared.

It has been asked why the fleet was not detained at Vigo and Ferrol to receive the troops. The reason given for pre-

ferring Corunna was, that in the two former harbours the ships could not have got to sea so easily with westerly winds as from the latter; besides which the march would have been much longer.

It has been also regretted that our forces, either naval or military, were sent to the north of Spain or Portugal: that, however, was not the measure of the Board of Admiralty, but the decision of Lord Castlereagh and the Spanish agents sent to this country. The greatest enthusiasm certainly prevailed in the south in favour of England, and against the power of Napoleon; but, as our armies were in the north, our fleets were of course obliged to follow them.

Lord Mulgrave, whose vigilance foresaw and provided for every contingency, had taken care that a sufficient number of ships of war and transports should be ready to receive the troops, and cover their retreat in case of any reverse of fortune.

Rear-admiral the Honourable Michael De Courcy, whose flag was in the Tonnant, of 80 guns, had with him a strong squadron in the bay of Corunna.

The names of the ships were—

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
The Ville de Paris	110	*
Victory	100	*
Barfleur	98	Sir Edward Berry.
Tonnant	80	Flag.
Implacable	74	T. B. Martin.
Elizabeth	74	Hon. H. Curzon.
Norge	74	J. S. Rainier.
Resolution	74	G. Burlton.
Audacious	74	T. M. Gosselin.
Plantagenet	74	*
Endymion, frigate	40	*
Mediator, troop ship	44	*

The transports arrived from Vigo on the 9th, under the orders of Rear-admiral Sir Samuel Hood. There were left at Vigo a sufficient number of vessels to receive 3,500 troops, which, having separated from Sir John Moore's army, had taken the route to that place, under Generals Crauford and Alten.

Sir John Moore, while he retreated before the superior forces of Marshal Soult, showed the best dispositions for battle, and concentrated his forces round Corunna, the enemy pressing upon him, but constantly refusing battle until he reached the

* Names of captains wanted.

sea-coast and the heights above Corunna. On the night of the 16th January the enemy had received considerable reinforcements, and at one in the morning attacked the British right under Lord William Bentinck, but were repulsed by the gallant 42d regiment. The action soon became general and obstinate. The French were beaten, although their forces far outnumbered ours. Sir John Moore was mortally wounded, and Sir David Baird, the second in command, lost his arm. Major-general Paget threatened the enemy's left; while Major-generals Manningham and Leith nobly resisted the united powers of the enemy. Soult, with his best troops, made a last effort on our left, but was defeated. At five o'clock in the morning the enemy retreated; at six the firing had ceased, and our army occupied a more forward position than it had held before the attack. Major-general Hope, on whom the command had devolved, still persevered in carrying the intentions of Sir John Moore into execution. The embarkation of the sick and wounded, the artillery and stores, and finally of the whole army, was conducted with perfect regularity. The efforts of the navy here were equal to those at Toulon in 1793, with the additional embarrassment of bad weather, which rendered the communication by boats both tedious and difficult: at the same time the cannon of the enemy, planted on the heights, kept up a constant fire on the transports. Some of the masters of these vessels were so forgetful of their duty as to cut their cables and run to sea. Some of the vessels got on shore and were lost, two were burnt, and five bilged. The whole of the troops were finally put on board, under cover of the ships of war, from a sandy beach near the light-house. The commander-in-chief of the troops spoke in most grateful terms of the assistance afforded to him by the rear-admiral and Captains the Hon. H. Curzon, T. M. Gosselin, C. W. Boys, J. S. Rainier, T. Serrell, Hawkins, G. Digby, J. S. Carden, M'Kenzie, and Shepperd, and Commissioner Bowen. The corps of Major-general Beresford embarked on the morning of the 18th, completing the retreat of the British army which had quitted Salamanca under the command of Sir John Moore.

It cannot, however, be denied, that the retreat, generally admitted to have been necessary, was conducted with ruinous haste and precipitation, causing losses far greater and more serious than any action which the enemy could have inflicted, independently of the loss that enemy must have sustained in battle. I am confirmed in this observation by the testimony of a highly respected officer of the 95th, whose regiment was the rear-guard, and which was never once overpowered by the

enemy. The soldiers always took their meals in quiet, and brought in all stragglers from the army. The number of our troops amounted to about 28,000, of whom nearly 8,000 were lost, and we may consider this as the most disastrous affair of the whole war. Had Sir John Moore given battle to the enemy, the death of 8,000 British soldiers would in all probability have cost the enemy a much greater number.

From that period Spain, or at least the great majority of her people, has been favourable to Great Britain. The weak and miserable Ferdinand, a bigot and a tyrant, was restored to his kingdom, and proved himself unworthy of the protection afforded him.

In the month of January Lord Cochrane entered the port of Caldaquirs, whence he brought out two small armed vessels and eleven sail of victuallers, which had been destined for the relief of the French army and garrison of Barcelona. The trade, and even the marine of France, was now doubly exposed, the ports of Spain no longer affording them shelter either in the bay of Biscay or the Mediterranean. The ships and vessels of the enemy were taken or destroyed with increased celerity; and their army, depending on the coast for supplies, was reduced to the greatest distress. Thus were the wrongs of Spain in some degree avenged, and the French made to suffer that misery which they had so cruelly inflicted on their neighbours. The rage of the Spaniards knew no bounds, and nothing could save a Frenchman from death or torture but the interference of a British officer.

On the 23d of March the French garrison of Vigo capitulated to Captain George M'Kinlay, and a regular Spanish force of 1,500 men, under that active and daring leader, Pablo Murillo. A French colonel, 45 officers, and about 1,300 men were made prisoners, and sent away to France on their parole.

Sir Arthur Wellesley was in the mean time actively employed in Portugal. On the 12th of May he fought Marshal Soult on the banks of the Douro, defeated him, crossed the river, and entered Oporto.

In the month of June Captain M'Kinlay had the honour to assist at another defeat of the French. While lying at Vigo on the 6th, he learned that the enemy had assembled in such force as to compel the Conde de Noronha to retire from Pontevedra. Don Juan Caransas, the Spanish commodore at Vigo, in making this communication to Captain M'Kinlay, stated that boats should be in readiness at San Peyo to transport the Spanish army across the river, the bridge having been destroyed. Captain Wynter, of his Majesty's sloop the Cadmus,

instantly sailed up the river with the Portuguese schooner Curiosa, the Tigre, Spanish schooner of war, and as many gun-boats and vessels as could be collected.

Anxious to ascertain the cause of this retrograde movement, Captain M'Kinlay went in his barge up the river San Peyo, where he found Brigadier-general Carrera strongly posted on the south side of the bridge. The Conde de Noronha was at Redondelà. The enemy's forces amounted to 8,000 infantry and 2,500 cavalry, with several field-pieces. Noronha and Carrera here formed a junction with 10,000 troops (only 7,000 of whom were armed), 120 horse, and nine field-pieces. The French army, under Marshal Ney, approached on the north side of the river, and began the attack, as the river at that place is only pistol-shot across. The Spaniards kept their ground with wonderful firmness. Three Spanish gun-boats were brought up, one of them conducted by Lieutenant Jefferson, first of the Cadmus, with a party of men from his own ship. Having laboured all night to strengthen their position, the French at daylight renewed their attack, but were repulsed in every direction by the fire of the Spaniards; and the gun-boats, under Captain Wynter, approaching their works, drove the enemy out, and destroyed their batteries. Every attempt which they made to cross the river was manfully repelled by the Spaniards, who at this time were in better heart for fighting than we can remember them to have been at any other period. Pablo Murillo, and the few English seamen and marines from the Lively and Cadmus, drove back and defeated Marshal Ney at the bridge of San Peyo, and forced him to retire, leaving the field of battle covered with his dead; and many wounded and prisoners fell into the hands of the allies.

Ney fell back on Corunna; and, on the 13th of June, prepared to evacuate that place and Ferrol, spiking the guns, and destroying the defences on the land side, blowing up the magazines, and disarming the inhabitants. Captain Henry Hotham, in the Defiance, gave every assistance to the unfortunate victims of French barbarity. He sent Captain William Parker, of the Amazon, with a large party of seamen and marines, who entered the citadel of Ferrol, and took possession of it in the name of the degenerate Ferdinand VII. The friendship and union of the English and Spanish nations were expressed by every mutual act of kindness which could be imagined; and Captain Hotham entered and took possession of the town of Corunna amidst the acclamations of the Spaniards.

Captain James Brisbane, in the Belle Poule, on the 16th February, chased a frigate in the Adriatic, steering for the gulf of Valona, and after pursuing her for the night, found her

at daylight at anchor, moored to the walls of the fortress of that name, and under the protection of very heavy batteries. Captain Brisbane brought his ship to an anchor in a position to take or destroy the enemy, and to keep in check the batteries under which she had sought shelter; those, however, offered no opposition to the British frigate, whose fire being directed at the enemy's ship, the contest was soon terminated. She surrendered after a few broadsides, and was brought out with very little loss. She was called Le Var, pierced for 32 guns, 9-pounders, but had only 26 mounted, and a complement of 200 men.

In the month of June the Honourable Captain F. P. Irby, in the Amelia, of 38 guns, with the Statira, C. W. Boys, of 38 guns, appeared off the town of St. Andero, where the patriots, having risen against the French garrison, had got possession of the forts. The French vessels in the harbour slipped their cables and ran to sea. They were all immediately taken by the British frigates. One of the prizes was called La Mouche, a fast-sailing privateer, of 16 guns, and 180 men. There were two other smaller privateers, and two small vessels with cargoes.

On the 23d of April Captain Jahleel Brenton, in the Spartan, of 38 guns, having under his orders the Amphion, of 32 guns, commanded by Captain William Hoste, and the Mercury, of 28 guns, by the Honourable Henry Duncan, attacked the town and harbour of Pesaro, in the Adriatic, where a number of vessels lying in the mole attracted the notice of the British cruisers. The boats of the frigates proceeded in two divisions; the first under the command of Lieutenant C. Phillot, of the Amphion; the second under Lieutenant Baumgardt, of the Spartan; and the whole commanded by, and under the direction of Lieutenant G. Willes, first of the Spartan.

Before the boats approached, Captain Brenton sent a flag of truce on shore to the governor, demanding the surrender of all the vessels, and adding, that should any resistance be made, his excellency must be answerable for the consequences. Half an hour was allowed to deliberate; at the expiration of which, no answer being returned, and the troops being observed to assemble in the streets and on the quays in considerable numbers, while the inhabitants were employed in dismantling the vessels, the flag of truce, which had been flying on board the Spartan, was hauled down, and a firing commenced from the ships and boats. After this had continued a short time flags of truce were displayed in several parts of the town. The signal was instantly made to discontinue the action. Lieutenant Willes landed, and was informed that the governor, with all the troops, had made his escape. The place being thus sur-

rendered, the boats of the squadron were employed in bringing out the vessels, while the marines, under the command of Lieutenant Moore, landed, and enfiladed the streets to protect the seamen in their operations. By half-past six in the evening 13 vessels, deeply laden, were brought out; some had been scuttled and sunk by the inhabitants, and others lay aground. Captain Brenton contented himself with blowing up the castle, and withdrawing with the ships and prizes to Trieste. In the whole of this enterprise, it is pleasing to reflect that only one life was lost. The cargoes of the vessels consisted of olive oil, hides, almonds, hemp, plank, and bees' wax.

On the 2d of May the Spartan and Mercury chased two vessels into the port of Cesenatico. A long flat lies before the place, over which the frigates carried for a considerable distance no more than three and a half fathoms of water.

The place was defended by a castle, and a battery of two 24-pounders. By keeping the boats ahead, and sounding, the frigates were enabled to come within grape-shot distance of the battery, which was very soon silenced, when the boats' crews under the command of Lieutenant Willes landed, and took possession of it, turning the guns upon the castle and town, which the enemy then deserted.

Twelve more vessels here rewarded the captors; some laden with corn for Venice, and others being in ballast, were filled with hemp and iron out of the magazine, and brought away. They burnt a large vessel laden with iron, which being aground, they could not remove; blew up the magazine, destroyed the battery, and spiked the guns; after which the party returned to their ships, without a man being hurt. Captain Duncan so placed his ship that, although she lay aground, her fire was fully effective, and she was hove off without the least damage. Unfortunately the valour of the captors was not rewarded with the return of wealth which they had a fair right to expect: the prizes having all been sent to Trieste, were found in that harbour by the French, when they suddenly appeared and surprised the Austrians in the course of a few weeks after.

Captain Brenton having been under the necessity of detaching Captain Duncan, in the Mercury, to the coast of Venice, proceeded in the Spartan to the gulf of Fiume, where he received information from Colonel Peharnic, commanding a corps of Croatians, that the French were fortifying the island of Lusin Picolo. Captain Brenton proposed an immediate attack on the place, provided the Croatians would co-operate. This being agreed to, part of the Croatian troops were received on board the Spartan, and the remainder placed in two trabacolis (small vessels of the country). The forts were attacked,

and the enemy fled; the troops landed on the Peninsula: the Spartan ran up the harbour, and anchored with springs on her cable abreast of the town, and within half a mile of the castle, at the base of which was a battery of 11 guns. By this battery one of the trabacolis was sunk, going in: the people were saved. Some of the marines and seamen of the Spartan were landed to assist the Croatians, while the frigate opened a fire on the castle, which she continued during a great part of the night. At six in the morning the French commandant, after vainly using every artifice by flags of truce to gain time and remount his guns, was compelled to surrender at discretion. Many vessels were found in the harbour; but being claimed by the subjects of the Emperor of Austria, under whose dominion the island now returned, they were not made prizes.

Sir Arthur Wellesley having the command of the British army in the Peninsula, and his plans being crowned with singular success, the Government determined to send out his brother, the Marquis Wellesley, as ambassador to the Supreme Junta of Seville. His lordship embarked at Portsmouth, on board the Donegal, of 74 guns. I was appointed acting captain of this ship in the absence of her then captain, now Vice-admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm, who was detained to attend the trial of Lord Gambier. I sailed from Spithead on the 24th of July, and arrived at Cadiz on the 1st of August. As we let go our anchor, at nine o'clock in the morning, the batteries all round from Santa Calatina to the light-house, together with the guns and musketry of the shipping in the harbour, were celebrating, by continued discharges, the victory then recently obtained by the British army, under Sir Arthur Wellesley, on the plains of Talavera, the news of which had just at that moment reached the governor. The coincidence was singular; and the arrival of the British ambassador, the brother of the victorious general, thrilled every bosom with delight.

A British squadron of four sail of the line was lying in the harbour at the time, under the command of Rear-admiral Purvis, who had been so lately deeply engaged in the blockade of the port, and in preventing the escape of Rossilly's squadron.

The arrangements for landing the ambassador were instantly completed. The public mind in Cadiz had attained a degree of excitement not easy to describe. The quays, the walls, the windows, and the decks of the ships and boats, were crowded to excess; the people hung in clusters from the masts, yards, and rigging of the vessels; not a boat in the harbour but what was afloat, crowded with well-dressed people of both sexes; and "*Viva Ingles! Viva el Rey de Inglaterra!*" resounded from thousands of voices at the same time, mingled with the noise

of cannon, and the most incessant cheering. His excellency landed in the barge of the Donegal; having, by order of the Rear-admiral, the royal standard of England displayed in the bow. When the boat reached the quay his lordship was lifted out of her by the friendly and enthusiastic Spaniards, who would not allow his feet to touch the ground. Carriages were in waiting for him and his suite; but, the moment he was seated, the horses were taken off, and the people dragged him with maddening acclamations over the flags of France, which were spread on the pavement from the water side to the gates of the town. Reaching the magnificent hotel prepared for him, the marquis ascended to the balcony, whence he addressed the multitude, assuring them, as well he might, that it was the proudest and happiest day of his life. Viewed from the balcony, the street, from the density of the assembled people, had the appearance of being paved with faces; every hat was off, and every eye directed to the representative of the greatest and most generous of monarchs, who had come to restore peace and friendship between two nations long divided by the most barbarous policy. There was a grand dinner given to his excellency about three o'clock, to which the admiral, and all the captains of the squadron at Cadiz, were invited. Lord Wellesley made a speech on the then posture of Spanish affairs, which seemed to make a great impression; but one sentence I still remember, and think it well worth remembering. In speaking of the Supreme Junta of Seville he said, "If they wish to do any service to their country, and to immortalize their names, let them dissolve themselves, and declare that they are no longer a Junta." While we were at dinner the street was crowded with spectators, and the windows blocked up with beautiful female faces; and I fairly own I was more employed —I had almost said more agreeably employed—in distributing the fruits and sweetmeats, with which the table abounded, to the fair applicants, than in listening to the senatorial and prophetic wisdom of the noble marquis. In the evening the ambassador attended the theatre, where a distinguished and conspicuous seat was provided for him. On his entrance the band struck up our favourite national air of "God save the King;" and then "Rule Britannia." The former was sung by the vocal performers, having been translated into Spanish; while the ladies, who were crowded in the front seats, waved their white hands and handkerchiefs in token of approbation.

My orders were to land the Marquis Wellesley at Cadiz, and to return with the Right Honourable John Hookham Frere to England. These orders would not deserve notice but for the recall of Mr. Frere, whose correspondence on the retreat

of Sir John Moore had caused much surprise in England. Mr. Frere did not think proper to return in the Donegal; and the services of that ship were commanded for the purpose of conveying Lord Wellesley back to England, who appears to have been disgusted with the base intrigues and despicable folly of the upper classes of society in Spain. Cadiz, when he left it, was filled with cowards and traitors, the spies of Bonaparte, and the betrayers of their country. The aristocracy were without courage or virtue, regardless alike of public or private character; men, I verily believe, who had hacked their swords as they ran away from their enemies. The editor of the *Diario Sevillano* observed, in 1809, that few of the Spanish grandees knew their own offspring; "and how shall we (said he) expect that man to be the guardian of his country's honour who is regardless of his own?" This was bold language to a corrupt people; and the paper was suppressed. The editor took leave of his countrymen in an affecting address, in which he foretold nearly all that we have since witnessed. Still the lower orders in Spain were a noble and generous race, ready to sacrifice everything for their unworthy king, and hourly invoking heaven for his return.

Such were the sentiments of the good Spaniards, and these sentiments were conveyed to England by Lord Wellesley; his lordship having, in consequence of the dispute and duel between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, been recalled to take upon himself the office of secretary for foreign affairs. He re-embarked in the Donegal at Cadiz, and returned to England in November, revolving in his mind the means of rescuing the King of Spain from his confinement at Valençay.*

With a view of distracting the attention of the French in Italy, and drawing them off from the Austrians in the north, to the defence of their strong positions in the south, Lieutenant-general Sir John Stewart, the commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces in Sicily, in concert with Rear-admiral George Martin, planned an attack on the islands of Ischia and Procida,

* I remained at Cadiz nearly four months in the command of the Donegal, and I may say it was one of those periods of my life which I look back to with pleasure and regret. I liked the people. I found their language easy to learn, and I soon acquired it. I spent many happy hours in the society of the family of the Marquis de Los Toros. Our walks on the Alameda in a summer evening, where we inhaled the sea-breeze, and had our lessons of mutual instruction in the English and Spanish languages, cannot be soon effaced from my mind. Before the Marquis Wellesley left Cadiz, the Duke of Wellington, then Sir Arthur Wellesley, came to confer with him: it was on this occasion, as I was Lord Wellesley's constant guest, that I was introduced to the greatest captain of the age. How well I remember the illustrious Warrior saying, "that it was impossible to describe the horrors and desolation of a town which had been visited by a French army!"

near Naples, and also threatened the capital itself. For this purpose a force of British and Sicilian troops was embarked at Melazzo, on board the Canopus, 80, flag; Spartiate, 74, Sir Francis Laforey; Warrior, 74, Captain Spranger; Cyane, 20, Captain Staines; Espoir, 18, Captain Mitford; and Philomel, 18. A large fleet of transports and gun-boats waited their arrival at Palermo. On the 15th these vessels, nearly 100 in number, under the protection of the Alceste and two Sicilian frigates, joined the fleet. The rear-admiral shaped his course close along shore, in the gulf of St. Euphemia, and the coast of Calabria, to which the Philomel was detached with four transports, containing two regiments, which Sir John Stewart wished to be landed, for the purpose of destroying the enemy's batteries, and of undertaking the siege of Scylla, should it be found practicable. The enemy, on the first appearance of our force, abandoned the greater part of their posts along the shore, for the purpose of concentration, when those on the line opposite Messina were seized and disarmed by a corps under Lieutenant-colonel Smith.

On the 24th a force of 2,380 men prepared to attack the island of Ischia, and on the 25th the debarkation of the troops was effected, under the directions of Captain Sir Francis Laforey, led on by Major-general M'Farlane, covered by the fire of the Warrior and Success, and by the British and Sicilian gun-boats. A chain of batteries guarded every accessible landing place; but they were successively taken. Between 200 and 300 of the enemy were made prisoners; and the Franco-Italian general, Colorina, retreated with the remainder of his force into the castle of Ischia, where he refused to listen to any terms until he saw a breaching battery erected, and ready to knock down his walls: he then capitulated. Having completed this important conquest, the two chiefs turned their forces to the island of Procida. A summons being sent to the governor, he deemed it prudent to comply with the terms, and through this well-timed surrender a noble exploit was performed on the following day.

In the evening of the 25th the rear-admiral received information that a fleet of gun-boats, and a convoy, were coming along shore from Gaeta. Captain (the late Sir Thomas) Staines, in the Cyane, with the Espoir, was detached with all the British and Sicilian gun-boats to intercept them; and, at daylight in the morning of the 26th, he had the good fortune to find himself between them and the point of Baiæ, cutting off their communication with Naples; the great object of the enemy being to throw supplies into that place. A spirited action soon commenced. Eighteen of the enemy's gun-boats were taken, and

four destroyed. The Sicilian officers and men in their gun-boats behaved gallantly. Captain Staines acquired the highest approbation of the admiral, and the applause of all present. He had previously harassed the enemy, by destroying their batteries, and engaging their gun-boats; had captured a polacre with troops intended for the relief of Procida; and, supported by some Sicilian gun-boats, had landed and destroyed a battery of four 42-pounders and a 10-inch mortar, with which he had been some time engaged. On the 27th of June this gallant young officer had a still more severe trial with a Neapolitan frigate, called La Cérès, of 42 guns, a corvette of 28 guns, and a number of heavy gun-boats. This force the Cyane and Espoir engaged with great obstinacy. The action lasted from seven till half-past eight in the evening. The corvette made her escape by superior sailing, and got safe into the bay of Naples. The Cyane (a small 22 gun-ship) was now engaged by the Cérès, within half pistol-shot, by the gun-boats, and by the Neapolitan batteries. His ship cut to pieces, himself and first lieutenant (James Hall) desperately wounded, with many of his men, Staines could do no more, and retired from the unequal contest, having, in the course of three days' fighting, had four of his men killed, with himself and 27 wounded.*

Captain John Stewart, in the Sea-horse, destroyed the enemy's forts on the little islands of Giamoto and Planoso, assisted by the Halcyon, Captain H. W. Pearse. Captain Maxwell, of the Alceste, and Captain Staines, in the Cyane, destroyed three strong Martello towers, two gun-boats, and a depôt of timber, at Terracina, making 100 prisoners; and Captain the Honourable Henry Duncan, in the Mercury, destroyed a number of trabacolis near Manfredonia. Captain Rait, of the Scout, sloop of war, destroyed an enemy's battery near Cape Croisette, with seven sail of coasters, which had sought its protection.

Captain Bullen, of the Volontaire frigate, was employed in the same manner at Rioux, on the south coast of France, where the boats of that ship, under the command of Lieutenant Isaac Shaw, destroyed the battery at that place, and brought off five vessels which lay under its guns.

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* It is a singular fact, that the wound (the loss of his left arm out of the socket) sustained by Captain (afterwards Sir Thomas) Staines in this action with the Cérès, caused him to quit the command of his ship, and I was appointed to succeed him. On the 3d of May, in the following year, the Spartan had her action with the same frigate, and, my brother having been desperately wounded, I was appointed from the Cyane to succeed him in the Spartan.

Captain Anselm John Griffith, in the Topaze, of 32 guns, sent his boats under the command of Lieutenant Hammond, of that ship, and brought from under a heavy and incessant fire of the enemy in the port of Dameta, on the coast of Albania, nine vessels, four of which were manned and armed for war.

The fleet under the command of Lord Collingwood, in co-operation with the Spaniards on the coast of Catalonia, performed a signal service to the cause, in the destruction of a French squadron of considerable force. While off St. Sebastian, on the night of the 22d of October, his lordship learned from Captain Barrie, of the Pomone, that the fleet in Toulon was putting to sea, that some ships had sailed, and others were coming out of port with a numerous convoy. The wind being easterly at the time, left no doubt of their being bound to the westward. A vigilant look-out was kept by the frigates during the night; and in the morning of the 23d the Volontaire made the signal for a fleet to the eastward, as they were coming down before the wind. The Tigre, Captain Hallowell, and the Bulwark, Captain Fleming, were pushed a little in advance; but at 10 o'clock the Pomone made the signal that the enemy had come to the wind, that they consisted of three ships of the line, two frigates, two smaller ships, and a convoy of about 20 sail of vessels. Rear-admiral Martin, with eight of the best sailing ships of the line, was ordered to chase, separating in two divisions on contrary tacks. In the evening the Pomone came up with two brigs, two bombards, and a ketch, the whole of which she burned. On the following day the British and enemy's fleets were not in sight of each other; but the division under Rear-admiral Martin had been so fortunate as to meet with the French squadron again. The rear-admiral, in the Canopus, with the Tigre, Captain Hallowell; Sultan, Captain Griffiths; Leviathan, Captain Hervey; and Cumberland, Captain the Honourable P. Wodehouse, saw them on the evening of the 24th, and pursued them till after dark, when, being in shoal water, they came to the wind near the mouth of the Rhone. Next day the same ships, three sail of the line, and one frigate, were again seen between Cette and Frontignan. The Robuste, of 80 guns, bearing the flag of Rear-admiral Baudain, and the Lion, of 74, were chased on shore, off Frontignan. The Borée, of 74 guns, and a frigate, ran on shore in the harbour of Cette. Shoal water and critical navigation prevented the approach of our ships: boats were sent in to sound; and the French, perceiving the intention, set their ships on fire. Having thus disposed of the ships of war, the commander-in-chief continued in search of the convoy, sending the Apollo to the bay of Rosas, (where it was concluded the

smaller vessels had sought refuge,) to examine how far they might be assailable.

Captain Hallowell, of the Tigre, was appointed by Lord Collingwood to conduct the enterprise against them; that officer having under his orders the Cumberland, 74, Volontaire, Apollo, Topaze, Philomel, Scout, and Tuscan. The boats of these ships having been well arranged and adapted for the purpose, with the most resolute officers and crews, were put under the orders of Lieutenant Tailour, of the Tigre, who proceeded after dark to the attack of the enemy, double his force, protected by strong batteries, guarded by boarding-netting, and every way prepared. The first object of their attack was a small frigate, having a gun-boat a-head of her to give the alarm, which was soon conveyed through their convoy. On this the seamen gave three cheers, applied every nerve to their oars, pushed on, and in spite of the fire, the nettings, and the pikes of their enemies, the ship was boarded by the first division of boats, and carried in a few minutes. All the other armed vessels were taken by the remainder of the boats. The opposition was great, but overcome by the valour of our men, who disregarded the fire from the castle, the forts in the bay, their gun-boats, and musketry on the beach. By dawn of day every ship or vessel was either burned or brought off. Such was the fortunate result of a vigilant look-out; and by this capture the supplies for the French army in Spain were either taken or destroyed. The loss on board the Tigre, and the other ships, was severe. The names of the officers employed in the boats are too numerous for insertion, and will be found in the *Gazette* letters. The vessels taken or destroyed were,

	Guns.		*Tons.*	*Men.*	
The Armide store-ship . .	16	9-pounders	600	116	Burned.
Bombard, La Victoire . .	14	6 ———	..	80	Burned.
——— Le Grondeur . .	8	6 ———	..	45	Taken.
Le Normand	10	4 ———	..	48	Taken.

They also captured seven merchant vessels, laden with biscuit and flour for the army. We had 15 killed, and 45 wounded. This transaction, glorious in itself, and highly creditable to the officers employed, might have been rendered infinitely more beneficial to the cause of the unhappy Spaniards, had a body of British troops, instead of making a feint on Naples, been landed in the gulf of Rosas, to support Blake and O'Donnel in the attempted relief of the far-famed Gerona, at that time besieged by a French army under St. Cyr.

The Amphion, of 32 guns, commanded by Captain William Hoste, made a very gallant and successful attack on the forces

of the enemy at Cortelazzo, where six gun-boats and a convoy of merchant vessels were moored in a strong position, under a battery of four 24-pounders, at the mouth of the Piavie, and in sight of the Italian squadron at Venice. The shoal water not admitting the ship within gun-shot, the boats were sent with a party of 70 marines and seamen, under the command of Lieutenant Phillott, first of the Amphion, assisted by Lieutenants Jones and Moore, of the royal marines. At a quarter past three the fort was stormed, and carried in 10 minutes, and its guns turned on the gun-boats in the bay, which instantly surrendered. The battery was a complete work, with a ditch and chevaux-de-frise; and our men entered it by scaling ladders, making the guard prisoners, killing two and wounding one, spiking the guns, and destroying the works. Not an Englishman was hurt. Six large gun-boats were taken, with two trabacolis laden with cheese and rice, and five others burned. For this very heroic exploit Lieutenant Phillott was advanced to the rank of commander.

Lord Collingwood, while he found so much employment for the enemy, was not aware that his constitution was gradually sinking under the constant pressure of fatigue, anxiety, and application to business: his last hour was drawing near; but he lived to render some more services to his country.

While the French were defending Naples, his lordship thought it a proper opportunity to seize the islands of Zante and Cephalonia. Sir John Stewart, the commander-in-chief in Sicily, concurring with him, Rear-admiral Martin, who had the direction of the naval force in the eastern part of the Mediterranean, was desired to send the Warrior, Captain I. Spranger, to conduct the naval part of the expedition. This officer sailed from Messina, with the Philomel sloop and transports, carrying about 1,600 troops, under the command of General Oswald. The Spartan, Captain J. Brenton, at the same time sailed from Malta, with Mr. Foresti and Count Cladan, a Cephalonian adventurer, who had for some time taken refuge at Malta. Captain Eyre, of the Magnificent, was directed to augment this force with his squadron from Corfu, which consisted of the Belle Poule and Kingfisher.

On the 1st of October the ships anchored in the bay of Zante, just beyond the reach of the batteries; and at daylight the troops effected their landing, covered by the guns of the Spartan and Belle Poule, and a division of gun-boats, under Lieutenant Cole, first of the Warrior. The enemy very soon abandoned their defences, and retreated from all points to the castle, which in the course of the day capitulated.

From Zante the squadron immediately proceeded to Cepha-

lonia, where the force employed was so considerable as to offer no hopes of successful resistance. The fort of St. George, situated on a steep hill, two leagues from the town, surrendered on summons; and the two islands of Zante and Cephalonia received the British flag without the loss of a man. At Cephalonia they found one of the finest harbours in the world, capable of containing any number of ships in perfect safety.

The Spartan had been detached, after the surrender of Cephalonia, to attack Cerigo. Captain Brenton had with him Major Clarke and a detachment of troops; Cerigo (the ancient Cythera) had long been a nest of privateers of the worst description, pirates who respected no flag or nation; and from its situation was peculiarly adapted for such purposes. The resistance offered to the British force was therefore proportioned to the interest of the marauders, who held the place in violation of the rights of the peaceful inhabitants. On the 10th of October Captain Brenton, having landed the troops and marines in the bay of St. Nicholas, marched forward towards the castle, followed by one watch of the Spartan's ship's company, dragging three field-pieces. These, owing to the extreme difficulty of the country, did not get into action till 10 o'clock the next morning. The troops and seamen occupied a position on the heights on a level with the castle, within 400 yards of it; and a fire was kept up on both sides with guns and musketry, which continued the greatest part of the day. In the evening some Congreve rockets were added, and, being thrown into the garrison, must have occasioned a serious alarm, as in the morning a flag of truce came out, with offers to capitulate, on conditions which were rejected: the same terms were given as had been granted to Zante and Cephalonia. The loss on our side was very inconsiderable, nor was that of the enemy worth mentioning. The number of troops who defended this island amounted to 104, French, Russians, and Albanians.

Captain Crawley, in the Philomel, at the same time took possession, without any resistance, of the island of Ithaca; and thus the republic of the Seven Islands fell into the hands of Great Britain, which has retained it ever since, the inhabitants in general being favourable to the English.

The shores of the Adriatic, so long unused to the sound of hostile cannon, were kept in constant alarm and dismay by the vigilance of our captains, and the ardour of their young officers and men. The commerce of the enemy knew not the way to the open sea, unless protected or disguised under a neutral flag, creeping from rock to rock, or from island to island, on the northern shore. The gun-boats vainly endeavoured to

prevent the incursions of our boats, who darted on their prey with the rapidity of the eagle, and with almost invariable success.

Captain John West, in the Excellent, of 74 guns, fell in with a convoy passing up towards Trieste, which he compelled to fly for shelter into the port of Duin; here they were pursued by the sloops of war, Acorn and Bustard, commanded by the Captains J. D. Markland and R. Clephane, with the boats of the Excellent, under Lieutenant J. Harper, first of that ship. This gallant young officer boarded the vessels, while the sloops of war engaged the castle. Six large gun-boats, three of which carried three long 24-pounders, and three as many long 18-pounders, with an officer and 20 men in each, were taken, without loss on our side. Ten coasting vessels, from 10 to 20 tons each, loaded with brandy, flour, rice, and wheat, were also brought safely out.

CHAPTER XV.

East Indies.—Wainwright sent against the Pirates in the Gulf of Persia—Isle of France and Bourbon—Du Perrée—Squadron under Vice-admiral Bertie—Preparations to attack the Islands—Captain Willoughby lands at St. Paul's Bay—Capture of the Streatham and Europe by La Caroline—All subsequently retaken—Isle of France—Victor sloop of war taken by the Bellone—South America—State of Europe—Sweden—Gustavus abdicates—Bonaparte's letter to the Emperor of Russia.

Rear-admiral William O'Brien Drury held the command on this station in 1809. He ordered Captain John Wainwright, of La Chiffonne, of 36 guns, to proceed to the Persian Gulf, and repress the ravages of the pirates who infested those seas. The manner in which that gallant and lamented officer executed his orders, and supported the interests of his country and the honour of her flag, should render his memory dear to England. Captain Wainwright took with him a small detachment of troops, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Smith; he arrived at Kas el Khyma on the afternoon of the 11th November, 1809, but the shoalness of the water prevented even the small vessels approaching the town nearer than two miles. A British merchant-ship, called the Minerva, was burnt by the pirates the same evening.

The gun-boats and small craft cannonaded the town on the 12th and 13th, and a false attack was made on the north side by Lieutenant Leslie, of the Chiffonne, with two gun-boats and a party of Sepoys, while the principal effort was directed against the south. Colonel Smith, with his whole detachment, assisted by Captain Wainwright and all the seamen and marines who could be spared from the ships, made good his landing, entered the town, and drove out the enemy; while the gun-boats poured in a heavy discharge of grape-shot upon them, and completed their defeat. Before four o'clock every vessel in the harbour, and all the public storehouses, were in flames. Captain Gordon, of the Caroline, of 36 guns, accompanied Captain Wainwright on this service, which was executed effectually with very trifling loss on our side, and serious damage to the enemy, all of whose small towns on the coast were visited; but there being no vessels near them the squadron proceeded to Luft, near the island of Kishma.

When Captain Wainwright had assembled his whole force, he endeavoured for 24 hours, but without effect, to bring the inhabitants to reasonable terms. He anchored the sloops of war off the town, within musket shot, and landed with the troops, marines, and seamen. Advancing to the gate of the fort, he attempted to force it; but the enemy opened a very heavy and destructive fire. The sloops of war and gun-boats then bombarded the fort with such success that the governor agreed to give it up on the following day to the English in favour of the Imaum of Muscat. In the mean time the seamen in the gun-boats burned 11 piratical vessels lying in the harbour. Having thus chastised these freebooters, Captain Wainwright received from the admiral the highest marks of his approbation.

The islands of France and Bourbon were now all that remained to the French eastward of the Cape of Good Hope. The shelter afforded to shipping, and the resources possessed by the first of these islands for equipment and victualling ships of war and privateers, had enabled the enterprising French officers to do incalculable injury to our Indian commerce. The successes of De Sercey, of Linois, of Bergeret, and Du Perrée, were in a great measure owing to the facilities with which they made good the defects of their ships at Port Louis. In 1809, when the depredations of our enemies had exceeded all bounds, when our navy, though triumphant, could not correct the evil, either by blockade or by bringing their ships to action, the British Government in India considered the subject as worthy of its attention. The state of politics on the Indian peninsula, and the perfect subjection of the native powers, enabled the governor-general to spare such a body of troops as would, when seconded by our ships of war, ensure to us the possession of these islands, and thus deprive the French cruisers of all support from their settlements. As a preparatory step to the enterprise, Vice-admiral Bertie, who commanded on the Cape of Good Hope station, was directed to enforce a rigorous blockade. Captain (now Vice-admiral Sir Josias) Rowley was intrusted with the execution of this service.

Colonel Keating, who commanded a strong detachment of troops on the island of Rodrigue, having been informed by Captain Rowley that Bourbon might be advantageously attacked by a combined operation of the army and navy, very readily joined in the enterprise.

The harbour of St. Paul's had been long the rendezvous of the French cruisers and their prizes. Captain Corbett, of the Sirius, had made himself so well acquainted with the defences of the island, that Captain Rowley sent him with the Otter and Sapphire to bring down the troops from Rodrigue. The

Boadicea blockaded Port Louis, in the Isle of France, and the commodore, in the Raisonnable, of 64 guns, assembled the squadron on the rendezvous, to windward of the island. The arrangements being completed, the land force, under Colonel Keating, consisting of no more than 368 Europeans and native infantry, were augmented by a body of seamen and marines, amounting in all to 604 men, and the squadron, joined by the Sirius, bore up after dark for the Isle of Bourbon. Approaching the Bay of St. Paul's, the men were put on shore, the batteries were stormed and carried, and the guns upon them turned on the French shipping in the roads. The British squadron at the same time opened its fire, and by nine o'clock in the morning the forts, town, and shipping were in possession of the British. The seamen and marines employed in this attack on shore were commanded by Captain Willoughby.

La Caroline, a French frigate of 44 guns and 400 men, seeing the Sirius in a raking position a-head of her, surrendered. This vessel had, in the month of May, captured, off the Nicobar Islands, the Streatham and Europe East Indiamen, richly laden, and commanded by the Captains Dale and Gelston. Three other Indiamen were in company; but all were so ill manned as to render resistance unavailing. The crews consisted of English, Lascars, Chinamen, and Portuguese. All but the English ran from their guns. The French captain having conducted his prizes to St. Paul's, had not been long there when they were retaken; and himself and his frigate falling at the same time into our hands, the event overpowered his mind, and induced him to commit suicide.

The whole of the vessels in the harbour were brought away. Captain Willoughby spiked all the guns and mortars, burnt the gun carriages, and destroyed the magazines; after which the forces were re-embarked, and returned with little loss to their ships.

On the morning of the 22d of August the surf prevented much intercourse between the shipping and the shore, in consequence of which the enemy collected on the heights, and advanced in force on the town of St. Denis, when the land and sea commanders determined to destroy the Government stores. Captain Willoughby was selected for this service, which he executed at the head of a party of marines and seamen. A large magazine, the only one known to be public property, was set on fire, and the party re-embarked. On the following day they were re-landed, when the enemy sent in proposals to capitulate; which, being accepted, the town of St. Paul's was placed under British protection during an armistice of three weeks. The cargoes of the Indiamen being re-shipped, and their captains and crews reinstated, they proceeded on their

homeward voyage. The number killed on our side was 7, and of wounded 18; among the latter were the Lieutenants Lloyd, of the navy, and Howden, of the marines, belonging to the Raisonnable; and Lieutenant Pye, of the marines, belonging to the Boadicea.

In the month of November La Bellone, another French frigate of 44 guns, commanded by Captain Du Perrée, captured, near the mouth of the Ganges, the Victor, a British sloop of war, of 16 guns, commanded by Captain Stopford, who defended his ship for 35 minutes, and attempted to board his enemy; but failing in that, and his ship being completely disabled, he was forced to submit. On the 11th of the same month La Bellone also captured the Portuguese frigate, Minerva, of 50 guns, after a severe action.

The history of South America since the expulsion of the British army in 1807 offers little that requires notice in this work. Buenos Ayres, after the departure of our forces, became the scene of discord and intrigue. Liniers, its successful defender, aspired to be the head of the Government, with the title of viceroy, and desired to place the provinces under the protection of Bonaparte. This the chief men among the colonists resisted; but the artful Frenchman got possession of their persons, and sent them out of the country to a place of security. Buenos Ayres owned his authority for a time, but Monte Video resisted, and a civil war raged with fury on the banks of the Rio de la Plata.

A few political events will close the notice of the year 1809. With some of them the peace and welfare of England were apparently involved; and they seemed the prelude to an awful crisis, in which the fate of the British empire was to be decided.

In this year Napoleon, in the insolence of conquest, announced to his senate the conclusion of the "fourth Punic war." This war had arisen after the battle of Austerlitz, and was concluded with the peace of Erfurth. The conquest of the Illyrian provinces at this period extended his empire as far as the river Saave, giving him the command of the eastern coast of the Adriatic and the Levant, with the power of treating the Ottoman empire as he might see fit, or as she should behave towards England. Rome, too, the ancient mistress of the world, was now formally annexed to the imperial crown of France, and the unworthy descendants of illustrious progenitors travelled to Paris, and did homage at the footstool of a tyrant. This change in the Papal dominions had been decreed from Bayonne in the preceding year, when the boundless ambition of this upstart of fortune grasped at once the sceptres of Austria, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, and Italy.

A reflecting and contemplative mind could not but look with

deep solicitude on the alarming posture of affairs. England, and England alone, still stood firm amidst the general convulsion. The unhappy Gustavus, King of Sweden, was humbled, and driven from his throne by the intrigues of Bonaparte and the treachery of his own subjects. His adherence to the cause of England was his crime. The Duke of Sudermania, who succeeded him as regent, at first declared himself the friend of England, and the enemy of Russia, unless she should allow an honourable peace to Sweden; but the resistance of that small kingdom was soon overwhelmed. Pomerania and Finland had been torn from her, and she was compelled to make peace on any terms. Gustavus, by a bloodless revolution, was deposed on the 13th of March, 1809, and his family continue exiles from their native land. Sweden made peace with Russia in October, 1809, and with France early in January, 1810. She received back Pomerania and the principality of Rugen, on condition of excluding our commerce from her ports; in other words, of adopting the continental system.

France signed a treaty of peace with Austria, October 15th, 1809, which contained stipulations most unfavourable to Great Britain; and in a letter on this subject, addressed by Napoleon to Alexander, dated Schoenbrun, 10th October, we find the following remarkable passage:—

I send your Majesty the English journals. You will there see that the English ministers are fighting amongst each other: there is a revolution in the ministry, and all is perfect anarchy. They have recently occasioned the death or destruction of from 25,000 to 30,000 men, in the most horrible country in the world, at Walcheren. It would have been just as well to have thrown them into the sea. * * * * General Wellesley has had the extreme imprudence to commit himself in the heart of Spain with 30,000 men, having on his flanks three armies, consisting of 90 battalions, and from 40 to 50 squadrons, while he had in his front the army of the King, which was of equal force: it is difficult to conceive such an act of presumption. * * * * The United States of America are on the worst terms with England, and seem sincerely and seriously disposed to approximate to *our system.*

The fruits of this approximation will be seen in the year 1812.

On the 3d of December, when he addressed a speech to the legislative body, he boasted that "he was marching on Cadiz and Lisbon," when forced to tread back his steps and plant his eagles once more on the ramparts of Vienna, thus terminating in three months the "fourth Punic war." * * "When I shall show myself," he added, "beyond the Pyrenees, the frightened leopard (England) will fly to the ocean to avoid shame, defeat, and death. My friendship and protection will, I hope, restore tranquillity and happiness to Spain."

CHAPTER XVI.

1. Meeting of Parliament—Speech from the Throne—Debates on the Walcheren expedition—Vote of thanks to Lord Gambier—Narrative of Lord Chatham—Resolution of the House—Committal of Sir Francis Burdett—Changes in Ministry—Vigorous measures—Siege of Cadiz—Treachery of the Junta—Heroism of Albuquerque—Cadiz summoned to surrender—Refuses—Honourable banishment and death of Albuquerque—Divorce of Josephine, and marriage of Napoleon with Maria Louisa—Abdication of Louis, King of Holland, and annexation of that country to France—Attempt of Napoleon to obtain the repeal of our orders in council—Disputes with the United States of America—Death of the Crown Prince of Sweden—Election of Bernadotte to that station—Hostility of Sweden against England—War raging with renewed fury in Europe—Fruitless attempt to release the King of Spain from Valençay—Actions in the North Seas and Channel.
2. War on the coast of Spain—Affairs in the Mediterranean—Captain Fane taken prisoner—Sicily—Action between the Spartan and Neapolitan squadron—Attack on Santa Maura—Siege of Cadiz—Capture of Matagorda by the French—Arrival of Admirals Pickmore, Purvis, and Keats—Particulars of the siege—Death and character of Lord Collingwood—Successful enterprises of Captains Hoste, Waldegrave, and others.
3. *East Indies.*—Attack on the island of Bourbon by Commodore Rowley—Its reduction—Du Perrée takes the Wyndham and Ceylon—Gallant action and escape of the Astell—Observations—Attack by Captain N. J. Willoughby, at the Point du Diable, and capture of Isle de la Passe by Captain Pym—Singular position and daring conduct of Captain Willoughby—Du Perrée enters Port South East with his squadron—Battle of the 23d of August—Capture and destruction of four British frigates—Log of the Nereide—Court-martial—Noble defence of the Ceylon by Captain Charles Gordon—Brilliant conduct of Commodore Rowley—Capture and re-capture of the Africaine—Death of Captain Corbett—Capture of La Vénus, and re-capture of the Ceylon—Arrival of Vice-admiral Bertie—Preparations to attack the Isle of France—Expedition—Forces employed—Surrender of the island—Capture of Amboyna by Captain Tucker—Of Banda by Captain Cole.
4. *West Indies.*—Capture of Guadaloupe, and complete reduction of all the French islands in the Caribbean seas—Thanks of Parliament to the Admiral and the forces—Observations on the order of merit bestowed on the army, and withheld from the navy—Loss of the Lively, Nymphe, Pallas, and Minotaur.

The expedition to the Scheldt, unfortunate as to the period of its commencement, and fatal in its termination, had raised in

the public mind serious dissatisfaction against the ministry who had conceived it. Nor was this dissatisfaction lessened by the continuance of the Walcheren or polder fever, which gave numerous daily victims to the grave.

The accounts from the Peninsula were not more cheering, and the meeting of Parliament was anxiously looked to as the only hope for providing a remedy to meet such disasters.

Parliament met on the 23d of January. The speech from the throne recapitulated the events of the preceding year, painting them in the best colours of which they were susceptible. The reduction of the island of Walcheren, the situation of Sweden, the expulsion of the French from Portugal, the battle of Talavera, the resolution of the provisional government of Spain to assemble the Cortez, the recommendation to Parliament to support the cause of the Spaniards, and a hope expressed that a friendly intercourse might speedily be restored between England and America,—these were the materials of the speech. The address was moved by the Earl of Glasgow, and seconded by the Viscount Grimstone (now Earl of Verulam), who said, that, although the expedition to the Scheldt had not succeeded in its main object, considerable advantages were obtained, and our own country was strengthened by the demolition of the arsenal and dock-yard of Flushing. The address was again opposed by the Earl of St. Vincent, upon similar grounds to those taken last year, to which his lordship added, the disastrous expedition to the Scheldt, and the retreat of Sir John Moore. To the memory of that gallant and lamented officer his lordship paid a just and honourable tribute; and concluded his speech by saying, that "it was high time Parliament should adopt strong measures, or else the voice of the country would sound like thunder in their ears." Lord Grenville reprobated the conduct of Ministers in the delay of sending out the Walcheren expedition till after the truce between France and Austria had been concluded. Lord Harrowby admitted this fact, but contended that the attack upon Antwerp was still of immense importance; and that all danger of invasion from the Low Countries was obviated by it. The reader, who has attended to the former chapters, will know how to appreciate the validity of these remarks. The Earl of Mulgrave and Viscount Sidmouth supported the Ministers, and challenged the most rigorous inquiry. The address was carried by a majority of 144 to 92. In the Commons it passed with the same success.

On the vote of thanks being proposed in the Commons to Lord Gambier and the fleet in Basque Roads, Lord Cochrane moved for the minutes of the court-martial on his lordship,

which he deemed necessary in order to enable the house to judge how far its thanks were deserved by the commander-in-chief. This continued opposition of Lord Cochrane to Lord Gambier drew on him the severest censure, particularly from Sir Charles Hamilton, a naval officer of such a character as to lead a great part of the country along with him. My limits will not permit me to enter into the debates which took place on this occasion, although I strongly recommend them to the perusal of the naval reader. The cause of Lord Gambier, after the honourable acquittal of a court martial, was taken up almost unanimously by the whole house. Sir Francis Burdett, and a few of his friends only, supported Lord Cochrane; and the thanks of the house were voted by a great majority. In the Lords the vote was carried without a division.

Having already given a very full detail of the expedition to the Scheldt, and its consequences, we come now to the discussion of its merits in Parliament, where Lord Porchester moved for an inquiry into the conduct of Ministers, for sending the fleet and army to Walcheren. He was answered by Mr. Croker, but neither to the conviction of the house or the country. Ministers did not shrink from an inquiry; they only asked for time to prepare the necessary documents. General Grosvenor and Sir Home Popham, who were both employed in the expedition, voted for the inquiry, which was carried, and fixed for the 2d of February.

It was on this occasion that the House of Commons showed itself the true friend and guardian of the navy. In the early part of the inquiry it appeared that a statement of the Walcheren expedition had been privately given to the king by the Earl of Chatham. This document was supposed by many to contain unjustifiable insinuations against the character and conduct of Sir Richard Strachan, with a view to injure him in the estimation of his sovereign. Had I been of this opinion I should have concurred in the heavy censure which was cast upon Lord Chatham by a great majority of the nation; but, as I am convinced that the noble writer gave publicity to the paper before the meeting of Parliament, I am disposed to view his conduct with more indulgence. The part of the transaction most to be regretted was, the irregular and unofficial manner in which the document came into the royal hands. Such was the opinion of Parliament, which, adopting the mild amendment of Mr. Canning, came to the following resolution:—

That this House sees with concern that the Earl of Chatham, as commander-in-chief of the forces in the expedition to the Scheldt, should have been induced to present a narrative to his Majesty of

proceedings, in which the name of an officer who assisted in that service was contained, without conveying it through the hands of the responsible servants of the Crown; and that such conduct ought to be marked by the House as dangerous and pernicious to the Crown.

This discussion ended on the 5th of March, and on the 7th Mr. Croker presented to the house the narrative of Sir Richard Strachan, which contained a general statement of the facts already detailed.*

After having listened with the greatest attention to the vast body of evidence adduced, the House of Commons, on the 30th of March, unanimously resolved, that it did not appear to that House that any blame whatever was imputable to the army or navy, in the execution of their instructions relative to the military and naval operations in the Scheldt. The conduct of Ministers, with regard to the policy of the expedition, was approved; as also their temporary retention of the island of Walcheren after the fever had broken out, and after the peace was concluded between France and Austria.

The Ministry had undergone some changes. Mr. Percival succeeded the Duke of Portland, as First Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister. The Marquis Wellesley became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Lord Liverpool had the war department, and Mr. Ryder the home.

In the month of May Lord Mulgrave quitted the Admiralty, and went to the head of the Ordnance, being succeeded in his office by the Right Honourable Charles Yorke. This was a change only among men of the same party. The friends of Mr. Pitt still held the Government; but it was observed that a new energy was infused into our councils. The recent voyage and return of the Marquis of Wellesley from Spain had given a clearer insight into the affairs of the Peninsula; whereas his predecessor in office had trusted to agents, by whom he had been grossly deceived. Lord Wellesley had not only met and freely conversed with his brother, Sir Arthur Wellesley, now Duke of Wellington, but had gone on to Seville, where he had held for three months the most intimate communication with the heads of the provisional government. With these advantages, it is no wonder that the administration was enabled to counteract more effectively the schemes of Napoleon. The most unbounded confidence was placed in the British general; and supplies of men, money, and stores, were forwarded to Spain equal to the utmost demands of the occasion.

* See that and other important documents in "Parliamentary Debates," 1810.

Terrible reverses had in the mean time overwhelmed that unhappy country. The Marquis of Wellesley had scarcely quitted the harbour of Cadiz, in the Donegal, when the fatal battle of Ocana, fought on the 19th of November, routed an army of 50,000 men, many of whom were killed, and the others dispersed and disbanded. The French passed the Sierra Morena, and overran all the southern provinces. General Sebastiani took Grenada, and marched on Malaga; which, though most valiantly defended, was at length taken, and the communication coastwise was cut off between the eastern and western provinces. Seville surrendered to General Victor on the 1st of February, 1810; and the Junta fled to Cadiz, whither they had previously despatched their most valuable effects. Many members of that body were strongly suspected of treachery; and this suspicion received its confirmation on their refusing to admit British troops into Cadiz after the retreat of Sir John Moore. The excuse made on the occasion was, "the necessity of respecting the public opinion!" That opinion we have proved to have been enthusiastically favourable to England. Sir John Cope Sherbrooke, who with a considerable force was marching from Lisbon to Cadiz, was countermanded; and it was determined that the English troops who might disembark in the bay should be posted at San Lucar and Port St. Mary's. Two English regiments were at length admitted into Cadiz; and Mr. Frere at the same time was commanded by his Majesty to urge the necessity of our being put in possession of a strong place on the coast, for the purpose of receiving supplies and reinforcements, or as a place of retreat in case of necessity; stating, at the same time, that, should this be refused, his Britannic Majesty was determined to withdraw his troops from the Peninsula, and leave the Spaniards to their own exertions. The different conduct of Portugal, her reliance on our faith, and its good effects, were pointed out to these degenerate senators, whose object in flying to the sea-coast was at once to secure their own personal safety, and deliver up their strongest fortress and best sea-port to the enemies of their country. Spain had then been lost but for the rapid, vigorous, and unexpected march of the Duke of Albuquerque, the worthy companion of the brave Romana. This faithful friend to his betrayed country fled to preserve her last hope, and with 10,000 men threw himself into Cadiz. This masterly stroke was the more to be applauded, as Castanos, who suspected the Junta, had apprized the duke of their designs. Albuquerque was quite convinced of their treachery when he received orders to march with his army in an opposite direction. Disregarding their orders, he directed his course to Cadiz, which he

entered on the3d of February, only in time to save it from falling into the hands of Marshal Soult, who, with a powerful army, had nearly completed its investment. On the 6th the French occupied St. Mary's, Rota, Puerta Real, Chiclana, and Medina Sidonia; King Joseph had his head-quarters at Port St. Mary's.

The troops on the Isle of Leon consisted at this time of 18,000 men, of whom 4,000 were English, under the command of General Graham (now Lord Lynedoch), and 1,700 Portuguese. The allies having, by a change of measures, obtained permission to shed their blood in defence of Spain and its unworthy Government, soon after marched, and encamped on the plains to the southward of the city.

The accompanying map will show the positions of the army of the enemy, of the British squadron, and the celebrated fortress of Cadiz, situated on the Isle of Leon, at the extremity of what was once a peninsula, but which the labour and art of man have long since converted into another island. A deep ditch, 200 feet wide, navigable for gun-boats and small traders, divides the city from the sandy isthmus and marsh on the south side. The bridges over this inlet were destroyed the moment the troops had entered the town, and heavy artillery placed to defend the passes; the Spaniards alone forming the garrison of Cadiz, while the allies defended the outposts.

On the 10th of February Marshal Soult summoned the place to surrender: Albuquerque refused with indignation. Joseph at the same time sent a similar message to the Junta, which that vile assembly would no doubt have complied with, had it not been for the watchful fidelity of the noble Albuquerque.

Of the services of this hero, the council within the walls of Cadiz (styled the provisional government) contrived to rid themselves, by sending him in honourable exile as ambassador to England. In London Albuquerque published a defence of his conduct, which, of course, gave great offence to the Junta, who wrote him a letter full of rancorous abuse, and cited him to appear before the Cortez.

That assembly, speaking the voice of true patriotism, pronounced his acquittal, declaring that he had deserved well of his country, particularly for saving Cadiz. Unfortunately, this act of justice came too late to save the victim of cowardice and treachery. The noble Albuquerque received the infamous letter of the Junta before the approval of the Cortez reached him. The first came by the two-penny post, with the seal broken; and the spirit of the hero sank under it: four days he devoted himself to answering the paper which he ought to have consigned to the flames. The effort was fatal, producing

a brain fever, which ended in death on the fifth day. Thus perished (except Romana), we had almost said, "the last of the Spaniards." This notice of this much injured nobleman is so connected with the siege of Cadiz, of which I am to speak, as to demand a place in the "Naval History of England."

While our armies were occupied in the Peninsula, Napoleon had been employed in strengthening his alliance with foreign powers. No divine or human institution ever obstructed his progress. The Empress Josephine was still living, but, not having produced an heir to his throne, he thought it right to repudiate her, and seek an alliance with the Emperor of Austria, whose daughter, Maria Louisa, consented to become his wife. They were married in the month of March, and by this union the power of France was increased to an alarming degree; still more so, when, on the 1st of July following, the King of Holland, the inoffensive Louis was desired to abdicate a throne, on which he was supposed to have considered with too much attention the true interests of his subjects, and to have been rather more favourable to their trade with England than the temper of the tyrant could endure.

Previously to this alteration in the Government of Holland, an attempt was made by Bonaparte to induce the British Government to abrogate the orders in council. Monsieur La Bouchère, a Dutch agent, was sent over to inform the British minister, that the union of France and Holland might be averted by such a concession; but this gentleman received such an answer from Lord Wellesley as left him no hope of obtaining the object of his mission. His lordship informed him, with a becoming dignity, that it would not be convenient for England to rescind her orders of reprisal as soon as the cause which provoked them had ceased. Stung to the soul (as was no doubt his insolent master by this complete triumph of England over his boasted blockade), Monsieur La Bouchère, in his "*Compte Rendu*," dated February 18th, 1810, thus deplores the firmness and perseverance of our Government: "No hopes of a change or relaxation in this system, but in a change of ministry." Napoleon, heartily tired of his Berlin decree, wished to repeal it, and supposed the orders in council would be rescinded as a matter of course.

The disputes with the United States of America became every day more complicated, as our ministers appeared more desirous of a reconciliation. America never for one moment abandoned the claims for indemnity in the affair of the Leopard and Chesapeake; to this no objection was offered by England, provided it could be done without giving up the right

of taking British seamen wherever they might be found: this was refused. The Americans claimed the entire freedom of the seas; a just claim, no doubt, when the safety of England, and her very existence, were not involved in the concession. Mr. Erskine, in the year 1809, supposed he had received certain softened intimations from Mr. Maddison and his friends, which he communicated to his Government. These were in a great measure confirmed by the American Minister at the Court of London, who informed the Secretary of State, that no objection would be made to the capture, by our cruisers, of American vessels attempting to trade with France, contrary to the prohibition, which, on the revocation of the orders in council, would still remain in force against that country. The British Government concluding that everything would be definitively settled, our ports were immediately filled with American merchantmen, trading under the most liberal indulgences.

Two letters of instruction were sent to Mr. Erskine: the first, on the affair of the Chesapeake, stated clearly and distinctly the terms to be stipulated on both sides; the second was conditional; and on these letters, it would appear, a misunderstanding arose. Mr. Erskine was recalled, as having exceeded the powers with which he was intrusted, by granting indulgences not intended by his Government; and the Americans accused us of a want of sincerity, a charge which we might have retorted with more justice. The offer made by his Majesty to restore the men (not executed) taken out of the Chesapeake, and to settle a pension on the widows and orphans of those that fell, was of course withdrawn, and more hostile feelings were engendered. Mr. Jackson, our Minister in the United States, was recalled, in consequence of an alleged offence committed by him against their Government. In taking this step, the Marquis Wellesley desired the American Minister to observe, that although his Majesty was always disposed to pay the utmost attention to the wishes and sentiments of states in amity with him, and had therefore been pleased to direct the return of Mr. Jackson to England, his Majesty had not marked with any displeasure the conduct of that Minister, whose integrity, zeal, and ability had long been distinguished in his Majesty's service, and who did not appear on the present occasion to have committed any intentional offence against the Government of the United States.

Here ended the third negotiation for the adjustment of the affair of the Chesapeake. Concessions were found unavailing; and the crisis drew near when the dispute was to be decided by the sword.

The sudden death of the Crown Prince of Sweden, in the month of August, after the abdication of his father, filled Europe with suspicions, and revived the recollection of the murders of Wright and D'Enghien. The hand of Napoleon, bathed in so much blood, was by many suspected to have been instrumental in the deed; still more, when it was followed by the election of a French general to the dignity of Crown Prince.

The elevation of General Bernadotte to the rank of Prince Royal was followed by a declaration of war by Sweden against England, dated the 19th of November, 1810; but the prudence and foresight of Sir James Saumarez prevented any acts of aggression on either side, converted the enmity of Sweden to friendship, and were the means of bringing, not only the Duke of Sudermania, but also the Emperor Alexander, to join the coalition against France. The unfortunate Gustavus came to England, and remained till March in the following year, when he departed for the Continent, regretted, pitied, and admired. His unworthy subjects, who could witness his abdication without a struggle, and exclude his second son, the descendant of the great Gustavus, from his inheritance, became from that time the scorn of Europe.

On the 19th of February, 1810, a treaty of friendship and alliance was signed at Rio Janeiro, by Lord Strangford, between his Majesty the King of Great Britain and his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and all our former amicable relations were renewed with Portugal, both on the continent of Europe and in America. (See this treaty at length, "Naval Chronicle," 1811, part i. p. 238.)

After the British expedition to the Dardanelles, Turkey became a prey to military discord. The Sultan who had succeeded the unfortunate Selim, in June, 1807, had been deposed, and a new one chosen, whose popularity was equally transient; and his murder by the Janissaries, or by the Grand Vizier at their instigation, made way for another victim to mount the throne. Such was the state of Constantinople during the two years that succeeded the visit of Sir John Duckworth to that capital; and it is hard to say whether we were at peace or war with the Sublime Porte. We have no record of any further act of hostility towards England, while, at the same time, the Turks and Russians continued the most sanguinary war against each other.

Denmark continued her depredations on our commerce, which the English writers of the day have termed piracy. I cannot agree in this sentence: her causes of hostility were as valid at least as our own; she had been spoiled of her navy,

and was no longer a maritime power. This act, though on our part one of self-defence, entitled her to make reprisals, and we could have no right to complain of the consequences. The war was now raging with renovated flames from one extremity of Europe to the other. The Northern Powers were united against England in the Baltic. The Turks ferociously attacked the Russians in the Black Sea, while their armies contended against them with doubtful success on the Danube. Joachim (Murat), King of Naples, prepared a mighty flotilla, and an army of 40,000 men, on the coast of Calabria, to invade Sicily; but he was met by Englishmen, who soon taught him to keep within the limits of his continental dominions.

In the autumn of 1809 the duel took place between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, in consequence of which the Marquis Wellesley was recalled from Spain. I had been detained in the harbour of Cadiz for the purpose of conveying him back to England, and sailed with his lordship in November, reaching Spithead after about a fortnight's voyage.

The Marquis had returned from the Peninsula thoroughly acquainted with the disposition of the Spaniards. On one point alone he was ignorant. Ferdinand VII. having, long before the arrival of the British ambassador at Cadiz, thrown himself a willing victim into the arms of Napoleon and his treacherous generals, was hurried away captive to Valençay. Upon the character and talents of this prince, therefore, his lordship had not the means of exercising his own judgment; but trusting to the *vox populi*, he very naturally concluded that no event would be more acceptable to them, than the arrival of their King. The national songs composed at this period were burdened in every couplet with the name of Fernando, frequently associated with that of his gracious Majesty King George III.; and contained invocations for the aid of Heaven, and the support of England, for the restoration of their beloved Monarch, at whose presence discord, war, and famine were fondly expected to cease. "The British cabinet," says the unfortunate Baron de Kolli,* "felt the close connexion between the salvation of Spain and the liberation of the King."

Lord Wellesley having imparted his sentiments to his Majesty and the cabinet, an attempt to release Ferdinand was determined on. The Baron de Kolli, an intrepid and enterprising foreigner, being honoured with the confidence of the British government, was furnished with a letter from the King of England, written in Latin, and addressed to the King of

* See his Memoirs, p. 21; a book worthy of attention as an historical document, though very ill written.

Spain, signed by George III. and countersigned by the Marquis Wellesley.

To this letter was added another, written in the same language, and addressed by Charles IV. in 1802 to his Britannic Majesty; and a certificate from the Marquis Wellesley, specifying that it was the identical letter written by the King of Spain: this document was very soon in the hands of Fouché and his active police.

Early in February Captain Cockburn was appointed to the command of the Implacable, of 74 guns, with a frigate and two small vessels under his orders. He was directed to receive the Baron de Kolli and his friend on board, and to proceed in the execution of his orders, which were to land him in Quiberon Bay, and to await his return, and that of Ferdinand, to the sea-shore. Jewellery to the amount of £10,000 was placed in the hands of Captain Cockburn, who, with the assistance of Mr. Westphal, (now Captain Sir George Westphal, from whom I learned all these particulars), the first lieutenant, and the baron himself, sewed them up in the dresses of the latter. The Implacable sailed from Spithead early in March, and reaching Quiberon Bay on the 6th, the baron was landed on the night of the 7th by Mr. Westphal, who left the Implacable after dark, in a gale of wind blowing on shore, and a considerable sea running, so that the boat had great difficulty in returning to the ship. The spot chosen to disembark was under the convent of St. Gildas, celebrated for the seclusion of Abelard. It was most particularly enjoined upon the baron by Captain Cockburn, that he should not go to Paris. There could have been no reason why he should go; and his disobedience of this injunction was the most probable cause of his failure. His friend Albert, who accompanied him, whose nerves were none of the strongest, has been accused of betraying him. A Monsieur Ferriet was also most incautiously admitted by the baron to his confidence: a secret intrusted to three people is seldom a secret long. The baron, whose papers were admirably well executed, might have reached Valençay in safety; but he chose to take a lodging at the village or wood of Vincennes, and in the castle of that name he was very shortly a state prisoner, his papers and jewels being confided to the minister of police, the acute Fouché.

It was pretended by this minister that Ferdinand had himself denounced his intended liberator. This, if true, I should not have been surprised at; but, as it rests on the assertion of one not over scrupulous in matters of policy, we may hesitate in giving our belief.

Captain Cockburn, having continued in Quiberon Bay until

assured of the detection of Kolli and the abortion of the scheme, returned to Spithead, where, on his arrival, the officers of the ship learned what had been the object of their mission—a proof, certainly, that the baron had not been betrayed by any one on board the Implacable. His Majesty George III. was pleased to express himself highly satisfied with the conduct of Captain Cockburn on this occasion.

It was not till 1814, when the allies entered Paris, that the unfortunate baron was released from the horrible confinement and wanton severities of the donjon of Vincennes.

This year affords us little of national importance in the Channel and North Seas, although some good actions were fought by the sloops of war. Captain Christopher Bell, of the Phipps schooner, distinguished himself by the chase of a very superior force, close under the batteries of Calais. Having singled out an adversary worthy of his notice from among a little squadron of luggers, and laying her alongside, he engaged her till the enemy attempted to get on shore, which Captain Bell prevented by running her on board, when Lieutenant Tryon headed a party and carried her. She was called Le Barbier de Seville, mounted 16 guns, and had 60 men, of whom 6 were killed and 11 wounded. The vessel sank immediately after the action. Captain Bell was promoted to post rank for his gallantry, but the noble young Tryon died of his wounds.

Captain James Anderson, of the Rinaldo, a small brig of 10 guns, engaged four lugger privateers, of 16 guns each, sank one and disabled another; but they all (except the first) escaped, as the Rinaldo, in the heat of action, got foul of the Owers-light vessel. Captain Anderson was some time after promoted.

Captain Booty Harvey, in the Rosario, a brig of the same class as the Rinaldo, fought an action off Dungeness with two luggers, one of which he captured; the other escaped. The prize was called Le Mamelouck, mounted 16 guns, and had 45 men.

Captain Sir Joseph Yorke, commanding the squadron in Basque Roads in the month of January, entirely stopped the coasting trade of the enemy by his vigilance and the gallantry of his squadron. Two convoys were intercepted by the boats of the Christian the Seventh and Armide, led by Lieutenant Guion. On the 10th six vessels were driven on shore and burnt; and on the 20th the same number, all deeply laden with wine, brandy, and other merchandise were also destroyed.

Captain George Scott, in the Horatio, whom we have seen

engaging La Junon in the West Indies, was so fortunate on the 21st of February as to fall in with a French frigate, which he chased and captured, after a smart running action of one hour. She was called La Nécessité, pierced for 40, but mounting only 28 guns, and having 180 men. Captain Wolfe, of L'Aigle, of 36 guns, captured, after a chase of 13 hours, the French privateer Phœnix, of 18 long English 18-pounders and 120 men.

Lord Gambier continued in the command of the Channel fleet, but resided in London, whence he dated his letters to the secretary of the Admiralty. Rear-admiral Sir Harry Neale, being second in command, had his flag in the Caledonia in Basque Roads, and conducted the blockade of the French ports. As the enemy afforded no opportunity of bringing their ships to action, he contented himself with stopping the trade of the coast between Rochelle and Ile d'Aix. Three brigs lay at anchor under the guns of Point du Ché: these had formed part of a convoy, which a few days before had been attacked by our boats, and, as some of them had been boarded and destroyed, it was discovered that the whole were laden with Government stores for their fleets and dock-yards. The position of these vessels was strongly defended, and as resolutely attacked. Captain Sherman, of the royal marines of the Caledonia, was landed, with 120 of his corps, from that ship and the Valiant, about half-past two in the morning of the 28th of September, under Point du Ché. The alarm was soon given, and a heavy fire opened on the invaders, but ineffectually. Lieutenant Little, of the marine artillery, with his division, pressed on with the bayonet, supported by Captain M'Lauchlan and Lieutenant Colter, of the marines, with their division, and Lieutenant Gouche, of the Caledonia. These officers succeeded in getting into the battery, and spiking the guns. Captain Sherman had taken post on the main road by the sea-side, fronting the village of Angolin, and had on his right a launch, with an 18-pound carronade. The enemy advanced from the village to attack him, but the boat and the marines soon drove them back, with loss. The French then brought out a field-piece, but the picket immediately charged with the bayonet and took it from them, and the affair ended by two of the brigs being taken and brought out, and the third set on fire and destroyed. The whole party was immediately re-embarked in the most perfect order, having Lieutenant Little and one man wounded. The enemy left 14 dead in the battery: what other loss they sustained from Captain Sherman's attack was not known. Sir Harry very justly observes, in his despatch, that the service of itself was of little importance, but the manner in

which it was executed gave it all its value. The force employed was exactly commensurate to the object, and the combination was masterly.

In the month of November, 1810, Captain Grant, in the Diana, of 38 guns, was stationed to watch the port of Havre de Grace, in which two of the enemy's frigates had taken up their anchorage. These vessels, bound on a cruise which promised great advantages, anxiously watched the moment to escape, and sailed from Havre in the night of the 12th, with a strong gale at N. E., and consequently a heavy sea upon the coast. Captain Grant, keeping close in with Cape La Hève, was perfectly certain that with a fair wind and smooth water the enemy would not sail: at the same time he thought it possible they might make the attempt when the wind and weather should compel the British frigates to keep a better offing. This opinion was correct: they came out in the night; and at half-past 12 the Diana was between them and the land. The wind backed to north by east, and prevented their weathering Cape Barfleur. The Diana and Niobe gave them two broadsides before they could gain the protection of the batteries of Marcou, under which they fled, pursued by the British ships, with a heavy sea and strong flood tide. The enemy for a time eluded farther molestation, and on the same day got into La Hogue Roads. Captain Grant watched their motions, and sent Captain Loring, in the Niobe, to acquaint Captain Malcolm, of the Donegal, with what was passing; in the mean time making all sail into the bay, where he had the satisfaction to see one of the French frigates on shore and the other close to the batteries of La Hogue and Tatihou Island, the fire from which was so heavy as to arrest for a time the approach of the Diana: but when she was joined by the Donegal, Revenge, and Niobe, the four ships stood in by turns, and poured their fire upon her. This could only be done while the British ships were in stays, and head to wind. The other ship was finally driven on shore, but it was found impossible to bring her off. The loss on board the Revenge was two killed, and six wounded: the Donegal had three wounded; the Niobe nine; the Diana one. These frigates, if not totally lost, were completely disabled.

Tarragona became, in the hands of the loyal Spaniards, a post of importance in the defence of their liberties. It is a seaport in the province of Catalonia, where General O'Donnell commanded the Spanish troops. On the 5th of November he quitted that town, and on the 13th reached Arens de Mar, where he fell on the French, defeated them, and took General Swarty and 500 men prisoners. On the same day he attacked

St. Felice, Palamos, and Bega, which he took, with 1,400 prisoners and some pieces of cannon, and returned victorious to Tarragona, himself severely wounded. This rapid and spirited movement cleared the coast of the enemy from Rosas to St. Sebastian, though they still held the Medas Islands. Captain Charles Bullen, of the Volontaire, who was present, co-operated with the allies. Had the Spaniards been allowed to follow the impulse of their energetic spirit, without the interference of the miserable Government which then directed their affairs, the nation might have been successful in their efforts to repel their powerful enemy. O'Donnell, after this exploit, re-embarked on board the Cambrian, a British frigate of 40 guns, in which he had sailed from Tarragona. This ship, commanded by Captain F. W. Fane, rendered great service to the cause. Captain Fane took with him a xebec, with 60 Spanish soldiers, and another laden with cannon, for the purpose of attacking the castle of Las Medas, standing on one of the small islands of that name, situated at the mouth of the river Ter, near the south side of the bay of Rosas. This, however, on nearer inspection, was found impracticable; and the Cambrian being joined by the Flora, a Spanish frigate, the two ships united their marines, disembarked near Bega, and destroyed a battery of four 24-pounders, made 36 prisoners out of a French detachment, and again re-embarked. On the 14th they assisted the Spaniards in their attack on Palamos, when the launch of the Cambrian was sunk, and two of her men wounded. The French position was carried, the place taken, and Captain Fane returned to Tarragona.

A very unfortunate affair occurred on this station in the month of December. Captain Rogers, in the Kent, 74, the senior officer on that part of the coast of Spain, meditated an attack on the town and small harbour of Palamos. For this purpose he landed a body of men, consisting of 350 seamen and 250 marines, with two field-pieces, and placed the whole under the command of Captain Fane, of his Majesty's ship the Cambrian. The enemy's vessels which lay in the mole consisted of a French national ketch, of 14 guns and 60 men, two xebecs, of three guns each and 30 men, and eight merchant vessels under their convoy, all laden with provisions for Barcelona. The batteries which protected them were not considerable; and there are said to have been about 250 French soldiers in the town.

The landing took place on the 13th, under cover of the Sparrow-hawk and Minstrel sloops, without any opposition. The mortar which they found was soon spiked, the cannon thrown into the sea from the heights, the magazine blown up,

and all the vessels except two burned and destroyed: those not burned were brought out. Thus far all had succeeded, with the loss of only four or five men. Unfortunately our people retired in some disorder from a post which they held to keep the enemy in check; advantage was taken of this; they were thrown into still greater confusion, and instead of repairing by the proper road to the appointed place of embarkation, where the frigate and sloops lay to cover their retreat, they ran through the town towards the mole, where they were exposed to a severe and galling fire of musketry; nor could the utmost exertions and coolness of the Captains Fane, Pringle, and Campbell, entirely save them. The former of these officers was taken prisoner, with 86 of the party, besides 33 killed, and 89 wounded. This affair was, however, attended with great loss to the enemy, who had entered Catalonia with an army of 10,000 men, with little means of subsistence; and Captain Rogers was certainly justified in using every means in his power to annoy them. In consequence of this accident Captain Bullen was appointed to the Cambrian.

Murat made demonstrations of attacking Sicily, which was defended by Sir John Stewart, with an army of British and foreign troops.

The squadron stationed on the coast was commanded by Rear-admiral (now Sir G.) Martin, and consisted of the Canopus, Spartan, Success, Volage, and Espoir, with about 12 gun-boats. The enemy, as we have before observed, had 40,000 men in Calabria. They had also 208 gun-boats, besides innumerable fishing-boats kept in requisition on every part of the coast between Naples and Reggio: these were intended for the purpose of embarking troops.

They had likewise a squadron at Naples, kept in readiness to co-operate with the expedition. Daily skirmishes took place between the contending flotillas in the Straits of Messina. The Spartan and Success were stationed off the Bay of Naples to counteract the movements of the enemy's ships in that port. On rounding the island of Ischia, on the 1st of May, these two British frigates discovered the Neapolitan squadron cruising in the bay. The enemy's force consisted of the Cérès, of 44 guns, the Fama, a corvette of 28, and a cutter, with part of the flotilla. When chased by our ships, they ran into the mole of Naples for protection. On the 2d Captain Brenton, convinced they would not leave the port whilst two British ships were in the bay, directed Captain Ayscough, of the Success, to proceed 10 leagues S.W. of the island of Capri, whilst the Spartan remained in sight of Naples, in the hope that such a disparity of force might induce the enemy to come out. On the 3d, at

daylight, when the Spartan was about five miles from Naples, and standing in with a light breeze from the S. E., the enemy was seen coming out of the mole, reinforced by the Sparvière, a brig of 10 guns (Murat's yacht), and eight gun-boats; 400 Swiss troops were distributed amongst the different vessels.

The Neapolitan commodore and the Spartan crossed each other on opposite tacks: the water was perfectly smooth. The Spartan had every sail set on a wind: on the starboard tack the enemy was steering large, with the wind a-beam. At 56 minutes after seven the Cérès, coming within pistol-shot, fired her broadside into the Spartan's larboard bow, and did her considerable injury. The latter reserved her fire until every gun was covered by her opponent, and then returned a most destructive broadside, treble-shotted, on the main-deck. The carnage on board the Cérès was very great, particularly amongst the Swiss troops, who were drawn up in ranks, and extended from the cat-head to the taffrail, in readiness for boarding. The Spartan next returned the fire of the Fama and the brig, as she passed them in succession, and cut the line astern of the brig, by which she separated the cutter and gun-boats from the squadron, and having given them her starboard guns, hove in stays, engaging on both sides as she came round. The enemy's frigate wore, followed by the corvette and brig, and stood in for Baia. The Spartan, in attempting to follow them, was for a moment becalmed, with her head to the frigate's broadside, the corvette and brig on her larboard bow, the cutter and gun-boats under her stern and quarter, and received much injury from their fire. A light breeze at length enabled her to get upon the starboard quarter of the frigate, whilst the corvette lay upon the Spartan's beam, the brig on her quarter, the flotilla retaining their advantageous position directly astern. The land wind now entirely died away, and the sea breeze soon after coming in, the frigate took advantage of it, to make sail for the batteries of Baia. The corvette having lost her fore-topmast, was upon the point of surrendering, when the gun-boats came and towed her from under the guns of the Spartan. The brig having her main-topmast shot away, was obliged to surrender; and the Spartan paraded with her prize in tow before the mole, into which her defeated consorts were running for shelter. About the middle of the action Captain Brenton, whilst standing on the capstan, the only place whence he could see his various opponents, was wounded in the hip by a grape-shot, and was carried below. His place was ably supplied by Lieutenant (now Captain) G. W. Willes, who would certainly have captured the frigate and corvette but for the Spartan's rigging having suffered so

much as to render her unmanageable, whilst his enemies were assisted by the breeze and the gun-boats. The loss on board the Spartan was 10 killed, and 22 wounded: that of the enemy was stated by various authorities to have been immense, amounting to 150 killed and 300 wounded. These round numbers are probably incorrect and exaggerated; but the slaughter, particularly on board the frigate, from her crowded decks, the close position, and the smoothness of the water, must have been very severe.

Murat, the King of Naples, was on the mole, about four miles from the scene of action, exulting in the certainty of success, and the capture of a fine British frigate. On the retreat of his squadron, and the loss of his yacht, his rage was ungovernable, and vented itself in reproaches on the officers. Of these, the first captain lost his arm, the second was killed, and the first lieutenant took the ship out of action.

The King of Sicily, to testify his sense of the services performed by the Spartan on this day, was pleased to confer the honour of Commander of the Order of St. Ferdinand on Captain Brenton, and that of Companion on Lieutenant Willes, and Captain G. Hoste, of the royal engineers: the latter was on board the Spartan as a passenger, and directed the fire of the quarter-deck guns.

The Spartan was, in consequence of her damages, and the very severe wound of the captain, sent to England, where she arrived in the month of July. Captain Brenton, being incapable of resuming his situation, retired on half-pay;* and, on the restrictions from the regency being removed, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, afterwards George IV., was pleased to create him a baronet.

Brigadier-general Oswald, and Captain Eyre, of the Magnificent, who had with him the Belle Poule and Imogene, sailed from Zante on the 21st March, and on the same evening

* In April, 1810, through the kindness of my valued friend General the Honourable Edmund Phipps, I had obtained the command of the Cyane of 22 guns; Lord Mulgrave, the general's brother, being at that time first Lord of the Admiralty. In this ship I was sent to convoy the South Sea whalers as far as the latitude of 10° North. On the coast of Portugal I fell in with the Dover, of 44 guns (*flûte*), having the Marquis of Bute on board: his lordship was returning from some important diplomatic mission. I went on board to pay my respects, and from him learned some particulars of the Spartan's action, and of my brother's desperate wound. On my return to England, in the month of August following, I found myself appointed to the Spartan to succeed my brother, who had also returned to England, and had gone to sick quarters. I was then only 20 months post, and Mr. Yorke, who had succeeded Lord Mulgrave in the Admiralty, conferred the appointment on me as a compliment to my brother. He also very kindly presented me on that occasion to his Majesty King George the Third at the levee; and I will candidly own that I was much gratified and flattered by the manner in which his Majesty was pleased to address me.

reached the island of Santa Maura. The troops disembarked early the next morning, while the Imogene and the gun-boats drove the enemy from their batteries. The French and their allies, consisting of Albanians and Italians, under the command of General Count Camus, retired into the fortress of Santa Maura, situated on a narrow isthmus, three miles in length, which joins to the island. This neck of land is defended by two strong redoubts and a regular intrenchment, which led the enemy to suppose they could arrest the progress of the besiegers for a month. The fort had also a connexion with the town by a singularly narrow causeway, a mile in length. Lieutenant-colonel Lowe was left to guard the town, while Major Church, with four companies of the Greek light infantry, carried the first redoubt, and then, being reinforced, pushed on to the second. Captain Anselm John Griffiths, in the Leonidas, placed his ship as close as the depth of water would admit, and so as to afford the best support to the attacking columns. The Captains Eyre, Moubray, Brisbane, and Stephens served on shore with the army. The line to be attacked extended from sea to sea, mounted with four pieces of cannon, with a wet ditch, and an abatis in front, and manned with 500 infantry. As the troops advanced, the fire upon them was severe; and the Greeks, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of Major Church, could not be brought to face it, when Major Clerke was directed by Brigadier-general Oswald to advance with two companies of royal marines under Captains Snow and Stuart, two companies of De Rolle's under Major Russel, and two companies of Calabrian free corps under Major Oswald and Captain (now General) Wynyard. Major Clerke, followed by the marines, broke through the abattis, and charged into the intrenchments, supported by De Rolle's and the Calabrians. The attack, with the impulse given by their leaders, was irresistible: the enemy abandoned their works, and fled; their dismay being increased by a daring manœuvre of Lieutenant-colonel (now Sir Hudson) Lowe, who, with the rifles of his corps, a company of the 35th, and two companies of Corsican rangers, pushed along the narrow and exposed causeway, and gained the enemy's rear, on which they gave up all resistance in front, and "*sauve qui peut!*" resounded through their ranks. Captain Eyre being wounded in the head, in the first day's action, resigned the command of the seamen and marines on shore to Captain Brisbane; but, recovering in a few days, he resumed his situation, and sent Brisbane in the Belle Poule, with the gun-boats and the Imogene, to the north side of the island. Captain Stephens, of the Imogene, had been wounded in storming the redoubts, but continued with the army on shore. Cap-

tain Richard Hussey Moubray, in the Montagu, of 74 guns, having joined the squadron, two of his lower-deck guns and 100 seamen were landed to serve in the batteries. Hemmed in on every side, the enemy soon found that this union of naval and military skill and valour was irresistible, and sent out offers to capitulate, which were accepted; Captain Moubray and Lieutenant-colonel Lowe being authorized to make the arrangements for the surrender of Santa Maura.

In Spain the French, having passed the Sierra Morena, had entered the unhappy Andalusia in great force: their army under Soult was still stationed at Port St. Mary's and the Caraccas, whence they partly commanded the harbour of Cadiz. From the fort of Santa Catalina they threw shells into the town, and did it some injury; but the assistance of the British army and navy enabled the Spaniards to keep the enemy out of the place. Much valour was displayed, and very severe losses of some of our bravest men were sustained, in defence of the different points of attack. The fort of Matagorda, standing on an island in the upper part of the harbour, was defended by a small party of British troops under the command of Captain M'Laine, with a few artillerymen, infantry, seamen, and marines, amounting to about 140 men, who maintained the post until it was no longer tenable. Major Lefèbre, of the royal engineers, the senior officer in that department, thought it his duty to inspect the works previously to the surrender, and was killed while on that service. On the 23d of April, at two in the morning, the French opened a fire with red-hot shot on the Spanish ship St. Pablo, and the gun-boats stationed near the fort, and succeeded in making them quit their position; after which they bombarded Matagorda, and the fire was continued on both sides till night. The enemy had three batteries of 21 guns on the Trocadero, and seven or eight mortars at the distance from the fort of only 900 yards. The works being totally destroyed, and one half of the people killed or wounded, the commanding officer received an order from General Graham to retire, which he did, with the remainder of his people, blowing up and destroying all that the fire of the enemy had left uninjured.

During the attack on Matagorda the wife of a British artilleryman distinguished herself so much as to attract the attention of General Graham (now Lord Lynedoch). She removed the wounded men in her arms, carried them into the rear, dressed their wounds, carried up sand-bags, and placed them in the breaches made by the enemy's shot, and even cheered the men on to action. The general, in recommending her to the notice of the commander-in-chief, observed, that the mountains of

Caledonia could produce its heroines as well as the walls of Saragossa. It is mortifying to think, that while so much has been said of Augustina of Saragossa, we are ignorant of the name of the British Amazon. Augustina was a guest at the tables of our admirals; and at Seville lifted the Marquis Wellesley from his carriage. She wore a handsome dagger; and when a gun was fired, while at dinner on board the admiral's ship, she flew from the table with an affectation of military ardour; but our heroine had no tinsel about her: hers was all sterling worth.

Napoleon, with his legions, had overrun Europe nearly from one extremity to the other; and, but for the perseverance of Britain, it must have groaned in slavery. The rock of Gibraltar was no inconsiderable instrument in our hands for the preservation of that nation who made such efforts to take it from us in 1782, and considered our possession of it so great a national calamity and degradation. Its fortress afforded protection to the armies of Spain; its garrison sent them reinforcements, provisions, and clothing; its bay gave shelter to our fleets employed in their cause; its dock-yard repaired the damages sustained by these in defence of Spanish liberty. Cadiz had also its share in the glory of staying the ravages of the French; but that glory was more owing to Britain than to the Government, which would have opened its gates to the invaders, and given up everything to their cruel rapacity.

To form any adequate idea of the efforts made by Napoleon for the conquest of Spain, we must look at the amount of forces which entered the Peninsula from October, 1807, to January, 1811,—four hundred and twenty-six thousand two hundred and sixty infantry, seventy-three thousand three hundred and fifty-six cavalry, seven thousand six hundred and fifty persons employed with the army, seven thousand five hundred and thirty guides; making a sum total of five hundred and fourteen thousand seven hundred and ninety-six men: eight hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, thirty-four mortars, fifty-three howitzers, five thousand four hundred and fourteen waggons laden with military stores. These forces marched into Spain by the road of Irun. The year 1811 added only six thousand infantry and one hundred and eighty cavalry to the account; and in the subsequent years, being those of the Russian campaign and the disasters of Dresden and Leipsic, still fewer could have been spared from France. By the same route, and during the same period, forty-eight thousand two hundred and twenty-eight prisoners entered France: these consisted of English, Spaniards, and Portuguese.

Rear-admiral Sir Richard Keats hoisted his flag in the

Implacable, Captain George Cockburn, at Spithead, on the 14th of July, sailed on the 17th, and arrived at Cadiz on the 27th of the same month, where he found Rear-admiral Pickmore, and the ships named in the note,* which he took under his command. The exposed road of Cadiz he found crowded to excess with several inefficient Spanish ships of war, numerous transports, store-ships, and victuallers, and a vast number of merchant and coasting vessels of all descriptions.

The enemy, who had driven the Spanish troops out of the Trocadero and the small islet of Matagorda (which from its situation remained untenable by either party), lay in considerable force at St. Mary's, Port Real, and Chiclana, had formed a blockade of Cadiz by land, and were actively employed in restoring the fortress of Santa Catalina; in erecting works in the front of the Trocadero; and in securing their head-quarters at Chiclana, at St. Mary's, and on the whole line from thence to Rota.

A company of shipwrights, at the rear-admiral's request, was sent from England to construct gun-boats, under two active officers, Mr. Hyde and Mr. Gill. A small yard was established at Cadiz. Several gun-boats were received from Gibraltar; and a formidable force of this nature being soon raised, was commanded by Captains Robert Hall, Thomas Fellowes, Frederick J. Thomas, and W. F. Carroll. Upon every occasion, when the state of the weather permitted, they continued to render the most active service; and, together with the bombs, very much annoyed the enemy, and retarded the advance of the works in such situations as were exposed to their operations.

The enemy was unremittingly employed in strengthening his positions and making preparations for a siege, and was known to be forming a flotilla in the Guadalquivir to co-operate on that service. The garrisons of Cadiz and the Isla de Leon, composed of Spanish, British, and Portuguese troops in the British service, commanded by Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Graham, though not equal to raise the blockade by an attack in front, were found sufficient to give considerable annoyance by water detachments to the enemy on other parts

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* *Ships.*	*Guns.*	*Ships.*	*Guns.*
Implacable	74	Zealous	74
Achille	74	Norge	74
Rodney	74	Atlas	74
Blake	74	Tonnant	80

Bombs—Ætna, Hound, Thunder, Devastation.

There were many other ships and vessels subsequently added to the squadron; but, as they were constantly changing, it is impossible to name them all.

of the coast. To this effect, an expedition of a considerable body of Spanish troops left Cadiz on the 22d of August, commanded by General Lascy, the naval part by Captain Cockburn, who, with the general, embarked in the Jasper, Captain Daniels. They landed on the coast of Andalusia, to the eastward of Huelba, on the 23d, and near Moguer attacked and dislodged a corps of 1,000 French, which retreated to Seville: the loss on the part of the allies was inconsiderable. Having rendered other material service, the forces returned to Cadiz. This expedition, and others subsequently undertaken, are proved by intercepted intelligence to have given the most serious annoyance and inquietude to the enemy. In one letter it is remarked, that "when the annoyance they receive from these expeditions, from the flotilla, bombs, and fortifications, is considered, it may be rather said that they are besieged, than besieging Cadiz."

It was of importance to thin the over-crowded state of the road before Cadiz, and to remove beyond the reach of danger several Spanish ships of war, then in an insufficient state of equipment for service. The rear-admiral having obtained the consent of the Spanish government, 11 sail of the line were fitted in the best manner circumstances would permit by the squadron, manned in a great part by the ships convoying them, and were escorted to Mahon, or the Havannah, under the command of Captain Cockburn, of the Implacable, Codrington, of the Blake, Waller, of the Norge, and Burlton, of the Rodney.

On the 2d of October, a night attack by the bombs, flotilla, and rockets, under the command of Captain Sanders, of the Atlas, produced a sensible effect on Catalina, which was observed to be on fire in two or three places, and in the morning it was seen that the walls of the fort had also suffered from the bombardment.

The commander of the forces being anxious for intelligence, a descent was made on the night of the 22d of December by a party under the command of Lieutenant Bourne, of the Milford, and Captain Fotterell, of the royal marines of that ship, between the rivers of Santa Maria and San Pedro. They took a three-gun battery by assault, spiked the guns, killed five of the enemy, and brought off two prisoners, the rest escaping.

Although a force was stationed off the Guadalquivir, expressly to watch the enemy's flotilla in that river, this escaped under the cover of darkness. An alarm was given in the night of the 1st of November by our guard-boats; and eight of the enemy's gun-boats were discovered going into St. Mary's, one of which grounding on the bar, though within reach of grape of the others, anchored within, and under the fire also of two

forts at the mouth of the Guadalete, was most gallantly boarded and burnt by the guard-boats under the direction of Captain John Spratt Rainier, of the Norge. In the forenoon it was discovered that a more considerable number of the enemy's gun-boats had got into Rota, on which the rear-admiral ordered the three bombs and a flotilla force off that port; but the wind setting in strong from the N. W. it became necessary to recall them, and, it being represented by the commander of the flotilla (Captain Fellowes), that the gun-boats would founder if kept at their then exposed anchorage, he was ordered to move them further in for shelter, holding them in perfect readiness. In this situation, about three o'clock, the enemy's flotilla, which had come out of Rota with a strong flood and thick weather, was discovered on the clearing up of a squall close to the land, and nearly half way advanced from Rota. The flotilla and boats were immediately ordered in pursuit, but such was the rapidity of the enemy's advance under the circumstances described that few could join in the attack, though conducted in the most gallant style by Captain Edward Kittoe, of the Milford. Lieutenant Leake, in the foremost of the gun-boats, was killed; and Lieutenant W. Hall and 10 seamen of the Milford were wounded.

The arrival of this flotilla at St. Mary's occasioned a great sensation in the town of Cadiz; but such an event was not unforeseen by the rear-admiral, who at length prevailed on the Spanish Government to put the strong work of the Corta Dura into a proper state of defence, and to strengthen the isthmus in the rear of Puntales with some respectable field-works. This it had in vain been pressed to do before, and subsequent intercepted intelligence proved that post to have been a meditated point of attack.

An alarm being given by the guard-boats on the night of the 14th of November, it was ascertained that the enemy's flotilla had put out of St. Mary's to endeavour to get into the Trocadero; but, on the approach of our flotilla and armed boats, some put back to St. Mary's, and some sheltered themselves in the San Pedro, from whence they were by degrees removed by land into the Trocadero, notwithstanding all the annoyance which the bombs and the British flotilla could give them. The large mortar on board the Hound burst on the 8th of December, when bombarding the enemy's works.

The enemy's flotilla at St. Mary's having assembled in a situation which subjected them to bombardment, arrangements were made, and, at a favourable time of tide for that purpose, the mortar and howitzer boats, English and Spanish, were placed under the direction of Captain Robert Hall. Several

hundred shells were thrown amongst the enemy with considerable effect, until the wind coming in made it necessary to recall the boats. On this service two lieutenants,* Thomas Worth and John Buckland, of the Royal Marine artillery, both gallant and zealous volunteers for the service, and Mr. R. Hawkins, midshipman of the Norge, were killed.

The fortress of Catalina being completed, and also the enemy's advanced works on the Trocadero, they commenced a very heavy fire, answered by the bombs and flotilla, and from the fort of Puntales; hot shot from heavy pieces of artillery, mounted at an elevation of 45 degrees, or shells, both from Catalina and the Trocadero, were frequently thrown at the shipping. The fire of the enemy crossed from those two places over the whole anchorage of the ship sof war, and, by means of mortars cast on purpose at Seville, shells were thrown into the town from the Trocadero, at the extraordinary range of 2,560 French toises, upwards of 5,000 yards; but few were thrown, and those with little effect. The fuses frequently extinguished in the flight of the shells; and it was ascertained by intercepted intelligence that the enemy had not attained perfection in loading or discharging their shells; neither had they a sufficient quantity of ammunition, or they would have given us much more annoyance.†

This year the navy and the country had to deplore the death of the Right Honourable Vice-admiral Cuthbert, Lord Collingwood, whose length of active service, and zealous performance of his duty, entitle him to be ranked among the greatest of our admirals. He might be said to have died at his post, and to have fallen a sacrifice to the performance of his duty. His constant habit of sitting at a table, and writing on professional business, had caused a contraction in the organs of digestion. It was long before he could reconcile himself to the thought of resigning his command; but, the disease at length assuming an alarming appearance, he left Sir Charles Cotton in charge of the fleet in the Mediterranean, proceeded to Minorca in the Ville de Paris, and thence sailed in the same ship for England; but expired on the 7th of March, four days after his departure. His remains were brought home, and

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* Captain G. F. Lyon, since so celebrated for his travels in Africa, and voyage to Repulse Bay, was then a midshipman belonging to the Milford, and commanded the boat in which these two officers were killed.

† The mortar now mounted on the parade in front of the Horse Guards was one of those employed on this occasion: the oval form of its muzzle indicates much hard service. Brass ordnance, being much lighter than iron of the same calibre, is more advantageous for field service, but it will not stand continued firing: the guns once heated are apt to melt, and run at the vent, and the muzzles, like that above alluded to, assume an oval form.

landed at Greenwich on the 26th of April, 1810: here the body lay in state in the painted chamber. It was afterward conveyed with proper solemnity to St. Paul's cathedral, and placed by the side of his friend, the immortal Nelson: "And in their death they were not divided; they were swifter than eagles, they were stronger than lions."

It is a remarkable part of the history of Lord Collingwood that he five times succeeded his friend Lord Nelson: first, as a lieutenant in the Lowestoffe; then as lieutenant of the Bristol; next as a commander in the Badger; after that as captain in the Hinchinbrooke; and, lastly, as a commander-in-chief, after the death of the hero in the battle of Trafalgar.

The history of Lord Collingwood offers to our youth one of the best examples in the service, of successful perseverance. He was not made a lieutenant till he had attained the age of 30; yet he lived to be a vice-admiral and a commander-in-chief; he ennobled his family by a peerage, and left his widow and two daughters in affluence. He was remarkable for bravery, coolness, forbearance, public spirit, love of his country, and the most inflexible honesty and integrity of heart. No man ever paid more attention to, or was a better judge of merit, which he always rewarded. Modest, abstemious, and humble, he was at once a hero and a Christian. Beloved in his domestic circle, respected at the head of his fleet, and feared by the enemies of his country, his rise in the service was entirely the effect of his own intrinsic value. He had no friends to support him, nor powerful connexions to lead him on, save what he acquired by the strictest attention to his duty, and constant readiness at the call of his country.

Unwilling to resign without permission, he had, in the most pressing manner, solicited his recall, that he might pass his few declining years in the bosom of his family; but he was informed that his services could not at that time be dispensed with, however deeply his Majesty and the Government lamented his declining health.

Two great subjects connected with the naval service engrossed the attention of Lord Collingwood in the last years of his life. One was the infliction of corporal punishment; the other the impressment of seamen. The first of these evils his lordship lived to see as far removed as, we believe, is compatible with the good of the navy; the other, it is hoped, will soon vanish before the enlightened policy of the present day.

Lord Collingwood left no son; his eldest daughter married George L. Newnham, Esq., who, by his Majesty's permission, took the surname of Collingwood.

The boats of the Alceste, Captain M. Maxwell, on the 26th

of May cut out from the port of Agaye five vessels, three of which were manned and armed, the whole having valuable cargoes.

The officers and men of the Success frigate, of 32 guns, displayed about the same time a remarkable instance of resolution and intrepidity. Captain Ayscough, observing some vessels lying on shore near Castiglione, and taking in their cargoes, ordered Lieutenants George Rose Sartorius* and Robert Oliver to attack them with the boats of that ship and the Espoir, while the frigate and brig covered their landing. When within musket-shot of the shore, three of the boats struck on a sunken rock and filled; two seamen of the Espoir were drowned, and all the ammunition destroyed. The undaunted young men took their sabres in their mouths, and swam to the shore, under the fire of two long six-pounders and four wall-pieces. Gaining the beach, they drove the enemy from their battery, dislodged them from their houses, spiked the guns, and destroyed four vessels and their cargoes. Having completed their work they launched their boats, which had been swamped, and returned to their ships.

The island of Sicily at this period was the last refuge of the court of Naples, and became an oppressive burden upon Great Britain, who paid a subsidy of £400,000 to support the native troops. A very small part of this sum was properly applied, the bulk of it going into the pockets of the court and the corrupt ministers. An army on paper was pompously displayed to Lieutenant-general Sir John Stewart, who commanded as generalissimo; but, when he reviewed them in the field, not above one man in 50 appeared. The islands of Ischia and Procida, which had been taken by our forces in 1809, were abandoned in the autumn of the same year; and the British forces, naval and military, were concentrated for the defence of Sicily in and about Messina. The effective troops, under the command of Sir John Stewart, were chiefly foreigners in British pay.

In the month of June the Neapolitan gun-boats began to collect in great numbers on the coast of Calabria, from Scylla to Reggio. They were watched and their movements counteracted by Captain Spranger, in the Warrior, who had a strong squadron under his orders. On the 19th Captain John Duff Markland, in the Bustard, with the boats of his own ship, and those of the Volage, Captain J. L. Rosenhagen, entered a small port a few miles south of Cotrone, and destroyed 25 vessels laden with stores and provisions for Murat's army; 10 more were destroyed on the 3d of July by the boats of the

* Late a vice-admiral in the Portuguese service.

Bustard, under the command of Lieutenant J. Hilton; these were all similarly laden, and for the same purpose. The army of Murat was encamped on the coast, and 100 sail of his gun-boats moved along the shore between Scylla and Reggio. Captain Hunt, of the Termagant sloop of war, had orders to take the Sicilian flotilla under his directions; and the sloops of war were placed under the orders of Captain Markland. They were the Eclair, Captain C. K. Quash; Weasel, Captain Prescot; Herald, Captain Jackson; Halcyon, Captain Stamp; Swallow, Captain D'Aeth.

It was the intention of Murat to invade Sicily, and the object of Commodore Spranger to protect that island. The sloops of war and flotilla were therefore ordered never to anchor during the night, to be as near as possible to the shore, and to destroy the enemy's vessels the moment they attempted to cross the Straits. Captain D'Aeth had charge of the Sicilian mortar-boats, and the sloops of war and our flotilla had a severe action with the enemy's gun-boats on the 21st July, several of which were sunk at their anchors on their own coast, and seven of our people were killed. Captain Markland sank two of the enemy's armed vessels, under Cape del Armé, on the 24th, when Lieutenant Hilton, of the Bustard, was wounded; in short, scarcely a day passed till the 27th September that our ships were not in action; and in every case the enemy was defeated, and lost gun-boats, or had their batteries dismantled. On the 11th September Captain Markland piloted the Warrior and Victorious against a battery of six heavy guns in the bay of Pentamiglia. The first fire of this battery killed one man on board the Warrior, and cut her main-mast nearly in two; but, as soon as this ship gave her broadside, every gun in the battery was dismounted, and the people fled. It would occupy too much of our space to give all the deeds done by our seamen on this coast, under the orders of Rear-admiral Sir George Martin. The land forces, under Sir John Stewart, consisted of about 23,000 men, English and foreign; the line of coast to be defended was from Faro Point to Condissa; but with this force the Neapolitan army and navy were kept in check, and Sicily nobly defended. The Sicilian gun-boats, with British officers, behaved well.

In the month of June, Captain (the late lamented Sir William) Hoste had the command of a squadron of frigates in the Adriatic; it consisted of the Amphion, Active, and Cerberus. A convoy sailed from Trieste, and our ships chased them into the harbour of Groa. The Italian Government was at that time making great exertions to equip its marine; and, as these vessels were supposed to contain naval stores for the

arsenal at Venice, Captain Hoste deemed their capture indispensable.

As the shoal water with which the port was surrounded prevented the approach of the frigates, a telegraphic signal was made to prepare the boats for service, and to rendezvous alongside of the Amphion at 12 o'clock at night. The boats of the Active, from the great distance that ship happened to be in the offing, were unable to partake in the danger of the first enterprise. The convoy was moored in a river, above the town of Groa; and it was necessary to possess that place, as a prelude to the attack on the vessels. It was defended by two old castles, almost in ruins, with loop-holes for musketry, and a deep ditch. At 20 minutes before 12, the boats put off, under the command of Lieutenants O'Brien and Slaughter, of the Amphion; Dickenson, of the Cerberus; and the Lieutenants of marines, Moore and Brattle, with their respective parties from both ships, accompanied by the launches, with their carronades. They landed before daybreak, on the right of the town. At daylight a heavy fire of musketry was opened on them; and our men purposely retreating to a little uneven ground, the French supposed they were running, a delusion which lost them the day: for, sallying out from their strong position, they met the English bayonets and sabres, and were instantly put to flight, leaving eight of their men dead with bayonet wounds only; a proof of the nature of the contest. The whole of their detachment, consisting of a lieutenant, sergeant, and 38 privates of the 81st regiment, all Frenchmen, were made prisoners; and our men took possession of 30 vessels, laden with stores and merchandise. At this period the boats of the Active joined in time to share in the second battle. About 11 in the forenoon a party of French troops marched up to the town. Lieutenants Slaughter and Moore instantly attacked them, and, being assisted by the launches in the river, another victory left our heroes in perfect leisure to bring out or destroy their prizes. In this last affair, a French lieutenant and 22 men of the 5th light infantry were made prisoners, and two men were killed.

In the month of July, a convoy of 36 sail of vessels, laden with stores for Murat's army at Scylla, together with seven large gun-boats, and five scampavias, were taken by Captain the Honourable George G. G. Waldegrave (now Lord Radstock) in the Thames frigate; Captain Prescot, in the Weasel; and Captain Nicholas, in the Pilot sloop of war. On the approach of our ships, the convoy ran on shore; and, being flanked by two small batteries, with their gun-boats in front, they fancied themselves secure. The British frigates laid their

broadsides to the town and forts within grape-shot, expelled the men from the vessels, and came to anchor. The boats put off, headed by the captains of each of his Majesty's ships: the marines landed, and covered the seamen, who were employed in launching the vessels; while the guns of the ships of war gave the enemy no time to think of their defence or rescue. By six o'clock every vessel but one, laden with bread, was brought away or destroyed. This was a very brilliant exploit; and it has not frequently occurred that so small a force of his Majesty's ships has effected so much real injury to the enemy. Six gun-boats, three armed vessels, and 28 transports laden with provisions for the army were taken; three gun-boats and three transports were sunk. The whole was effected with the loss of one man killed, and six men wounded. Captain Prescot was posted from the day of the action, and Captain Nicholas three years after. All the captains received the decoration of Companion of the Bath, on the institution of that order in 1815.

While the British fleet, under the command of Sir Charles Cotton, continued to watch Toulon, the gales of the Gulf of Lyons frequently drove our ships to leeward of the port. On the 20th of July, the Warspite, Conqueror, and Ajax, of 74 guns, with the Euryalus frigate, and Sheerwater brig, of 18 guns, were all the force which the enemy could discover from the heights; and their squadron of six sail of the line and four frigates came out to attack them. Our ships lay nearly becalmed; and the Sheerwater, in obedience to a signal from the senior officer to close, had, with a light air of wind and a heavy swell, got much too near the French squadron. Captain R. W. Otway, of the Ajax, being the sternmost of the British line, and the nearest to the enemy, perceived that the Sheerwater must inevitably be taken, unless some effort was made to save her. By a singular coincidence the French 80-gun ship, which led their line, was also called the Ajax. She approached with a fine breeze from the land, and studding-sails set, while our squadron had little wind. As she opened her fire on the Sheerwater, the British Ajax put her helm down, came completely round, and interposed between the French ship and the English brig, which received three broadsides without sustaining the slightest injury, although the enemy was within half gun-shot. The moment the French admiral saw the Ajax in stays, and that the Conqueror and Warspite followed her example, he put about, and with his squadron returned into Toulon. Thus ended this little skirmish, in which no British ship was engaged but the Ajax. Captain Sibley, of the Sheerwater, never took any other notice of the fire of the enemy than merely showing his colours.

Returning to the history of the East Indies, we find in the month of May the Isle of France blockaded by Captain Lambert of the Iphigenia, with the Magicienne and the Nereide under his orders. Captain Willoughby of the Nereide landed with his own boats and a party of seamen and marines at Jacotel, attacked two strong batteries which he stormed in person, followed by Lieutenants Burns, Laugharne, and Deacon, burnt their signal posts, destroyed their gun carriages, spiked their guns, defeated their militia and regular troops, took away their field pieces and military stores, and returned to the Nereide, having only one man killed, and Lieutenant Deacon with six others wounded.

This was the first attempt ever made by the English to land on the Isle of France; for, the expedition of Admiral Boscawen, in 1747,* after coming to anchor and looking at the coast, departed without setting a foot on shore (see "Campbell's Admirals," vol. v., p. 100). The safety of this island from invasion may be attributed in a great measure to the difficulty of approaching its coasts, the want of harbours, and the almost incessant high surfs beating on its shores. These were obstacles which deterred the English and Dutch in 1747; but they yielded to the superior science of our naval and military officers in 1810. General De Caen had so well succeeded in deceiving the Government of India as to the real state of his defences, that it prevented any attack being made for many years; and, when an attack was resolved on, four times as many troops were sent as were really required. Bourbon, it will be recollected, had been attacked in the preceding year by Commodore Rowley; but at that time our forces were not considered strong enough to keep possession of the island: it was therefore abandoned, and the enemy were left for a short time in tranquillity.

This year it was determined to make a conquest of both islands, and to keep permanent possession; for which purposes Commodore Rowley, with Colonel Keating, prepared a proper armament, which sailed from Rodrigue in the month of July.

The commodore had quitted the Raisonnable, and taken the command of the Boadicea. He was accompanied by the Nereide, and some transports to convey the troops; and proceeded to join Captain Pym, who was cruising between the islands of France and Bourbon, each ship being provided with an additional number of boats, to land the forces with the greater celerity.

* On that occasion my father was a midshipman with the Admiral: so that I can claim at least 90 years of personal and traditional knowledge of the navy in my own family.

Captain Pym, in the Sirius, was directed to make a diversion two leagues to the eastward of the town of St. Denis, at a place called Grande Chaloupe, which he effected. Four other British frigates pushed away for the anchorage, with the transports. Captain Willoughby undertook to land a party on a spot where the access was extremely difficult and dangerous, owing to a beach of large rough stones, with a heavy surf. Several of the boats were stove. A transport had been laid with her broadside to the shore to serve as a breakwater, but, her anchor coming home, she only afforded a momentary protection. Four men were drowned in attempting to land, but those who reached the shore secured themselves by taking possession of the battery of St. Marie. Captain Curtis, in the Magicienne, supported the party at Grande Chaloupe by working into the bay, and landing his troops there; and to this spot the commodore, with Colonel Keating, proceeded on the morning of the 8th of July, where the remainder of the troops disembarked. When the British forces, in spite of every obstacle, were thus in possession of the land and the anchorage, all further resistance on the part of the governor being useless, he capitulated, and the island of Bourbon became a British colony.

Captain Pym, in the Sirius, observed a brig preparing to sail from St. Paul's. At 11 o'clock at night he despatched his barge, with Lieutenant Norman and some volunteers, to bring her out. Reaching the bay, they found she had sailed, and this adventurous young officer resolved to pursue her. The wind being light, he came up with her after a row of 12 hours, boarded and took her, notwithstanding the fatigue his men had undergone, and though his enemy had 30 men and four 12-pounders to oppose to him. The brig was called the Edward of Nantz, pierced for 16 guns, and was bound, with despatches, to the Isle of France.

In the month of July Commodore Du Perrée, who had cruised with great success in the preceding year in the Bay of Bengal, fell in with three British outward-bound East Indiamen, which, having sailed from the Cape of Good Hope, were off the island of Mayotta, near Johanna, on the north coast of Madagascar.

The names and force of the Indiamen were:—

Ships.		*Guns.*	*Seamen.*	*Soldiers.*	*K.*	*W.*
Ceylon	Captain Meriton.	26	110	250	8	24
Windham	Captain Stewart.	26	110	250	4	4
Astell	Captain Hay....	32	120	275	8	36

When the French squadron was first seen at daylight they were hull down to leeward. Meriton, the senior officer of the

Indiamen, with more courage than prudence, lay-to to receive the attack. Having before taken a French frigate in an Indiaman, he held them too cheap. Du Perrée, in the Bellone, of 44 guns, with the Victor corvette, came up about 4 P. M. The Minerve was still a long way astern. The weight of the battle fell on the Ceylon and Astell. The latter was nobly defended by the detachment of the 24th regiment, joining heart and hand with the captain and crew of the ship. The Bellone, having given and received a broadside, passed a-head, and placed herself in a raking position; Major Foster ordered his men on the forecastle, where they made such excellent use of their musketry, that they nearly silenced the great guns of the frigate. She bore up, ran to leeward, and in the act of wearing her topmasts fell. Captain Hay was at this time desperately wounded. It was proposed that the Astell and Ceylon should lay the frigate on board; but the chief officer of the Ceylon hailed, and said that Captain Meriton was *shot*, and that, as no more would be done, he (the chief officer) had surrendered. It was quite dark: the Windham was not visible, and the Astell made all sail and escaped: the Ceylon and the Windham were captured. Captain Meriton recovered of his wound.

The colours of the Astell were three times shot away. The French commodore stated in his official report that they were struck (but this is untrue); and calls the gallant Captain Hay "*Cet indigne fuyard.*" The officers of the 24th regiment gave the assertions of Du Perrée the most formal contradiction on their arrival at Madras. The East India Company settled a pension of £460 a-year on Captain Hay, and presented £2,000 to the officers and crew, as a mark of approbation for their distinguished bravery. Andrew Peters, one of the seamen of the Astell, nailed the pendant to the main-topmast-head, and was killed as he descended the rigging. The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, to testify their approbation of the defence of the Astell, granted to the ship's company a protection from impressment for three years.

From an official document, published by the East India Company in 1811 (see "Naval Chronicle," part ii., of that year), we learn that the loss in their trade during the years 1807, 1808, and 1809, was 14 sail of ships, all richly laden. The value of these ships and cargoes, had they reached England, would have amounted to £1,202,638; but the greater part of them foundered at sea—few fell into the hands of the enemy. I may here remark, that, from a Report of the Shipwreck Committee of the House of Commons, 1836, it appears that in time of profound peace, in the course of 16 months, upwards of

£1,000,000 sterling, and 1,500 seamen, have been lost in the deep: of this, I shall say more in another place.

These unprecedented losses induced the Court of Directors to assemble a joint committee of warehouse and shipping interests, to inquire into the causes of such repeated disasters. From the report it appears that a fleet, consisting of the Phœnix, Ceylon, Lord Nelson, Preston, Tigris, Experiment, Diana, Glory, and Ann, sailed from Madras on the 25th of October, 1808, under convoy of his Majesty's ship Albion; and that on the 20th of November, in lat. 10° and long. 91 east, a violent gale commenced, which lasted till the 23d. This gale was in fact a hurricane of unusual violence, which laid the ships on their beam-ends, with their gunwales in the water, and many of them only righted by cutting away a foremast or a mizen-mast. Three ships in this fleet foundered: they were, the Lord Nelson, the Experiment, and the Glory.

A second fleet sailed from Point de Galle on the 15th of February, 1809, under convoy of his Majesty's ship Culloden, Vice-admiral Sir Edward Pellew, and Terpsichore frigate. They were, the William Pitt, Calcutta, Lady Jane Dundas, Hugh Inglis, Jane Duchess of Gordon, Earl of St. Vincent, and Bengal; extra ships, Sovereign, Sir William Bensley, Huddart, Harriet, Euphrates, Northumberland, Lord Elden, and Indus.

On the 14th of March, in lat. 22° S. and long. 61° E., they encountered a hurricane, with sudden shifts of wind. This caused the most fatal accidents. Some of the ships were scudding under a close-reefed main-topsail when taken aback, and the loss of four of them is accounted for only in this way. They were deeply laden. Their pumps would not keep them free, and they were upset or foundered. They were the Jane Duchess of Gordon, the Lady Jane Dundas, the Calcutta, and the Bengal.

The chairman of the committee, Mr. Cotton, attributed the loss of these ships to three causes: first, the impressment of so many of their seamen in India as to render them unable to shorten sail and prepare for bad weather, when a press of sail was required to keep up with the convoy; secondly, going from port to port to join convoy; and, lastly, sailing at improper seasons, and not going far enough to the eastward to avoid the hurricanes so prevalent near the Mauritius.

Captain Pym, who had been stationed off the Isle of France, and particularly off Port Imperial, on the south-east, or weather side of the island, conceived the possibility of more effectually preventing the ingress of the enemy's ships to the harbour, by occupying the Ile de la Passe, which completely

commanded the narrows; he therefore stormed and carried it with the loss of 18 of his men killed and wounded. Having got possession of the enemy's signals, he gave them to Captain Willoughby, of the Nereide, and stationed him to guard the position he had so nobly and judiciously won, while himself went to cruise to leeward of the island.

Returning to the Isle of France from his successful cruise, on the 20th of August, in the morning, Du Perrée made the land near Port South East, and, deceived by the signals of the Nereide, her French build, and her tri-coloured flag, he bore up for the harbour, the Victor leading the way. The channel occupied by the Nereide was here so extremely narrow, that the French ships in passing were nearly on board of her. The Victor approached, leading the French line. The crew of the Nereide were at their guns, ready to obey the order to fire: at the same time the batteries on Ile de la Passe, manned by a party from the 33d and 69th regiments, under the command of Captain Dodd, were equally prepared to receive the enemy. With her topsails clewed up, and her men aloft to furl sails, the Victor was hailed by the Nereide, and commanded to anchor, and strike her colours. This order was accompanied by a broadside, which quickly produced obedience; her helm was put down, her colours struck, and her anchor let go in an instant.

When Du Perrée saw the fire from the Nereide and the island open on the Victor, he made the signal for his squadron to come to the wind, and to close with him, but it was too late; the Minerve followed so close to the corvette as to receive the broadside of the Nereide, which had just time to reload her guns; and the Ceylon (a prize Indiaman) having also entered the narrows with her, came into action, and returned the fire with great spirit.

Du Perrée, in the Bellone, seeing that the Minerve and Ceylon had passed into the anchorage, and that the Victor lay near the Nereide, thought it best to follow and recover the corvette, which in the mean time had been hailed by the Minerve, and ordered to cut and rehoist her colours, while the Bellone exchanged broadsides with the Nereide. By this manœuvre the whole French squadron reached the harbour, and came safely to their moorings, under the protection of their batteries. The Windham, after the Bellone had passed the Nereide, was directed by the commodore to follow; but the captain, unwilling to incur the danger, preferred remaining at sea, and was taken the next day by the Sirius. The Nereide had three men killed, and sustained a good deal of damage in the action with the four ships which passed, and engaged her in succession.

On the 22d of August, when the Sirius joined the Nereide, Captain Willoughby made the signal that he was ready for action, and that the enemy was inferior in force to the two British frigates; and the master of the Nereide assuring Captain Pym that he could lay him alongside the Bellone, an attack was immediately decided on; but in steering in for this purpose the Sirius grounded, and could not be got off till the following day, at noon. On the 23d he was joined by the Iphigenia and Magicienne, commanded by the captains Lambert and Curtis. With this additional force it was conceived that the enemy could not resist; and, without giving them a moment to raise more batteries, the British squadron again stood in to attack them.

The following extract from the log of the Nereide will convey a better idea of the state of the ship and the squadron, than any language, however forcible, from the pen of a person not actually present:—

The enemy commenced firing from the ships and batteries at 5. 10. P. M. Brought up with the small bower in five fathoms off shore a quarter of a mile, and within half pistol-shot of the Bellone and Victor, veered to half a cable, and commenced action at 5. 30. The Magicienne grounded within musket-shot of the Minerve, and commenced action chiefly with musketry. From her position only three guns could bear. At 5. 30. the Iphigenia anchored on the Magicienne's larboard-quarter, and commenced firing. At 5. 40. the Sirius grounded, nearly out of gun-shot. The Minerve, Victor, and Indiamen, cut, and ran on shore, in doing which they ran foul of the Bellone, which also cut, and altered her position nearer in shore. Our spring shot away, swung round with our stern to the Bellone; cut our small bower cable, and let go the best, to bring our starboard guns to bear. Captain Willoughby severely wounded on the head. At 10, most of the quarter-deck and forecastle guns being dismounted—most of the guns disabled on the main-deck—the squadron on shore, and unable to render us any assistance—hulled from shipping and batteries—Nereide aground astern—Captain Willoughby ordered a boat to be sent to inform Captain Pym of our situation. At 10. 30. the boat returned with orders for Captain Willoughby to repair on board the Sirius, which he declined doing—a boat was then ordered to the Bellone, to say we had struck, being entirely silenced, and a dreadful carnage on board—an officer came from the Iphigenia to know why we had ceased firing? At 11. 20. our boat returned, not being able to reach the Bellone, being in a sinking state from a shot—the enemy continued firing on us at intervals during the night. At midnight, moderate with rain, wind S.E. At 12. 30. A. M. the main-mast went by the board. At 1. 30. several ropes on fire, which were luckily extinguished—hoisted French colours in the fore-rigging—the batteries and the Bellone still firing into us, although we hailed the latter to say we had struck—perceiving the union jack, which had been nailed

to the mizen-mast head, still flying, and no rigging or ropes to go aloft by—cut away the mizen-mast, on which the enemy ceased firing. About 2 P. M. the Bellone's boat boarded, spiked the guns, and took possession of the keys of the magazine. At 5, we observed the Magicienne's (ship's company) quit her, she being on fire. At 11. 30. she blew up—Iphigenia warping out. At 2, two French officers came on board, and committed the bodies of the slain to the deep—the Iphigenia trying to get the Sirius off. At 9, observed the boats to quit the Sirius, she being on fire. At 10, the boats came from the Bellone to land the prisoners—wet the decks by order from the French officers, who were fearful the explosion from the Sirius should set fire to the Nereide, she being to leeward, and the wind strong.

Commodore Du Perrée, as soon as the Sirius grounded, turned a defeat into a most decided victory. Captain Pym and his associates continued the fight until two o'clock in the morning, when a mutual cessation of fire gave a short respite of two hours to the combatants. In the mean while fresh troops poured into the enemy's ships from the shore, and replaced the killed and wounded.

The whole of the French ships had taken the ground, but in such a position as to give them every advantage over ours. While the Nereide had sunk as low as the shoal would admit, the French still continued to fire on her, not knowing her colours were down, and killed or wounded nearly every officer and man on board. No part of her was sheltered; the shot of the enemy penetrated to the hold and the bread-room, where a young midshipman, Mr. Timmins, was killed, as he sat bleeding from a previous wound. Captain Willoughby lost an eye, and was otherwise severely hurt. One hundred and sixteen men lay dead on her decks, and of the wounded many died on landing. Lieutenant (now Captain) Henry Collins Deacon received 22 wounds. Not an officer escaped unhurt; and very few of the men.

By a French survey of Port Imperial, and the position of the contending ships, drawn by a Mr. Marçon, who was present, it has been made to appear that the Sirius grounded at the distance of 63 toises (nearly English fathoms) from the Bellone, and the Nereide not 30; the two other ships in the intermediate distance. This statement is notoriously incorrect: the Sirius was nearly a mile from the enemy; the Iphigenia about the same distance; the Magicienne much nearer; and the Nereide within hail.

The Magicienne, it appears, had 8 men killed and about 20 wounded; and, being bilged and sinking, was set on fire by Captain Curtis, who carried his crew to the Iphigenia. Cap-

tain Pym, after having laboured two days and two nights to get the Sirius afloat, was obliged to burn her, and she blew up on the night of the 25th, at 11 o'clock. He also repaired with his crew to the Iphigenia, who now had on board nearly 1,000 men, and was completely blocked up in an enemy's port, without water or provisions. The French squadron which he had engaged was refitting and getting afloat in his rear, while in his van three frigates, released from Port Louis, appeared in the offing, under the command of Commodore Hameln. These were the Venus, La Manche, and Astrée. Captain Lambert having, on the 27th, by excessive exertion, succeeded in warping his ship up to the Ile de la Passe, found himself under the necessity of capitulating to Monsieur Hameln, under a promise that himself and the people should be sent to the Cape of Good Hope within one month; but this was not executed.

The first object of Captain Pym, after the failure of his attack, was to apprize Commodore Rowley of what had happened; he therefore, before the surrender of the Iphigenia, despatched a boat with a letter to the commodore. To conclude this painful part of our labour, I must observe that the officers and crews of the four frigates were honourably acquitted by the sentences of the courts-martial before which their conduct was investigated.

On Captain Willoughby they passed the highest eulogiums for the "noble" defence of the Nereide; but censured him for having made the signal to Captain Pym, when the Sirius only was in company, "that the enemy was of inferior force."

The firing of the enemy appears to have been particularly directed against the Nereide, probably in revenge for the disgrace they had suffered in passing her on the 20th of August. The first lieutenant, Mr. John Burns, was killed; as were also Lieutenant Morlett, 33d regiment; Lieutenant Aldwinkle, Madras artillery; and Mr. George Timmins, midshipman. The French owned to 37 killed and 112 wounded in this affair.

Misfortunes to the British navy followed close upon each other. The Ceylon (not the one we have been speaking of, but another Indiaman, purchased into the service at Bombay) was commissioned as a ship of war, and the command of her given to Captain Charles Gordon. She mounted 30 guns, but was indifferently manned as to seamen, although she very fortunately had on board some soldiers who assisted in her defence, which, for its obstinacy, and the happy results to which it led, did more honour to her captain and crew than many vic-

tories we have recorded which have received the reward usually allotted to merit. This action of Captain Gordon's led afterwards to the success of Commodore Rowley. She sailed from Madras in August, under orders from Vice-admiral Drury, with Major-general Abercrombie and a small body of troops on board, to assist in the capture of the Isle of France. On the 17th of September she arrived off Port Louis, and discovered seven sail of French frigates and a corvette lying in the harbour. The British squadron not being in sight, Captain Gordon made all sail for the island of Bourbon, pursued by the Venus and the Victor, which brought him to close action. This was maintained for an hour and ten minutes. About midnight the enemy hauled off and dropped astern, but renewed the action at two in the morning. One of them being very soon reduced to a mere wreck by the fire of the Ceylon, she fell astern, with her mizen-mast and fore and main-topmasts over the side. Unfortunately the united fire of the two ships had shot away the top-masts of the Ceylon about the same time, and she became unmanageable. The action was still continued until five A. M., when the Victor, with her fore and main-mast standing, took a raking position under the quarter of the British ship, where she kept up a fire unchecked by any return from the Ceylon. Captain Gordon directed the mizen-topsail to be cut away, to enable the ship to get before the wind. This resource failing, and every thing having been done for the preservation of the ship, the colours were hauled down to superior force. The Venus had 44 guns, 18-pounders, and 380 men; and the Victor (formerly English) had 18 guns and 120 men. The Ceylon had 10 men killed, 5 dangerously wounded, 8 severely, and 18 slightly. Captain Gordon was, of course, most honourably acquitted for the loss of his ship.

With scarcely as much force as common prudence would have required to insure his squadron from capture, Commodore Rowley proceeded to retrieve the disasters of his countrymen. He had very fortunately agreed with Colonel Keating that a military post should be established on Flat Island, after having secured the possession of Ile de la Passe. For this purpose the Bombay Merchant, a large transport, was loaded with provisions and water sufficient for both islands, and took on board the flank battalion, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Austen. He had just completed this part of his arrangement when, on the 22d of August, he was joined by the Windham, recaptured from the enemy by the Sirius on the 21st, and by her he learned that Du Perrée had forced the passage of the Ile de la Passe, and that it was the intention of

Captain Pym to attack him in that anchorage, without waiting for any further reinforcement.

The more highly Rowley appreciated the talents and courage of Captain Pym, the more he dreaded this fatal resolution, knowing the extreme hazard of the enterprise; certain that he would make the attempt, yet convinced that, in the course of a few weeks, the enemy's squadron must surrender, without firing a shot, to the united forces which were coming to attack the Isle of France.

Two of the flank companies and a detachment of artillery were hurried on board the Boadicea; the transport, with the remainder of the force, was directed to follow; but baffling winds unfortunately retarded the passage, till the event was decided. A boat (which had been sent away by Captain Pym) was picked up on the 27th by the commodore, which acquainted him with the result of the action at Port Imperial on the 23d and 24th. Never was an officer more completely mortified and disappointed than the commodore on receiving this melancholy despatch. On making the Isle de la Passe on the following morning, he perceived two of the enemy's frigates close off the port; he stood within gun-shot of one of them, and within six miles of the Isle de la Passe, when he saw the Iphigenia, but could not approach her (although she was at that time in possession of the English), a third frigate coming down upon him from to windward.

The commodore tacked and stood off, and was chased by the French squadron. La Vénus, having a great superiority in sailing, might easily have brought him to action, but appeared to wait for the coming up of her consort, La Manche. It now became a scene of tactics, in which the superior genius of Rowley turned all the fortune of the war in his favour. He ran as far to leeward as St. Denis, in order to give an opportunity to the transport to succour the Iphigenia, and perhaps afford time for her to escape, by bringing the French frigates away from the Isle de la Passe. The Boadicea was therefore at daylight tacked, and directed towards the two French frigates, when they again renewed the chace, until she arrived off St. Denis, whence Rowley sent an express to Captain Tomkinson, of the Otter, to move with his whole ship's company into the Windham, and join him immediately. Arriving off St. Paul's, the commodore found that Captain Tomkinson had declined the command of the Windham, as being unfit for service; in consequence of which Captain Lyne had, with the most indefatigable exertions, fitted the Emma transport with the guns of the Windham, and joined the commodore off the port. With this assistance Rowley resumed his route towards

the Isle of France; but finding the Emma could not keep up with him, he detached her to Rodrigue, to give information to any of our ships she might meet with of the state of the enemy's force, and proceeded in the Boadicea to the Isle de la Passe, where, on his arrival, he found that the Iphigenia had sailed, and that four ships remained in the port, which, it was ascertained, were the Bellone, Minerve, Nereide, and Ceylon.

The Iphigenia having capitulated, nothing more could be done at that time. Commodore Rowley returned to St. Paul's Bay, in the island of Bourbon, whence this indefatigable officer weighed again on the morning of the 12th of September, in company with the Otter sloop of war, and Staunch gun-brig, to attack the Astrée and Iphigenia, which had appeared in the offing. At this moment he had the satisfaction of seeing the British frigate, Africaine, commanded by Captain Corbett, join him in chase of the enemy. Fortune smiled, and the labours of the gallant Rowley drew to a glorious conclusion; but he was yet to feel one more bitter mortification. The Africaine outsailed the enemy: Corbett, with justifiable zeal, for which he has been blamed, did not hesitate in bringing the two frigates to action, which he did at three o'clock in the morning. The Boadicea was at this time about five miles astern; the wind died away; the Africaine was overpowered; and, if we have not been greatly deceived, was lost by the misconduct of her crew. The intrepid captain had his leg shot off. The enemy raked him, and their united fire compelled the senior lieutenant to surrender.* Corbett did not, I fear would not, survive his capture; 36 of his men were killed, and 92 wounded. The dawn of day once more broke on Commodore Rowley, in presence of an enemy superior to him in force and in number, but inferior in courage and resources. They appeared to have suffered little, and the Africaine had all her masts and yards; her mizen-topmast only was gone; she was in their possession. To have renewed the action under these disadvantages would have been an act of madness; the Boadicea was alone; and it was known that two other enemy's frigates and a corvette were then cruising in the neighbourhood. The commodore, therefore, returned to bring up the Otter and Staunch, then out of sight astern, which having

* This subject would furnish a moral to the profession at large. Corbett was not beloved by his men, who would not defend their ship or *his* honour, because they had been ill-treated,—a bad reason, but a true one. I have been told that they cut the breechings of their guns, and put *no shot* in them after the first or second broadside. Let us learn to treat our men as brothers, and we shall no longer hear of such practices. *Just* severity, and a firm demeanour, acquire respect, while tyranny is sure to produce hatred and contempt.

joined, he led them towards the enemy, who abandoned the Africaine at his approach, leaving an officer and nine Frenchmen in charge of her, with most of the wounded, and about 83 of the crew, whom the French had not time to remove. Besides the captain of the Africaine, Mr. Parker, the master, was killed; the first and second lieutenants, lieutenant of marines, a mate, and three midshipmen were wounded, and carried away prisoners to the Isle of France.

The frigates which had effected the capture of the Africaine were the Astrée and the Iphigenia, the last so recently taken at the Isle de la Passe. Lieutenant Joseph C. Tullidge, first of the Africaine, and senior surviving officer, was tried in England for the loss of that ship. It appeared to the court that he had most faithfully discharged his duty; had received four severe wounds; and when nothing could be done to save the ship, he surrendered. He was therefore most honourably acquitted, and promoted to the rank of commander.

The commodore concludes his narrative at this period, with a humble (and therefore a more impressive) recommendation of his first lieutenant, Mr. Laugharne. He arrived in St. Paul's Bay once more on the 18th of September with the shattered Africaine, and again prepared to pursue the enemies of his country. He had not been many hours at anchor before they made their appearance, three sail, two of which had suffered in their masts and rigging. The Boadicea, with the Otter sloop and Staunch gun-brig, instantly went in pursuit; but light winds retarded their movements so long that, before they could clear the bay, the enemy were nearly out of sight. The Boadicea, however, having the advantage of a fresh breeze, neared them rapidly. The only one which appeared not disabled had a crippled ship in tow; this she cast off to save herself by flight. The third ship having no topmasts, and only her courses to set, bore up to assist her crippled consort. This enabled the gallant Rowley to run close alongside; and, with a few well directed broadsides, he soon silenced her fire, and she displayed a British flag at her mainmast-head. She proved to be the French imperial frigate La Vénus, of 44 guns, with a complement of 380 men, victualled and stored for six months, and commanded by Monsieur Hameln, senior officer of the French squadron in the Indian seas. In this action La Vénus had nine men killed, and 15 wounded. This is the ship which had engaged and captured the Ceylon in the early part of the same morning.

La Vénus (and I fear her captain, Monsieur Hameln) was in India the preceding year. In the month of October he went to the British settlement of Tappanooly in the island of

Sumatra, and laid it waste, taking the female part of the inhabitants on board a prize. He set fire to the town, plundering it of every article, and burning every building, both public and private. If Commodore Hameln was present at this detestable and disgraceful scene, he ought (when taken) to have been sent back to Tappanooly, and made to answer for his barbarity with his life. What more could have been done by the subjects of the King of Ashantee than was perpetrated by this representative of the emperor of a refined and polished nation? Is there any example of such conduct in the British army or navy? I am proud to say there never was, and trust there never will be.

The Ceylon was immediately retaken by Captain Tomkinson, in the Otter. On the 21st of September the commodore had returned with all his prizes to St. Paul's Bay, where his friend, Colonel Keating, gave him every assistance, and filled up the complements of the ships with soldiers from his garrison. The Boadicea had no one killed, and only two wounded in the action. Captain Tomkinson, of the Otter, Lieutenant Laugharne, Lieutenant Strutt, of the Staunch, and Lieutenant Ramsay, of the 80th regiment, are particularly mentioned as having distinguished themselves in this piece of service.

The successes of Commodore Rowley prepared the way for the final reduction of the Isle of France, to which Vice-admiral Bertie directed the forces under his command.

In his letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty, dated on board the Africaine, in St. Paul's bay, Isle of Bourbon, 13th of October, 1810, Vice-admiral Bertie says, "I hoisted my flag on board the Nisus, and sailed from the Cape of Good Hope, on the 4th of September, for the Isle of France. On the 2nd, I made the land, and proceeded to reconnoitre Port South East, and Port Louis, or Port Imperial, without meeting any British cruiser. Thence I proceeded to St. Paul's Bay, where I found the Boadicea, Otter, and Staunch gun-brig, together with the Africaine and Ceylon, which had been taken, and recaptured from the enemy, and the imperial French frigate, La Vénus. A momentary superiority thus obtained (says the Admiral) by the enemy, has been promptly and decisively crushed, by the united zeal, judgment, perseverance, skill, and intrepidity, of Captain Rowley, in the Boadicea.

The vice-admiral, on his arrival in the island of Bourbon, prepared to attack the Isle of France. The prize and recaptures were immediately equipped. The name of La Vénus was changed to that of the Nereide, in compliment to the gallant defence of that ship; and, in eleven days after the admiral's

arrival, the Boadicea, Africaine, Nisus, Nereide, of 38 guns, and the Ceylon, of 30 guns, were all ready for sea. A fortunate circumstance succeeded to our disasters. The Ranger transport had been taken by La Vénus, loaded with stores and provisions for the squadron; the loss of this vessel was therefore a misfortune which threatened most serious consequences; but, when La Vénus was captured by the Boadicea, she was found to have on board all the stores of the Ranger, which completed the victualling of the British squadron to four months. Major-general Abercrombie, who, with his staff, was taken in the Ceylon, was also retaken in La Vénus; another fortunate event, as this officer was intrusted with the command of the army intended to reduce the Isle of France.

With these preparations the vice-admiral put to sea, and arrived off Port Louis on the 19th, where he found the enemy's squadron lying in the harbour. On the 24th, he was joined by Rear-admiral Drury, from India, with the Russel, 74, Clorinde, Doris, Phaëton, Bucephalus, Cornelia, and Hesper: taking the rear-admiral under his orders, and leaving a sufficient force to blockade the port, he proceeded to Rodrigue to join the transports, with the army from India; this he effected on the 3d of November, and found there all the force he expected from Bombay. The division from Madras arrived on the 6th, under convoy of the Psyche and Cornwallis; and Rear-admiral Drury was directed to resume his station in India, taking with him the Russel, Phaëton, and Bucephalus. The division from Bourbon arrived on the 12th; that from Bengal, on the night of the 21st, under convoy of the Illustrious, joined the fleet in the offing: the vice-admiral and the whole force soon after bore up for Grande Bay, in the Isle of France, where the fleet, to the number of 70 sail, anchored on the 29th, twelve miles to windward of Port Louis. The troops, the seamen, marines, and artillery, were landed the same day, without loss or accident. The army immediately commenced active operations, while the squadron watched its movements, and landed its supplies as fast as they became necessary. The force being infinitely beyond what was requisite for the capture of the settlement, General De Caen sent out terms of capitulation, which, being modified by the British chiefs, were finally agreed to, and the Isle of France became a British colony, which it has ever since continued.

The ships and vessels taken in Port Napoleon, or Port Louis, were the frigates Astrée, of 44 guns; Bellone, 44; La Manche, 44; La Minerve, 52; the Victor corvette, 22 guns; the Entreprenante, and another, of 14 guns each; all fine vessels; besides thirty-one sail of ships and brigs of large ton-

nage. The Iphigenia and Nereide, of 36 guns each, were also recaptured.

The amount of booty on this island was not very considerable. The distribution of the proceeds became a subject of litigation between the Vice-admirals Bertie and the Honourable R. Stopford, the latter having been appointed to the command of the Cape of Good Hope station, to supersede the former, previously to the surrender of the Isle of France. Sir William Scott, after a long hearing, gave it in favour of Vice-admiral Bertie, who gladly paid all the expenses of the appeal

The Isle of France, though a great acquisition to our colonial interests on the peninsula of India, was obtained by a convention no ways superior to that of Cintra. The garrison were not even made prisoners of war, for an exchange; but given up unconditionally, and provided with ships to carry them to France. The islanders were to retain their civil and religious liberties, and their laws.

Thus, by the ambitious and selfish policy of Napoleon, was France deprived of these valuable colonies in the East Indies, while at the same time she lost all that she possessed in the West. The capitulation of the Isle of France is dated December 3, 1810.

List of Ships employed at the Capture of the Isle of France, December 3, 1810.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Africaine	44	Flag.—Vice-admiral Bertie. Captain T. Graham.
Illustrious	74	William Broughton.
Boadicea	38	Commodore Josias Rowley.
Nisus	38	P. Beaver.
Cornelia	36	H. F. Edgell.
Clorinde	36	Thomas Briggs.
Menelaus	38	Sir Peter Parker, Bart.
Doris	36	—— Lye.
Phœbe	36	James Hillyar.
Nereide (formerly French Vénus)	44	—— Henderson.
Psyche	36	John Edgecumbe.
Ceylon (retaken)	30	William Tomkinson.
Hesper	32	William Patterson.
Hecate	18	G. Rennie.
Eclipse	18	—— Lyne.
Emma, government armed ship		—— Street (promoted from the Staunch).
Staunch, gun-brig	14	Lieutenant Craig.
Acteon	16	Lord Viscount Neville.

The commander-in-chief in the East Indies having received

orders to put the island of Java and all the Dutch settlements in the Moluccas under a strict blockade, directed Captain (now Sir Edward) Tucker, in the Dover, of 44 guns, to proceed to attack Amboyna; where he was joined by the Cornwallis, of 74 guns, and the Dutch sloop of war Mandarine, which she had taken; with these ships, and a body of Company's troops, Captain Tucker, by a very expert and seamanlike manœuvre, succeeded in surprising the island. Having all his boats out, with the troops in them ready to put off, he kept them at the sides of the ships most remote from the enemy, and, getting under way, pretended to stand out to sea, but in fact, by keeping his sails lifting, he allowed his ships to drift close into the spot where he intended to make a landing, and, passing this within two cables' length, he suddenly let go his boats. The troops, seamen, and marines, under the orders of Captain Court, instantly landed, and, while the ships engaged the forts and surrounding batteries for two hours and a half, the party advanced and carried by storm the heights commanding Portuguese Bay, into which the squadron immediately proceeded, and came to an anchor. On the following day the enemy, intimidated by the effects of the bombardment, and the spirit of their assailants, thought proper to capitulate; and on the 17th of February, 1810, the island of Amboyna was again subject to the crown of Great Britain. Captain Tucker was assisted in this successful enterprise by the Captains W. A. Montagu and Spencer; Lieutenants Peachy (now Captain Lord Viscount Selsey), Dabine, and Incledon. The force which the enemy had to oppose to the British amounted to 130 European, 1,000 Javanese and Madurese troops, the officers and crews of vessels sunk in the harbour, many of whom were Europeans, amounting to 220 men, besides the Dutch inhabitants and burghers. Amboyna is the residence of the governor of the Moluccas. With this island were taken or destroyed seven vessels of war, of various descriptions, 42 government supply vessels, and three neutrals; and the boats of the Dover, up to the 22d of January, had captured no less than 20 Dutch gun-boats, from eight guns and 60 men, to one gun and five men. On the 5th of February, Captain Tucker, in company with Captain Spencer, of the Samarang, captured, off Amboyna, the Dutch brigs of war, Rembang, of 18 guns and 100 men, and the Hope, of 10 guns and 68 men.

Captain Montagu, in the Cornwallis, successfully attacked the fort of Boolo Combo, on the island of Celebes, spiked the guns, and drove out the troops, after which, three of his boats, under the command of Lieutenant Vidal, of the same ship, boarded and brought out a brig, lying under the Dutch fort of

Manippa: she was found to contain the most acceptable cargo of turtle, fowls, fruit, and sago, refreshments of which his ship's company stood in the greatest need. On the 2d of March, Lieutenant Peachy, of the same ship, boarded, with the boats, a Dutch brig of war, of eight guns, and 40 men, and carried her. She was pierced for 14 guns. The enemy had one officer killed, and 20 men wounded.

Lieutenant Augustus Vere Drury, of the Sylvia cutter, captured a Dutch national brig of eight guns with two transports and three piratical prows.

In the month of June, Captain Tucker approached the Dutch fort of Goronletto, in the bay of Tommine, on the north side of the island of Celebes, where the Dutch colours were flying. Finding that no Dutch officer was present, but that the whole settlement was held under the good pleasure of that Government by the Sultan and his two sons, who bore Dutch commissions, Captain Tucker waited on the Sultan, and, after a proper representation, his Majesty was induced to forego his connexion with Holland, and to acknowledge the supremacy of the king of Great Britain; the whole trade of the island was thus thrown open to British shipping. Manado surrendered in the same manner; and from thence Captain Tucker proceeded to Ternate, where, having landed a body of the Company's troops, seamen, and marines, to the number of 174, under the command of Captain Forbes, of the Company's service, the island was reduced to submission.

Captain (the late Sir Christopher) Cole, in the Caroline, of 36 guns, had been detached by Rear-admiral Drury, with a disposable force of Madras native infantry, to attack the Molucca islands, where Captain Tucker, from the extent of his operations on the enemy, required immediate support. The Piemontaise frigate, Captain Foote, and Baracouta brig, of 18 guns, Captain Keenah, were under his orders, and with less than 240 men Captain Cole landed, and took possession of the island of Bandaneira, the chief of the Spice Islands. The place was strongly fortified, and defended by 700 men, with a numerous artillery, mounted on the most commanding batteries. The night was chosen for the attack, and, when daylight appeared, the British were in possession of the fort of Belgica. The surrender of the whole island followed. Captain Cole received, subsequently, the Order of the Bath for this important piece of service.

In August, 1810, Captain George Harris, of the Sir Francis Drake, captured off Java a Batavian ship of eight guns, a schooner of six guns, a privateer, two gun-boats, with four guns each, and, in addition to these, between the 9th of

August and the 8th of September, seven Batavian gun-boats, five piratical prows, and 35 Dutch trading vessels.

In the West Indies the first operation this year was the attack of Bay Mahaut, in the island of Guadaloupe, by Captain John Hayes, of the Freya, of 36 guns, who sent Mr. David Hope, his first lieutenant, with the boats, into the bay at night, on the 21st of January. As they approached the shore, within gun-shot, a signal gun was fired, and instantly followed by a discharge of grape from a battery on the N. E. point, and another at the head of the bay, together with the guns from a brig, and muskets from the bushes from one battery to the other. Under this fire the boats went to the brig; but, finding her abandoned, they pulled to the shore; as they advanced to the battery, the enemy retreated, and took post behind a thick breastwork, and over it engaged with musketry: from this they were soon driven. Mr. Hope found their magazines, containing 20 barrels of powder, and implements of war, all which he destroyed; also one 24-pounder. About half an hour after, he carried another battery of three 24-pounders, the whole of which he spiked, and rendered useless; the carriages and guard-house were burnt. This battery was very complete, with a ditch all round it, and had a small bridge and gateway entrance. After this service was performed, Mr. Hope returned to the brig, which he found fast in the mud, the enemy having cut her cables on leaving her: with much difficulty and exertion he got her off. Near her lay a large English-built ship, under repair, and in-shore of her, a very fine national schooner, pierced for 16 guns, 12 only on board. Unable to move the ship, it was impossible to bring out the schooner, which lay within the creek; he therefore set fire to, and burnt both of them. The enemy lost many men; two officers were found dead, and several men wounded, in the batteries.

The island of Guadaloupe had enjoyed some period of tranquillity, at least if the iron sway of the governor deserved that name. The expulsion of the English in 1795 had given the ferocious and cruel Victor Hugues an opportunity of restoring the arbitrary power of his predecessors. Slavery was more firmly established than ever. Supplies of men and ordnance, provisions, and fast sailing vessels of war, had been dispatched with unusual zeal and ability from the mother country; and, though many of the frigates and sloops fell into our hands, Guadaloupe prospered, under the government of Ernouf, and her harbours and bays afforded ready protection to the privateers, which, by their activity, gave incessant annoyance to our trade: added to these considerations, the island was a

colony of great advantage to France, which much needed its produce; its capture was therefore decided on.

The same season for military operations was chosen as that of the preceding year, when Martinique was taken, and the same commanders by land and sea conducted the expedition. Vice-admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane and Lieutenant-general Sir George Beckwith having received their instructions, the ships of war were immediately sent to the different islands to collect the contingent of troops from each. The admiral and general sailed on the 22d of January for the appointed rendezvous, in Prince Rupert's Bay, in the island of Dominica, whence, the forces being all collected, and the arrangements completed, the expedition sailed on the 24th.

Sir Alexander Cochrane ordered Commodore Ballard, in the Sceptre, to conduct the second division of the army to the Saintes, and followed, himself, in the Pompée, with the first division, which, on the 27th, anchored off Gosier, in the island of Guadaloupe. At four o'clock the next morning this division, conducted by Captain Fahie, and headed by the commander-in-chief of the troops, landed without opposition at the village of St. Marie, whence they moved on to Cabsterre. While this division was advancing, Commodore Ballard weighed from the Saintes, and with his division made a feint upon Trois Rivières, which drew the enemy from the difficult pass of Trochier. The commodore, in the evening, landed his troops to the northward of Basseterre, and they marched towards the right of the enemy. On the 2d of February the troops proceeded to the heights of Palmiste, and the shipping anchored about two miles to the northward of Basseterre, of which town Captain Fahie, with the marines of the squadron, took possession.

On the 3d Brigadier-general Harcourt's division warmly engaged, and drove back the enemy with considerable loss. The reserve, under Brigadier-general Wale, beat their left, and gained the important pass of Matouba. Astonished at the number of his enemies, General Ernouf sent his aide-de-camp with terms of capitulation, which were agreed on. Commodore Ballard and Brigadier-general Harcourt were named as commissioners by the British commanders, and the terms were signed and delivered on the 6th, at eight o'clock in the morning. Thus, after only eight days of resistance, this island fell a second time into our hands. The naval officers employed with the army on shore were Commodore (the late Rear-admiral) Ballard, Captain (the late Rear-admiral Sir W. C.) Fahie, and the Captains Stanfell, Dilkes, V. V. Ballard, Watson, Elliott, Flinn, and Dowers; and Captain Abbott, of the marines of the Pompée, who was wounded. The cannon was

dragged, and all the heavy work done, by the seamen, to the entire satisfaction of the general. The loss sustained by the enemy at Guadaloupe on this occasion was about 600 killed and wounded, and 2,000 prisoners. Detachments of British troops soon after took possession of St. Martin's and St. Eustatia, belonging to the Dutch; and Sir Alexander Cochrane congratulated the Government on the extinction of the power of France and Holland in the Caribbean seas. Sir Alexander Cochrane was appointed governor of Guadaloupe, which he held for three years. It was during his government on this island that he procured the skeleton, embedded in limestone, which now lies in the British Museum.

The capture of the enemy's colonies in the West Indies, particularly those of Martinique and Guadaloupe, obtained for the army and navy the equal and highly honourable approbation of both houses of Parliament. The two professions had acted together with the most perfect unanimity for the honour and interest of their king and country. The navy, without arrogating to itself any undue share of credit, was more instrumental to these conquests than the army, because more in its sphere of action. Yet the officers of the army had the honour of wearing medals and clasps, for the taking of Martinique and Guadaloupe, as they also had for the capture of the island of Java in 1811, while those of the navy had none! To consolidate the union of the two services has ever been the wish of the author of these pages; he therefore alludes to the painful subject with much regret. The battle of Waterloo crowned the great pyramid of glory acquired by our soldiers on the continent of Europe, and in Egypt; but was the battle of Trafalgar less glorious, or less important, to Britain? Were British valour and skill less conspicuous on the day that Nelson (under Providence) sealed the safety of his country, and asserted the empire of the seas, with his own blood? Was the destruction of the naval power of France and Spain less glorious or less beneficial to this country than the destruction of an army which, at most, could but have overrun Belgium before it was crushed by the united powers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria? Yet, for the victory at Waterloo the army had medals, and clasps, and ribands, even to the private soldiers; and the latter had two years' servitude remitted to them. These rewards were bravely won, and well bestowed. Would not the men of Trafalgar have been equally grateful, and more than ever attached to the service, by such a mark of royal favour? Nelson, to his last hour, never knew why medals were denied to his captains for the victory of Copenhagen, which broke up the northern confederacy. If his late Majesty King George III. was un-

willing to perpetuate the memory of the unhappy quarrel by the transmission of a medal to posterity, there could have been no such objection in the capture of the islands above-mentioned; and, as they were given to one service and not to the other, the navy feel it, and most keenly at court, where medals and honorary decorations adorn the military, while the officers of the navy are without them. To say that we despise them, is both disrespectful to the sovereign and untrue. As far as I know the sentiments of my brother officers, there is nothing that has given more dissatisfaction throughout the service. If silver badges, of the value of only half a crown, had been presented in the name of his Majesty to the captains and second captains of guns, and to seamen or marines who distinguished themselves in the late war, it would have done more towards reforming the service than all the penal laws that ever were enacted. So justly and so highly appreciated by all classes were these honorary distinctions, that I am quite sure their more general distribution in the navy, during the war, would have produced the happiest effects.

If a fore-mast man, by acquiring a medal, became exempted from corporal punishment, was permitted to go on shore as an officer, and allowed one or two years' time, as the soldiers were at Waterloo, we should soon have such a class of men as would enable us to dispense with impressment, and purge our ships of ruffians and vagabonds. Be it observed, that these remarks were mostly written in the year 1823, and long before any of the new regulations in favour of the seamen were brought into operation.

The year 1810 was remarkably fatal to our ships of war. In the month of August we lost in the Mediterranean the Lively, of 38 guns; and in the North Seas, in the month of December, the Minotaur, of 74 guns, and 500 men, the Nymphe, of 38 guns, and Pallas, of 32.

The loss of the Nymphe and Pallas was occasioned by their running on shore in the Frith of Forth, mistaking the light of a limekiln at Broxmouth for that which is constantly kept burning on the Isle of May. Some of the crew of the Pallas were drowned, the others, with all those of the Nymphe, were saved. As L'Aimable, of 32 guns, had run on shore only three weeks before, near the same spot, and by the same error, surely there was a palpable negligence in those who are paid for the trouble of inspecting and providing the coast lights. On no consideration should a false light be allowed to burn, when by its being mistaken for a true one the most fatal accidents might ensue. The Trinity Board are responsible for the maintenance of the lighthouses; and, though they certainly have not the

power to extinguish a limekiln, their representation of its existence ought to have been, and probably was, laid before the Government, but we never heard that measures were taken to prevent the evil consequences. The Captains Claye and Monke of the Nymphe and Pallas were honourably acquitted for the loss of their ships, as was also the captain of the Lively.

The Minotaur, in the same month, returning from the Baltic with a convoy, ran upon the Haek sands, off the Texel, when the ship was totally lost, with about 400 of her crew, and Captain John Barrett, her commander: 110 officers and men were saved by the Dutch, and treated with great kindness and humanity.

CHAPTER XVII.

1. Illness of his Majesty King George III.—Regency Bill passed—Affairs of the Baltic and North of Europe—Danes attack Anholt, and are defeated—Bonaparte at Boulogne—Naiad and squadron engage flotilla, and take a praam—Various actions with single ships—Lord Gambier commands the Channel fleet—Loss of the Hero, St. George, and Defence—Observations in Parliament thereon.
2. *Spain, Portugal, and Mediterranean.*—Successes of Marshalt Soult—Loss of Olivenza, Tortosa, and Badajos—Siege of Cadiz—Battle of Barrosa—Sir Edward Pellew relieves Sir Charles Cotton in the Mediterranean—Successful attack on the enemy's lines in the harbour of Cadiz—Siege and capture of Tarragona—Horrid massacres—Observations—Discord in South America—Enterprises by the British cruisers—Defence of Tariffa by the English—Siege of Valencia—Capture of Figueras by the Spaniards—Captain Hoste's action off Lissa—Captain Eyre, of the Magnificent, takes a large convoy—Captain Barrie, in La Pomone, destroys three ships in the Gulf of Lagone.—Loss of the Pomone, &c.
3. *North America.*—Causes of the disputes between that power and Great Britain—Action between the President and Little Belt—British naval force on that station.
4. *East Indies.*—Action off Madagascar—Capture of La Renommée and Nereide, and of the settlement of Tamatave—Death of Vice-admiral Drury—Commodore Broughton assumes the command, and sails with the expedition to Java—Rear-admiral the Honourable Sir Robert Stopford arrives, and takes the command—Lord Minto arrives at Malacca—List of ships employed in the expedition—Its arrival and proceedings—Capture of Java and of Madura.—Various achievements.

The mental faculties of his Majesty, King George the Third, had long been seriously impaired, and the death of her Royal Highness the Princess Amelia, his beloved daughter, which took place on the 2d of November, 1810, completely destroyed the equilibrium of his Majesty's mind, and confirmed that lamented disorder, which terminated only with his life. In addition to this heavy affliction, he had at the same time the misfortune to become perfectly blind. The state of his Majesty's mind necessarily caused the suspension of all the royal functions; and the Ministers, after the most anxious delays were, in January, compelled to make the communication to Parliament. Mr. Perceval brought in his Regency Bill, exactly similar to that of Mr. Pitt, in 1789, when his Majesty was afflicted with the same disorder. The bill passed, and his

Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, under the title of Prince Regent, took upon him the weight of the Government, at the most eventful crisis that ever occurred in the history of the British empire.

Admiral Sir James Saumarez commanded the Baltic fleet. The war with Denmark was carried on with vigour on both sides. The policy of the other northern powers was of a doubtful and irresolute nature. Negotiations continued, and assumed a favourable or unfavourable turn as the influence of France declined or prevailed.

The commerce of the Baltic suffered the greatest injury from the Danish flotilla, which was both numerous and daring. A large detachment of them, with a body of troops amounting to near 1,600 men, made an attack on the island of Anholt, which we had taken, and on which we burned a light, and kept a good garrison; but the enemy was so well received by Captain Maurice, the governor, that they were glad to capitulate, with the loss of their leader, and upwards of 500 of their people, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Captain Baker, in the Tartar, 32 guns, and Captain J. P. Stewart, in the Sheldrake, pursued and took two of the gun-boats, which were of very large dimensions.

Captain Pater, in the Cressy, was appointed with the Defiance, 74, Dictator, 64, Sheldrake sloop, and Bruiser gun-vessel, to protect a large convoy off Heilm Island. On the 5th of July he was attacked by a Danish flotilla of 17 heavy gun-boats and mortar-boats. A fog prevented our ships from acting as effectually as they would otherwise have done; but the enemy was totally defeated, with the loss of four of his gun-boats, each mounting one long 24-pounder, and four brass howitzers, and having on board together 120 men. The whole of the convoy were protected.

Napoleon, in pursuance of his plan of destroying the commerce of England, as the surest mode of undermining her power, occupied every sea-port within his grasp. Hamburg, one of the most flourishing and commercial cities of Europe, hoisted the French flag on its walls on the 1st of January, and was declared to be a part of the empire of France. A maritime conscription, about the same time, is said to have added 10,000 miserable beings to complete the crews of his ships of war. Twelve hundred seamen from the Italian states passed through Liege, on their way to Antwerp, to man the fleet at that port; and in the month of March a decree was passed in the name of the emperor, authorizing a levy of 3,000 men in the departments of the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Upper Ems, to be marched also to Antwerp. On the 20th of

April the Empress Maria Louisa was delivered of a son, who, on his coming into the world, was saluted by the title of King of Rome.* Having extended the dominions of France in the south as far as the left bank of the Enza, in Italy, Napoleon issued more decrees against the introduction of British manufactures, and indulged himself in some prophecies on the certain failure of our finances. He declared that he would have 150 sail of the line, and "conquer" a maritime peace. After having assured his credulous people that France was in the most flourishing condition, he set out for Boulogne, on a tour through the northern maritime provinces. In this tour he was doomed to experience certain mortifications, which greatly depressed his naval ardour. It will be necessary to bear in mind that the emperor was at the same time deeply engaged in negotiations with Russia, the effects of which will soon be explained. He completed his journey through Holland, having, as he supposed, riveted the chains of the Dutch. Returning westward, along the coast, he came to Boulogne in the month of September, where the flotilla, after an interval of idleness, began to show itself outside of the piers.

The presence of the emperor alone gave a stimulus to the efforts of the marine department; and his Imperial Majesty having ventured afloat in a barge, accompanied by a number of his field-officers, a division of praams and gun-boats came out to attack the Naiad, of 36 guns, then cruising off the port, and commanded by the late Captain Sir Philip Carteret Sylvester.

The whole coast of France, from Calais to St. Valery, was in commotion on the arrival and embarkation of the emperor; and the deeds of his flotilla were expected to procure for its officers all the honours which a munificent conqueror could bestow.

The emperor rowed along the line, as it lay at anchor before the port, harangued the crews, and hoisted the royal standard on board the admiral's praam, in the centre of the line. He continued rowing about in his boat the whole evening; and, desirous of proving whether his marine had increased in skill since his last review, he ordered Rear-admiral Baste, with seven praams, to attack the Naiad. Captain Carteret, being to leeward of them, (a strong flood tide and a south-west wind acting together) preferred remaining at anchor, as the surest means of closing with them, and prepared for action with springs on his cable. The enemy came down within long gun-shot, gave their broadsides

* He died 22d July, 1832, Duke of Reichstadt; thus ending the direct line of Napoleon, almost ere it had well begun.

in succession, tacked, and continued their childish warfare for three quarters of an hour, when they were joined by 10 brigs and one sloop, carrying long 24-pounders. The whole of this *élite* of the invading force continued to engage the Naiad for two hours; the British ship in the meanwhile, quietly at her anchor, returned the fire with deliberation until slack water, when she weighed, partly to stand off and repair her damages, and partly, by tacking, to close with the cautious enemy; but it fell calm, and the flotilla returned to their anchorage, while the Naiad also came to anchor in her former position, without having a man hurt. On the following morning, at seven o'clock, the same division, with the addition of three or four other gun-vessels, renewed the attack, when the Naiad weighed, and, working to windward, joined the Rinaldo, Redpole, and Castilian brigs, with the Viper cutter. Having formed his little squadron, Captain Carteret lay to, with his head off shore, in the hope of drawing the enemy farther from the land, making the signal to prepare to attack the enemy's van (led by Rear-admiral Baste), and not to fire until quite close to them. No sooner had the French admiral made the signal to tack, and partly executed the movement, than the British squadron bore up after him with all the sail they could carry, receiving a continued fire of shot and shells from the flotilla and the batteries, without returning any until within pistol-shot, when the enemy were thrown into confusion. The Rear-admiral (not very gallantly) was the leader in running away; nor could the utmost efforts enable Captain Carteret to get alongside of him; he was therefore obliged to be content with another praam, whose captain very nobly coming to save his admiral, the Naiad ran him on board, and lashed him alongside. Mr. Grant, the master of the Naiad, secured the vessel with a halser, while the great guns, small arms, and boarders, cleared her decks, and she was brought out. The Captains Anderson, in the Rinaldo, M'Donald, in the Redpole, and Braimer, in the Castilian, chased the remainder of the flying flotilla until they had effected a safe retreat under the protection of their batteries.

The praam mounted 12 long 24-pounders, with 112 men, of whom 60 were soldiers of the 72d regiment of the line. Between 30 and 40 of her men were killed or wounded. The loss on board the Naiad was two killed, and 14 wounded; on board the Castilian, the first lieutenant (Mr. Cobb) was killed; in the other vessels, none were hurt, except the pilot of the Rinaldo. This affair seems to have completed the disgust and mortification of the Emperor; he retired from the sea-coast, and applied himself to a more successful warfare on the continent of Europe.

Captain Boxer, in the Skylark, a brig of 16 guns, in the month of November, had the satisfaction of giving the flotilla another defeat. In a gale of wind from the southward, he saw 12 sail of gun-brigs standing along shore to the eastward, and the British gun-brig, the Locust, to windward of them. They were soon brought to action, and driven on shore. One gun-brig was captured; she mounted four long 24-pounders, and had 60 men.

On the 24th of September, Captain Philip Browne, of the Hermes, of 20 guns, recaptured a Prussian brig running into Havre de Grace; the privateer, which had taken her, escaped. Driven from her station by strong westerly gales, the Hermes bore up for Dungeness, and on his way Captain Browne discovered a French privateer in the midst of several English vessels. It was blowing very strong, and the Hermes had soon got alongside of the enemy, who surrendered and hove to; but while they were preparing to send a boat to her, the main-topsail yard of the Hermes went in the slings, and her foresail split to ribands. The lugger, taking advantage of this, made sail to get away. Captain Browne was too alert for him: the damages were very soon repaired, and the Hermes was again alongside of her prize, when the rash and unskilful Frenchman attempted to cross her bows. Captain Browne, feeling that they had forfeited all claim to indulgence, ran the Hermes on board of her, and the lugger went down. Only twelve of the men out of 51 were saved.

The history of the exertions of this officer in the cause of his country, from the first moment of his entering the naval service, would fill a volume. His watchfulness and activity were never surpassed: his promotion to the rank of post-captain he owes to himself. During the time he commanded the Swan, hired cutter, the Vixen, gun-brig, the Plover, sloop of war, and the Hermes, 20-gun ship, he captured

French privateers	11
Detained Danish vessels	18
Re-captured English and others	14
French and Dutch merchant vessels	5
Americans	3
Smugglers	20
Vessels taken or detained Total	71

Besides the performance of these duties, he had produced a clear profit to the revenue of £47,215. He had taken 886 French prisoners, and sent 217 able seamen to the fleet. If to these we add the number of vessels recaptured, and the

number saved from capture by the destruction of the enemy's privateers, we shall find this officer has proved himself a very valuable servant of the crown. Many other instances of merit might be adduced of young officers who have as faithfully and honourably served their country.

On the 6th of August, 1811, Captain Hautayne, in the Quebec frigate, off Heligoland, sent his boats under the command of Lieutenant Samuel Blythe, to attack a division of the enemy's gun-boats, near the island of Nordency. The enemy waited the attack with proper firmness, and as soon as the boats were within pistol-shot, gave them a heavy discharge of grape and musketry; on which the English rushed in, boarded, and carried four gun-boats, carrying long guns, 12 and 6 pounders, and manned with 24 men each. The loss on our side was four killed: 14 were wounded. The enemy had two killed, and 12 wounded.

On the 10th of February, the Amethyst, of 38 guns, Captain Jacob Walton, was lost in Plymouth Sound, in a gale of wind, which drove her on shore on the East side of that anchorage, now so well defended by the Breakwater.

In March, 1811, Captain Mac Namara, in the Berwick, chased a large French frigate on shore near Barfleur light-house, and with the Niobe, Amelia, and Goshawk, stood in, and by the severity of their fire drove out the crew, who were compelled to burn their ship.

Captain Parker, in the Amazon, chased an enemy's convoy near the Pertuis Breton. One of them he captured; the others ran on shore under a strong battery, notwithstanding which, Lieutenant Westphal, of the Amazon, succeeded in bringing off three, and burning five of them.

Captain Bourchier, of the Hawke sloop of war, of 16 guns, in the month of August, chased a French convoy near Cape Barfleur. They were protected by three armed brigs, carrying from 12 to 16 guns, and two luggers, carrying from 8 to 10 guns each, and all well manned. These vessels approached to engage the Hawke, and came to close action with her at half-past three in the afternoon, within half pistol-shot, and continued until the Hawke had driven on shore two of the brigs, the two luggers, and 15 sail of the convoy; but, in the act of wearing, she also unfortunately grounded, which enabled the third brig and a few of the convoy to escape, after having struck their colours. Heaving his vessel off from the shore, although lying under a heavy fire of artillery and musketry, Captain Bourchier came to an anchor to repair his damages, and at the same time sent his boats, under Lieutenant Price, to take or destroy all the enemy's vessels. He succeeded in

bringing off the Heron, a national brig, pierced for 16 guns, mounting 10, and three large transports, laden with ship-timber; all the others were on their beam-ends, and bilged. The strength of the tide alone prevented the Lieutenant from burning them. Captain Bourchier returned safely to Portsmouth with his prizes, and was promoted to the rank of post-captain.

Captain William Ferris, in the Diana, of 38 guns, and Captain William Richardson, in the Semiramis, of 36 guns, cruised in the month of August off the mouth of the Gironde, and so completely disguised their ships as to deceive the French, who sent off pilots to them. They anchored after dark between Corduan and Royan: under the guns of the latter a French brig of war had taken refuge. There was also near her another brig of war, stationed at that place for the protection of the convoys passing up and down the river. The boats of the two ships being sent under the orders of the Lieutenants Sparrow and Gardner, these officers succeeded in taking the convoy, but had been drawn far up the river by the force of the flood-tide, and were greatly beyond the enemy's two vessels of war. Captain Ferris, still preserving the disguise of his ships, received a visit from the Captain of the port; and Monsieur Michel Auguste du Bourg, Capitaine de frégate, and commanding the Pluvier, of 16 guns, and 125 men, came on board to offer his services. Captain Ferris ran the Diana on board the outer brig, and carried her by boarding, without the loss of a man on either side. The alarm being given, the batteries opened their fire, and Captain Richardson steering for the Paloma, that vessel cut her cables, ran on shore, and was set fire to and burnt by the boats of the Semiramis, under the guns of the batteries. The captured brig was called the Teazer, formerly a British gun-brig, mounting 14 guns, and having 85 men. Besides these they brought away five sail of convoy, deeply laden with valuable cargoes.

On the 9th of September, another action took place on the Havre station, which is also deserving of notice, as it proves the complete subjection in which our navy held that of the enemy. Captain the Honourable Jocelyn Percy, in the Hotspur, of 38 guns, seeing seven sail of gun-brigs, mounting three 24-pounders, and a mortar, lying close in-shore, near the Calvados, ran in to attack them, accompanied by the Barbadoes, Captain Rushworth, and the Goshawk brig, Captain Lilburn. One of the French pilots, a class of people remarkable for timidity and presumption, assured Captain Percy that he could take the ship within pistol-shot without any risk. The term "pistol-shot" is most indefinite, contracted or elon-

gated at pleasure. Mr. Clerk, in his "Naval Tactics," calls it 400 yards; an extent which modern theorists never contemplated. The French pilot ran the Hotspur on shore about half a mile from the enemy, which in the navy is now considered a point blank distance for an 18-pounder. In this situation the Hotspur was four hours exposed to a severe and destructive fire from all her enemies, as well as from the batteries. She sank one of the brigs, and drove two others on shore. She had two midshipmen and three seamen killed, and 22 seamen and marines wounded. There is no situation so trying to the feelings of an officer, or where the seamanship, courage, and resources of all on board are so much proved, as in extricating a ship of war under similar difficulties. The Hotspur was got off and conducted with safety to Spithead.

Captain George Cadogan, in the Havannah, of 38 guns, sent Lieutenant Hamley to spike the guns of a battery of three 12-pounders, on the south-west side of the Penmarks, and to bring out the vessels which had taken shelter there. This service was gallantly and ably performed; five vessels were brought out, and one burned.

Captain Nicholas Vansittart, in the Fortunée, of 36 guns, and the Honourable Captain Pakenham, in the Saldanha of 36 guns, captured, in the month of October, the famous privateer, Vice-admiral Martin, of 18 long 18-pounders and 140 men.

The numerous calls for the presence of the Admiral and the ships of war in the Baltic, the arduous contest between us and Denmark, her hostility to Sweden, the necessity of collecting the trade, and keeping up a strong naval force in Wingo Sound to the latest period of the season, had induced the Admiralty, and the Commander-in-chief in the Baltic, to keep the fleet longer than usual on the coast; hence the tragical events which occurred in the month of December, 1811, far exceeding those of the preceding year.

The Grasshopper sailed from Wingo Sound, on the 18th of December, 1811, in company with the Hero of 74 guns, Egeria, and Prince William armed ship, a convoy of merchantmen, and 15 sail of government transports. The weather, from the day of her sailing, was dark, cloudy, and extremely boisterous, accompanied with snow-storms.

The Egeria and Prince William parted company about the 20th or 21st, with the trade for the Humber and Scotland.

On the 23d at noon, the Hero made signal to the Grasshopper to pass within hail, when, after a communication of reckoning, Captain Newman said he should alter the course to S. W. for the afternoon, as he conceived himself to be on the

Silver Pitts. "We were then," says Captain Fanshawe, "steering W. by S. The course was accordingly altered to S. W. and continued so until 10 at night: the whole of that time blowing a hard gale, and the vessel going at the rate of 9 or 10 knots, under a close reefed main-topsail.

"At 10, the night-signal was made to alter course, two points to port, which was obeyed; and we continued running S. S. W. until three o'clock in the morning of the 24th, at which time we observed the Hero (as we supposed) round to, to sound, but the fact was, she had struck. As soon as her situation was ascertained, no time was lost in taking every measure to save the Grasshopper, by hauling off; but being already in broken water, the thing was impossible; and nothing but keeping right before the wind could have saved us from total destruction. After about a quarter of an hour, during which she was at times aground fore and aft, we succeeded in forcing her over the sand-bank, and fell into rather deeper water. The best bower was let go, and the sloop brought up; but in five minutes after, she struck again, and continued so doing occasionally all the time we lay at an anchor. At her first striking, the Hero fired guns, and burned blue lights; but in the space of 15 minutes, she ceased, in consequence (I suppose) of her being totally disabled.

"At daybreak, I perceived our situation to be inside the Northern Haeks, about five or six miles from the Texel Island, and about the same distance from the Helder Point—the Hero, a complete wreck, lying on her starboard broadside, her head to the N. E. and broken a-midships, the sea making a tremendous breach over her. By this time, all the small craft from the Helder were under way, and turning out of the harbour to our assistance. We in the meanwhile hoisted out the boats, and made an attempt at getting near the Hero; but all our efforts were fruitless, owing to the terrible surf around her, and we were obliged to abandon all idea of being able to render her any relief till the arrival of the Dutch schuyts, which were plying to windward. They, however, did not get nearer than about three miles of us before the ebb tide failed, and they were obliged to anchor.

"At four, finding night fast closing in, and the weather very unpromising, and seeing no prospect of saving our own lives, but by surrendering ourselves to the enemy, we cut our cable, and made sail for the Helder Point, beating for the space of nearly three or four miles over the flats, after which we succeeded in getting round the Helder Point, where we struck to the Dutch fleet, under the command of Vice-admiral De

Winter. At daybreak on the 25th not a vestige of the Hero was to be seen where she lay the previous day, she having gone to pieces during the night."

The St. George, of 98 guns, one of the Baltic fleet, had the flag of Rear-admiral Reynolds, and was commanded by Captain Daniel Oliver Guion. In a gale of wind, in Keoge Bay, in November, she had lost her rudder, and been obliged to cut away her masts. From this peril, she arrived safe in Gottenburg, where, having in some degree repaired her damages, rigged jurymasts, and a temporary rudder, the rear-admiral flattered himself he could protect the second convoy to England. Sailing thence, in company with the Defence, of 74 guns, Captain David Atkins, and the Cressy, 74, Captain C. D. Pater, he got a considerable distance out of the Sleeve, when the wind came round to W.N.W. and blew a hurricane, with a heavy sea, making the coast of Jutland a dead lee shore. From that moment, all hopes of saving the St. George, in her disabled state, vanished. Captain Pater, seeing that he could render her no assistance, and that the loss of his own ship would be the consequence of remaining any longer on the starboard tack, wore and escaped the danger. The master of the Defence reported to Captain Atkins, that the St. George must inevitably go on shore; that the Cressy had veered, and stood to the southward; and that destruction would attend the Defence, if she did not follow the example. Captain Atkins inquired, whether the rear-admiral had made his (Defence's) signal to part company; and being answered in the negative, replied, "Then I will not leave him." Shortly after this, the St. George let go an anchor, and came head to wind; but either parted the cable, or brought the anchor home (that is, it refused to hold the ship), and she drifted into shoal water, struck the ground with terrific violence, and a dreadful scene ensued. In half an hour, the Defence also grounded, at no great distance from her. The violent shocks of the sea soon stove in their bulwarks, carried away their masts, and made, what in sea-phrase is called, a fair breach over them, sweeping all before it. The accounts from which I gather these facts were detailed before a court-martial, assembled at Sheerness, to inquire into the causes of the loss of the ships. Eighteen persons were all that were saved out of the two ships' companies, of 700, and 600 men. These poor fellows related, that a sea struck the Defence, with such inconceivable force, as to lift a spare anchor out of its berth, threw it up on end, and, in its fall on the forecastle, it killed about thirty men! The intense cold, the incessant beating of the waves, and overwhelming surges, added each

moment to the heaps of dead. The bodies were piled by the survivors in tiers or rows, one over the other, on the starboard side of the quarter-deck, forming a kind of barricade or breakwater to shelter those who still cherished a hope of life. In the fourth row of these, lay, side by side, the lamented Admiral Reynolds, and his young and gallant friend, Captain Guion. The power of the waves had now nearly completed the dissolution of the whole fabric; the poop was torn from the ship, and the whole of the miserable screaming helpless people were scattered among the breakers, wounded, bruised, and dying. A very few, on pieces of wreck, were enabled by superior strength to prolong their existence.

The body of the gallant and self-devoted Captain Atkins was picked up by the Danes ere life was perfectly extinct; but all the kindness of the hospitable people failed in restoring animation; and he was buried with military honours, by order of the Danish government. While we applaud the heroic determination of Captain Atkins to save his admiral, or perish in the attempt, what shall we say for the memory of Captain Pater, who chose what he considered a line of duty equally imperative? Is an officer, seeing a ship inevitably lost, to run his own alongside of her, without the most distant prospect of saving one person on board? On this question we decline offering an opinion; but leave it to the judgment of those who may unfortunately be so situated. Certain it is that no blame was attached to Captain Pater; his view of the case was, "that if, by staying near his admiral, he could have afforded him any relief, he never would have quitted him;" conceiving that to be impossible, he supposed his next duty was to preserve his own ship, and the gallant crew. The loss of these ships was the subject of conversation in the House of Commons. In consequence of a question from Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Yorke, the First Lord of the Admiralty, gave a short account of the facts, and evinced so much feeling on the occasion, that it drew forth a very elegant compliment from Mr. Whitbread, who observed, that the whole calamity was the effect of misfortune alone; and that it was a consolation to reflect, that no blame could be imputed to any one.

We calculate the number of lives lost in all these wrecks, including the Saldanha, at about 2,000, exclusive of the seamen drowned in the numerous merchantmen which foundered in the same winter, and which, taken altogether, will amount to 5,000 men, a number very far exceeding the total slain in all the general actions since the commencement of the war.

The year 1810 had been one of momentous importance and memorable anxiety to Great Britain and her allies. In

Spain, the British army, after the battle of Talavera in the preceding year, had retreated into Portugal and taken up a position on the left bank of the river Coa. The fall of Ciudad Rodrigo and of Almeida had followed. Panic spread to the sea-ports, and the British merchants petitioned Admiral Berkeley to have a number of ships in readiness to transport them and their goods beyond the reach of the enemy. This request the admiral very prudently conveyed to Lord Wellington, who did not fail to animadvert strongly on the weak and timid conduct of the writers. The language of apprehension was, however, heard in a higher assembly than that of a body of merchants, or even a Portuguese or Spanish Junta, and produced the most baneful effects.

The peninsula of Spain had become the grand arena where France and England were to decide their quarrels. The British army, under Lord Wellington, occupied the lines of Torres Vedras; the fleet lay in the Tagus, and afforded supplies of every description. Massena commanded the French armies, but was not so well provided with the means of conducting his campaign as his fortunate rival; who, with Lisbon in his rear, and the Tagus at his side, had every thing he could desire. Sir William Beresford was on the south side of the river. A strong squadron of ships of war and transports, under the command of Rear-admiral Sir Joseph Yorke, lay in the Tagus: they had arrived in February, with a reinforcement of 6,500 men. Lieutenant Claxton, of the Barfleur, the flag-ship, commanded the gun-boats attached to the army. This officer perceived, on the 5th of March, that the French had broken up from Santarem, and had fled in disorder. He immediately crossed the river, and gave the intelligence to Lord Wellington; after which he returned to Santarem, where he found the enemy had left three rough-built pontoons, two rafts, and 12 or 14 heavy cannon, the carriages of which they had burned. The French general broke up his camp, and marched for the Mondego, pursued by Lord Wellington, who constantly harassed his rear. In this march the French evinced their usual want of feeling; every barbarity was committed on the unoffending people which malice and cruelty could devise, by burning every town and village through which they passed; this too in a country "they came to liberate, and from which they were to drive the cowardly English into the sea."

The campaigns of our celebrated warrior are too ably detailed by Mr. Southey, Colonel Napier, and others, to require any comment from me: they are, moreover, beyond the scope of this narrative. In Catalonia the British army was as-

sembled before the fortress of Tarragona, the defence of which forms a conspicuous feature in the transactions of the navy in the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir Charles Cotton, and afterwards of Sir Edward Pellew. At the commencement of this eventful year the Spaniards lost their best and truest patriot, the Marquis de la Romana, who died at Cartaxo on the 22d of January. It would seem as if the noble Spaniard had been snatched away to spare him the mortification of witnessing the disgrace of his country, and the losses which immediately followed. Tortosa, Olivença, and Badajos, with 22,000 men, fell into the hands of Marshal Soult, who had no more than 20,000 troops with him.

The capture of the Cæsar, a French privateer, by the boats of the Blossom sloop of war, commanded by Captain William Stewart, affords us one more to add to the numerous instances of the intrepidity of our seamen.

Lieutenant Samuel Davis, with Messrs. Richard Hambly and John Marshall, mate and midshipman of the Blossom, and three boats, were despatched in pursuit of this vessel when nearly calm: she lay at the distance of four miles from the ship. The enemy suffered them to approach very close before they fired; the first shot killed the gallant young Lieutenant Davis;* but his associates, Marshall and Hambly, instantly laid her on board, one on each side, and carried her sword in hand, although her deck was defended by 59 men. She mounted two long and two short 18-pounders, and 22 swivels of large calibre. Mr. Hambly, who was desperately wounded, was promoted to the rank of lieutenant; and Mr. Marshall,† on completing his servitude, had the same reward.

Vice-admiral Sir Charles Cotton was succeeded by Vice-admiral Sir Edward Pellew. The naval part of the war was confined to the intercepting of French convoys, cutting off the supplies of their armies in Catalonia and Valencia, and blockading the French fleet in the harbour of Toulon. Sir Charles Cotton succeeded Lord Gambier in the command of the Channel fleet.

On the coast of Catalonia the most effectual assistance was afforded to the Spaniards, under the Generals Saarsfeld, Lacey, and the Baron de Erroles. Captain (now Vice-admiral Sir Edward) Codrington, of the Blake, being the senior officer on the coast, in the month of May directed Captain Richard Thomas, of the Undaunted, of 38 guns, to take under his

* I knew him well: he had been my first lieutenant in the Amaranthe, sloop of war, and was a most valuable officer.—Author.

† This officer is the author of the "Naval Biography," a work remarkable for the general accuracy of its information.

orders the marines of both ships, land with them near Cadaquirs, and take a position on the heights which command Rosas, in order to make a powerful diversion in favour of a meditated attack on Figueras.

Captain Thomas, in obedience to this order, ran his ship into the harbour of Cadaquirs, placed her in a position for covering the retreat of his men, if it should be necessary for them to do so. He then landed, and took the intended ground near the French army, where he remained all night; and in the morning, when a strong body of the enemy advanced from their main army, his purpose being answered, Captain Thomas re-embarked without loss. While this was passing on the sea-shore the Spanish troops attacked the French, and gained a very considerable advantage over them.

Captain Codrington next directed Captain Thomas to attack the Medas Islands, on one of which was a castle, which the French had taken and fortified. In this attempt Captain Thomas was equally successful. On the 2d of September he informed Captain Codrington that the castle had been reduced by the fire which he had brought against it. The garrison surrendered at discretion, and was embarked in the squadron, the marines of the ships keeping possession of the castle. The enemy came down in force from Figueras, to retake this post, of great importance to them in bringing forward their supplies, which they could only receive coastwise from France. So effectual was the relief and assistance given to these brave but oppressed people, that the captains, officers, and men of the ships employed, received the thanks of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, as also those of the Spanish authorities.

We now return to the siege of Cadiz, which, during the winter, had been defended by the combined forces of England, Spain, and Portugal, and closely invested by the French under Marshal Soult. The British land forces were commanded by Sir Thomas Graham, the squadron by Sir Richard Keats.

Early in 1811 a powerful expedition was formed, composed of British and Spanish troops, commanded by Sir Thomas Graham and General Lapena, with a view to land on the coast to the westward, and to make an attack on the rear of the enemy, whilst the rear-admiral at the same time, with a body of seamen, royal marines, and the Spanish regiment of Toledo, was to make a diversion to the eastward, by way of drawing the enemy's attention. The naval part of the expedition was placed under the command of Captain Brace, of the St. Albans, who sailed from Cadiz on the 21st of February; and on the 26th the Spanish part of it left the bay also.

Conformably to the plan of operations to be observed by the army, the combined forces were to have advanced by Medina Sidonia, which is full in view from the bay; and a letter from General Disney, commanding in the Isla, which reached the admiral on the 4th, at 10 A. M., informed him that General Lapena would attack Medina in the morning; but in the afternoon he learned from Admiral Villavicencio, that the attack on Medina was deferred.

The rear-admiral, on the 5th, at 11 o'clock, learnt by the telegraph from the Isla, that our troops were approaching. Signal was immediately made for the flotilla to move, the Implacable and Standard to weigh, and take their destined stations, and to put the marines and seamen into the boats. Before the short telegraphic message from the Isla was finished, it was evident from the report of cannon and musketry, that the battle of Barrosa was commenced. The pilots of the ships, on being ordered to move, refused to take them to their destination. This circumstance deranged for some time that part of the service, and as it was evident the seamen and marines could not be brought to act for two or three hours at the earliest, it appeared certain (owing to the failure of timely information of the approach of the combined expedition) that their acting would now have no effect on the fate of the field of Barrosa. At four an aide-de-camp from General Disney, who commanded at the Isla, announced the victory, adding that the troops were in want of boats, stores, and provisions, with a supply of which Captain Cockburn was immediately despatched. He was also eminently useful in securing the prisoners, and bringing off the wounded from the field of battle.

In this brilliant affair the enemy had 8,000 men engaged, of whom they lost 3,000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. General Ruffin was taken, and sent to England. We had 1,200 killed and wounded. The Spanish general and his army had no share in the action. In the first edition of this work I stated (vol. v. p. 336), that the despatches had not been duly delivered to the admiral, which prevented the active and timely co-operation of the navy. It does not appear that any letter or despatch was ever sent by General Graham to Sir Richard Keats respecting the intended attack on the French at Barrosa, since in fact that battle was so unpremeditated, that no such despatch could have been written. Sir Thomas Graham, on the heights of Barrosa, at half-past 11 A. M., found himself suddenly in the presence of the French army, under Marshal Victor, and had no alternative but to fight on the spot. The Spanish general, Lapena, had completely deceived General

Graham by marching with his army from the appointed rendezvous; and, on the coming up of the British army, although completely exhausted, and requiring an immediate halt and refreshment, he found himself obliged to march forward; and on the same morning came into action at Barrosa.

Captain G. M. Jones, of the Ephira, sloop of war, had charge of the intercourse with the army; and with such zeal did this officer conduct himself, that he swam on shore with his despatches, and delivered them in person to the general.

Sir George Cockburn, who was so active in succouring the wounded men, was left on the field of battle by General Graham. The general, after the shameful conduct of Lapena, retired within the Isla, leaving Sir George, with his boat's crews and marines, to protect the wounded men of all parties.

Fortunately the enemy retired, otherwise the men might have been taken; for the Spaniards had neither the power nor the heart to assist them. Sir George related to me a curious circumstance, sufficiently proving the feeling of the Spaniards at that time against the French. An officer of this nation was lying on the field with his thigh broken; Captain Cockburn asked a Spanish officer to lend him his horse to convey the poor man to the water-side. "No, sir," said the man; "I see he is a Frenchman; if there is a wounded Englishman, my horse shall carry him, and if there is a second wounded Englishman I will carry him myself; but no Frenchman shall ever be put on my horse, which I shall shoot if you insist on his being put to that use." No argument founded on the duties of Christianity could prevail; and Captain Cockburn had the poor Frenchman conveyed to the boat by the seamen of the Implacable.

A division, composed of a detachment of seamen and marines, commanded by Captain Kittoe, entered the town of Rota, threw the guns into the sea, destroyed the platforms and ammunition, and dismantled the sea-defences of the coast, from that place to Catalina. Another, under the command of Captain Spranger, of the Warrior (which the rear-admiral accompanied), landed between Catalina and St. Mary's; the royal marines, under Captain Fotterell, took the fort of Puntalles by assault, and a sea-battery commanding the north entrance of the Guadalete; entered the town of St. Mary's, and summoned Catalina, whilst Lieutenant Carrol's division of gun-boats cannonaded that fort, and Captain Fellowes's battered, and finally took by assault, a redoubt on the south side of the Guadalete. These operations compelled the enemy to detach a column of about 2,000 troops for the protection of

Catalina, and that part of his line, thereby fully answering the purpose of diversion for which it was intended.

In June the rear-admiral sailed with the Milford, Alfred, St. Alban's, and Stately, pursuant to secret instructions from home, with a view to intercept a squadron of the enemy, whose destination was supposed to be the Mediterranean. On the 28th he fell in with Vice-admiral Sir Edward Pellew, in the Caledonia (who put the rear-admiral under his orders), and Rear-admiral the Honourable A. K. Legge, in the Revenge. Sir Richard Keats resigned the command at Cadiz to Rear-admiral Legge, and proceeded in the Milford to join the commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean.

The French, in the summer of 1811, began to recover their losses in the south of Spain; and the Spaniards, though ably supported by our navy, met with some serious checks there. The loss of Tarragona was, of all others, the most mortifying. The province of Catalonia, distinguished for its valour and obstinate resistance to the tyranny of Napoleon, was an object of peculiar interest to the British nation, and powerful land and sea forces were strenuously engaged on its deliverance.

The Captains Codrington, of the Blake, of 74 guns; C. Adam, of the Invincible, of 74; J. C. White, in the Centaur, of 74, and other naval officers, were successively employed in active co-operation with the garrison of Tarragona. On the morning of the 5th of June Captain Adam saw the French General Suchet open his fire from several batteries on Fort Olive, whose defences had been ascertained to be in a bad state. It was intended at night to substitute the Spanish regiment of Almeria for that of Iberia, which had till then been in the fort; but by treachery the French found means to mingle with the regiment marching in, and thus got possession of the fort of Olive without firing a shot. The force of the French before Tarragona was at that time about 11,000 men; and the Spaniards lost about 3,000, including prisoners. On the 6th the small advanced work called the Francolli was destroyed in four hours by the fire of the French; and as a proof that valour was not wanting in its defence, the whole Spanish garrison, consisting of 145 men, was either killed or wounded.

On the 5th of June the enemy had advanced their works to within pistol-shot of the lines of the Puerto, besides having destroyed the battery of Francolli, and formed a post under its ruins. Beaten off with severe loss, in some desperate attempts to storm the batteries of Orleans and St. Joseph, they still persevered, notwithstanding the gallant sorties of General Sarsfield, with the few troops which could be spared for the service. When Captain Codrington left Tarragona, on the 16th of May,

he proceeded to Murviedro, where he found General O'Donnel had prepared 2,300 men to embark for the relief of Tarragona, with 213 artillerymen. These Captain Codrington caused to be conveyed to their destination with the greatest celerity, on board the Blake, Centaur, and Invincible, with the sloops of war and transports. The Invincible alone received 700 on board at one time, besides her own complement. Having delivered to General O'Donnel 2,000 stand of arms, accoutrements, and clothing, to equip the recruits, the Blake proceeded to Valencia, where Captain Codrington put on shore the remainder of this supply, so necessary to the support of General Villa Campa and the Empecinado. By these supplies the army of Arragon was brought to act with that of Valencia. Having at Alicant procured as many materials for the relief of Tarragona as the ship would stow, including 80 artillerymen, Captain Codrington loaded a Spanish corvette with the remainder; and having agreed with O'Donnel that 4,000 more men should be detached from his army for the defence of that place, he hastened thither for the double purpose of landing his supplies, and preparing shipping to receive the detachment. In the mean time he directed Captain Adam, in the Invincible, and Captain Pringle, in the Sparrowhawk, to wait his arrival at Peniscola, with four transports. He reached Tarragona on the morning of the 7th of June, and in the course of the day and the ensuing night landed his *matériel,* and sailed again on the morning of the 8th, taking with him the Spanish corvette Paloma, but leaving Captain Baker in the Cambrian, in charge of the naval defences of the place. On the 9th he joined his squadron at Peniscola, where he also found the Centaur, and each of the ships of the line again received on board 800 men. By these energetic measures the whole 4,000 men of O'Donnel's army were embarked on the 11th, and during the night of the 12th entered Tarragona. General Miranda, finding the garrison so strongly reinforced, requested Captain Codrington would embark his division that he might join the Marquis of Campoverde in the neighbourhood of Villa Nueva de Setgis, in order to threaten the flank of the besieging army. This request was immediately complied with, and executed by the boats of the British squadron. The French pressed on the siege, and the allies, by land and sea, as nobly defended themselves. Three thousand sandbags were made on board the ships of war, and sent into the garrison. In the night the gunboats and launches threw their shot into the enemy's camp, and gave them great annoyance. . The boats of the British squadron also took off many women, children, sick, aged, and wounded, and conveyed them safely to Villa Nueva. The

three captains of the ships of the line also took off in their own boats about 200 men, who retreated to the mole after the French had taken the batteries, and landed them again at the Milagro, within the works on the east side of the town. The ships also moved as close in to the enemy's works as the depth of water would admit, and drove them from the advanced position they had taken, and which was immediately occupied by the guerillas.

At dawn of day, on the 29th of June, the French opened their fire on the town. About half-past five a breach was made, and the place immediately carried by assault. The valour and constancy hitherto displayed suddenly forsook the unfortunate Spaniards: the enemy found little or no resistance: the garrison flying in every direction; some sliding down the walls, others stripping off their clothes, and swimming to the ships. How many lost their lives in this miserable attempt is not known. A short, but impressive paragraph describes the fall of Tarragona, and shows to what a degree of terror these people must have sunk, and to what sacrifices they submitted to preserve a wretched existence.

"A large mass of people," says Captain Codrington, "some with muskets, and some without them, pressed forward along the road, suffering themselves to be fired on by about 20 Frenchmen, who continued running beside them at only a few yards distance. At length they were stopped by a volley of fire from one small party of the enemy, who had entrenched themselves at a turn of the road, supported by a second a little higher up, who opened a masked battery of two field-pieces. A horrible butchery then ensued; and shortly after, the remainder of these poor wretches, amounting to above 3,000, tamely submitted to be led away prisoners by less than as many hundred Frenchmen."

The launches and gun-boats went from the ships the moment the enemy were observed to be collecting in their trenches, but so rapid were their motions that the whole was over before the boats could fire a gun. How contagious is panic even among the brave!

All the boats of the British squadron were sent to assist the fugitives, swimming off, or concealing themselves among the rocks, and about 600 poor people were rescued from the merciless violence of the enemy by the valour and humanity of the British officers and men. During this eventful siege the captains of the ships of the line passed whole nights in their gigs, conducting the operations of the defence; nor could the incessant fire of shot and shells from the enemy's batteries deter them from the humane labours of taking off the women, the

children, and the wounded, whenever they presented themselves on the rugged rocks with which the shore was lined. These remarks apply in a particular manner to the Captains Codrington, White, and Adam, of the Blake, Centaur, and Invincible.

The barge of the Blake, loaded with 12 women and children, was cruelly fired on by the French. A cannon ball passed through her, swamped the boat, and killed one woman and a child; the others, together with the boat, were saved, and hospitably received on board the Blake. The launch of the Centaur, commanded by Lieutenant Henry Ashworth, had two men killed, the lieutenant and two of his men dangerously wounded, while employed on the same service. Heroism was not exclusively confined to the Britons. Contreras, the Spanish general, did all in his power to save the place, but was wounded and taken prisoner. Gonzalez, the governor, defended himself to the last with a handful of men, and was bayoneted to death in the square near his own house. The French, on first entering the town, spared neither men, women, nor children; and, when the rage for indiscriminate slaughter was in some degree satiated, all persons found in uniform, or with arms in their houses, were put to death. Will it be believed that women, and even girls of 10 years of age, after having been subjected to the most brutal treatment, were thrown alive into the flames of their houses, and burnt, together with wounded men? The whole city was consumed, with little exception. The unhappy fugitives who were so fortunate as to reach the British ships of war and transports were received with kindness and humanity. They were clothed, fed, cured, and conveyed to places of security, at the public expense.

After reading the dreadful details of the fall of a city, whose inhabitants and whose country had given no just cause of offence to Napoleon, can there be a human being who would not condemn the author of them? What if Napoleon ended his life in an island, bereft (as he said) of every earthly enjoyment, what was this to the multiplied horrors and torments he had heaped on his innocent fellow-creatures? Was he not treated (however harshly) with more kindness than he had shown to others? How lost to every sense of moral and religious feeling must that nation be who could honour his memory! What is virtue on earth if vice be so adored? The contrast between the British and the French at Tarragona was exactly that of angels and devils.

While these horrible scenes were passing in the mother country, the Spanish colonies in the New World were falling fast into all the miseries of political discord. This was, no doubt, a consequence, not less of the events that were going

forward in Spain herself, than in the world at large at this peculiarly eventful crisis. Nor could the friendly interposition of Great Britain avail to allay the growing irritation. And it must further be admitted that the Government of Spain exhibited the most marked disinclination to listen to any mediatory suggestions from any third power, however well disposed towards her. Every succeeding Government hitherto has adopted the same policy.

How invariably does the injustice of men recoil upon their own heads! What exertions did not Spain make, what men, and what treasure did she not expend, in the cause of North America! When those colonies threw off the easy yoke of England, little did the short-sighted rulers of Spain imagine they were fostering a nation whose example would soon be followed by the neighbouring countries from which she derived her wealth.

The Junta of Seville, which exercised the Provisional Government in the name of their absent King, offered that freedom to the South Americans which they no longer had it in their power to withhold. From the first landing of Sir Home Popham on the banks of the Rio de la Plata, the inhabitants of the great southern continent had gazed on the dawning of liberty, until dazzled by its full effulgence in 1811; but this light, without instruction, without the gradual experience and improvement of the human mind, only served to make "darkness visible." Liberty awoke from the slumber of ages, but so loaded with the fetters of bigotry and despotism, that her first acts were those of a maniac. Like the revolutionists in France, the South Americans laid their country in blood, and with returning reason regretted the havoc they had made.

Had the British Government acted by the common and narrow law of retaliation, they would have fomented the dissensions between Spain and her colonies, and even among the colonists themselves, as the means of advancing their own interests: but the policy of Great Britain was more enlightened; she sought her interest in the straightforward road of honesty, and the happiness of the human race: had gold or conquest been her object, she might have bribed avarice and ambition till (if it were possible) the wide range of those passions were gratified.

His Majesty, King George IV., then Prince Regent, having made a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Spain, could no longer act but as her real friend. Such were not only the sentiments of the royal bosom but also those of the nation at large.

Sir Henry Wellesley, the British ambassador at Cadiz, and

Rear-admiral Sir Richard Keats, perfectly acquainted with the benefit which England and Spain might derive from mutual assistance, and foreseeing that the loss of the Spanish colonies might deprive the parent state of her only resources for carrying on the war, proposed to the Executive Government at Cadiz to send a proper person to England, with instructions for explaining their views to the Minister. Captain Cockburn was selected for this service, having been at Vera Cruz, and become acquainted with the wishes of the colonists. He had also acquired the favour of the Spaniards by the attempt he had made to rescue their king from the prison of Valançay. Resigning the command of the Implacable, he proceeded to England in the Druid frigate, arrived on the 5th of May, 1811, and communicated his instructions to his Majesty's Ministers, who determined to send out an embassy of mediation, in the name of the Prince Regent, between Spain and the revolted colonies of South America. Captain Cockburn was chosen as one of the commissioners; and ordered, in the month of November, to hoist a broad pendant on board the Grampus, of 50 guns, with the rank of commodore. His colleagues were Thomas Sydenham, Esq., and J. P. Morier, Esq. These gentlemen were nominated his Majesty's Commissioners of Mediation, with the diplomatic rank of Envoys Extraordinary, and Ministers Plenipotentiary.

It was not till the 2d of April, 1812, that the commissioners received their final instructions; on the receipt of which they sailed in the Grampus from Spithead, and arrived at Cadiz on the 21st. But here their difficulties began; and by the narrow-minded prejudices and sordid views of the Spanish Executive Government, and the majority of the Cortes then assembled at Cadiz, their labours were rendered abortive.

These ignorant and selfish people, instead of openly acknowledging and confirming the independence of the colonists, as their predecessors had done, insisted on confining the mediation to particular parts of Spanish America. This was so contrary to the views of the commissioners, that reference was had to England; and, after repeated delays, the commissioners, finding they could make no impression on the Junta, and being resolved not to proceed to America with limited powers, put an end to the conferences, as they were authorized to do, and returned home. Such was the state of things between Old and New Spain in 1811-12, when Vice-admiral the Honourable Michael De Courcy held the command on the South American station, with a small squadron, for the protection of the British trade. The harbour of Rio de Janeiro was his head-quarters, and we had our envoy with the Portuguese Government: their pro-

vinces continuing in a tranquil state, while those of Spain, in the south, west, and north, were in the highest ferment of civil discord.

In the month of June, 1811, the States of Venezuela declared their independence.

In the West Indies we have nothing of a maritime nature to commemorate in 1812. At Jamaica, the commander-in-chief, Vice-admiral Bartholomew Samuel Rowley, died of the yellow fever. He was a zealous and gallant officer, highly respected in his profession.

On the 31st of March Captain Robert Waller Otway, of the Ajax, of 74 guns, in company with Captain E. Chamberlayne, of the Unité frigate, captured a French frigate-built ship, called Le Dromadaire, loaded with powder, shot, and shells. The two frigates by which she was attended made their escape. This squadron was from Toulon, and supposed to have been bound for Corfu.

In the month of July, the Honourable Captain Waldegrave having been removed to the Volontaire, Captain Napier, who was appointed to command the Thames, attacked, with the Cephalus, a large convoy in the port of Infreschi. The Cephalus led in, and both ships anchored close to the enemy, whose fire they silenced. They had 11 gun-boats, and an armed felucca, mounting 13 heavy guns, and manned with 280 men. These vessels were moored across the bay for the protection of 15 merchant-vessels; they were also supported by a round tower, and lines of musketry on the hills. Lieutenant M'Adam, with a party of royal marines, landed, took the tower, made one officer and 80 men prisoners, and drove the rest away. Captain Clifford, with the boats, boarded and took possession of the convoy. The whole of these vessels were brought out without the loss of a man on our side; and the enormous list of captures amounted to 11 gun-boats, mounting each one long 18-pounder, and manned with 30 men; an armed felucca, of 13 guns, and 280 men; and 14 merchant-vessels, all with cargoes of oil, from Pizzo, bound to Naples.

Commodore C. V. Penrose commanded at Gibraltar. Under his superintendence, a regular and active communication was kept up between the naval commanders stationed round the coasts of the Peninsula, and every movement of the enemy was closely watched, and, as far as the shipping could be employed, effectually counteracted. Ballasteros, the Spanish general, was pressed by the enemy in the neighbourhood of San Roque, and the inhabitants of that place took refuge under the walls of Gibraltar. Ballasteros sent to the British General at Cadiz for succour. Major-general (now Sir George)

Cooke, who commanded there at that time, ordered a detachment of 1000 infantry, with four pieces of artillery, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Skerrit, to make a diversion at Tariffa, a fortress in the gut of Gibraltar, to the westward of Cabrita Point. Rear-admiral Legge, who commanded the naval force at Cadiz, ordered these troops to be conveyed to Tariffa in the Stately, of 64 guns, Captain E. S. Dickson, accompanied by the Columbine and Tuscan sloops of war, and a number of transports. Captain Dickson, on the 18th of October, landed all the troops and artillery, and Colonel Skerrit immediately commenced hostilities against the French; while the sloops of war, under the command of the Captains Shepheard and Jones, and the boats of the squadron, directed by Lieutenant Davis, of the Stately, checked the advance of a body of 1,500 French troops, going to attack the town of Tariffa. The boats and sloops of war, by their incessant fire, commanded the pass along the sea-shore during the night, and in the morning the enemy retreated, followed by Colonel Skerrit. The inhabitants of Algeziras fled to Green Island, and to the shipping, where they found security from the persecutions of their cruel invaders. Four British gun-boats scoured the shores of the bay, and greatly annoyed the French in their operations.

Captain G. R. Collier, in the Surveillante, of 38 guns, on the north coast of Spain, joined the chief, Pastor, and 200 of his active and determined guerillas, with the marines of the Surveillante and Iris, under the command of Lieutenant Cupples. This force entered the river Mundaca; the frigates anchored near the town of Bermeo, then in possession of the French, while the marines and guerillas, having landed, got possession of the hills, and the French fled over the rugged road leading to Bilboa. Captain Collier, having destroyed everything that was convertible to military purposes, except what could be of use to Pastor and his men, brought all the vessels out of the mole, and retreated without loss.

In the Adriatic, the frigates continued their destructive attacks on the enemy's coasting trade and gun-boats with astonishing success.

Captain Gordon, of the Active, of 38 guns, seeing a convoy run above the town of Ragosniza, and take shelter in a creek on the main land, ordered Lieutenant Henderson, with the boats, and a party of marines and seamen, to attack them. In performing the duty, this officer showed singular adroitness and intrepidity. Finding the entrance to the creek very narrow, and defended by three gun-boats, and a number of armed men on each point, he landed with the marines and

small-arm men, on the right hand side, in order to take possession of a hill which appeared to command the creek, leaving the boats under the command of Lieutenant Gibson, with orders to advance on a signal being given. On his way up the hill, Lieutenant Henderson was fired on by soldiers above him; these he soon dislodged, and chased away, and, gaining the summit, found himself immediately above the gun-boats, and 28 sail of convoy. He instantly made the signal for the boats to advance: at the same time he descended the hill, exposed to the fire of one of the gun-boats, and some soldiers; but the boats under Lieutenant Gibson, coming in at the same moment, boarded the gun-boats, before they had time to fire a third volley. The enemy fled in every direction, leaving many killed and wounded. The crews of the gun-boats jumped overboard, and swam on shore, leaving their guns to be turned on themselves. Eighteen vessels laden with grain, for the garrison of Ragusa, were brought out, and 10 burned. The three gun-boats were also brought away; and the whole party returned safely to their ship, with only two or three men slightly wounded.

Sir Edward Pellew had stationed Captain Eyre, of the Magnificent, on the coast of Valencia; and Captain Codrington, of the Blake, still continued to watch the coast of Catalonia. On the 11th of October, Captain Eyre addressed a letter to the commander-in-chief, stating, that in consequence of a requisition from the Spanish general, Blake, he had gone to the relief of Oropesa, which he found had surrendered, and was in the hands of the enemy. A tower within a mile of the town was still in possession of the Spaniards, and the French were preparing to attack it. Captain Eyre anchored his ship as close as she could lie to the French batteries, and, finding the place quite untenable, sent in his boats, under the command of Lieutenants Astley and Hiat, and brought off the garrison, consisting of two officers and 85 men. The fire of the enemy upon our boats, though incessant, was disregarded; our loss was very trifling, compared with the honour and advantage of saving the brave garrison from certain butchery.

In consequence of the rapid movements of General Suchet, with 15,000 men, towards Valencia, Captain Eyre quitted Alicant, and hastened to the relief of General Blake. Murviedro, near the site of the ancient Saguntum, is a fortress, situated on the sea-coast, 12 miles from Valencia: it had stopped the progress of the enemy; but, on the 27th of October, was forced to surrender, after a very gallant defence. Blake, reinforced by 7,000 men, from the army of Murcia, had vainly endeavoured to raise the siege; he was defeated

with the loss of 2,000 men, and eight or nine pieces of cannon; and the consequence of this defeat was a summons from Suchet to the city of Valencia to surrender. Within this place, Blake and his army had retreated, and held out till early in the following year.

In the month of October, Captain the Honourable Henry Duncan, in the Impérieuse, of 44 guns, attacked three French gun-boats, each carrying one 18-pounder, and moored under a strong fort, near the town of Positana, in the gulf of Salerno. One of the gun-boats was immediately sunk by the fire of the frigate, which had silenced the fort; but, the enemy not being driven out, Captain Duncan ordered Mr. Eaton Travers, his first lieutenant, and Lieutenant Pipon, of the royal marines, to land and storm it, which they did, under a heavy fire of musketry, and against treble their numbers. The enemy fled, leaving 30 prisoners, and 50 stand of arms. The guns, which were 24-pounders, were spiked by our men, and thrown over the cliff, and the two remaining gun-vessels brought away.

In the following month, Captain Duncan, having received intelligence that a convoy of the enemy had taken shelter in Palineure, and having with him only the Thames, of 32 guns, applied to the general commanding at Messina, and obtained from him a detachment of 260 men, from the 69th regiment, commanded by Major Darley. On the 1st, this force, together with the marines and a party of seamen from each ship, was landed, the whole under the command of Captain Napier, of the Thames. They ascended the heights, in face of a heavy fire, and drove the enemy from his position; but the object of attack still remained. The gun-boats, the convoy, and the fort, could not be taken, unless the frigates could be brought into action; this was accomplished on the following morning, when, by favour of the sea-breeze, they ranged along the enemy's line, within musket-shot, sunk two of the gun-boats, took all the others, anchored close to the fort, and, after an action of 15 minutes, silenced it. Lieutenant Travers, watching the event on the heights, pushed down the hill as soon as he saw the ships engaged, and waited almost under the guns of the fort; he rushed in the moment the colours were struck, spiked the guns (24-pounders), and threw them into the sea, brought away the whole convoy, destroyed four gun-boats, and brought out six others; they mounted two long 18-pounders, and carried from 30 to 50 men.

The impression made upon the enemy's coast was not confined to the shores of Italy. The defence of Tariffa (already alluded to) forms another remarkable instance of the success-

ful union of British science and valour, during the conjoint naval and military operations in the Peninsular war.

Tariffa is a small town, situated on the sea-coast of Spain, in the straits of Gibraltar, and within the hearing of cannon from that fortress. It is commanded by the hills at the bottom of which it stands; and is defended only by a single wall, constructed before the invention of artillery, and, consequently, only intended as a defence against the spears and arrows of the Moors, or of similarly armed assailants.

On the 20th of December, 1811, a strong division of the French army, with between 200 and 300 cavalry, invested this place. Lieutenant-colonel Skerrit, who held the command of the small British force intrusted with its defence, immediately retreated within the walls; while the sea force, under Captain E. S. Dickson, in the Stately, occupied the dangerous, and in winter time the almost untenable, anchorage in front. He had with him a small squadron of sloops of war, gun-brigs, and gun-boats. A heavy gale of wind drove them for a time from the roadstead; and, during their absence, the French advanced their batteries to within musket-shot of the wall. Colonel Skerrit, assisted by Lieutenant-colonel Gough, of the 87th regiment, and that very able and distinguished engineer, Captain (now Sir Charles Francis) Smith, with very small means, repelled the attacks, drove back their advance, and finally defeated them with great slaughter. On the 29th of December, the French general opened his fire, within 300 yards, from four 16-pounders, four howitzers, and other smaller guns; with these he continued to batter in breach, and before night had effected a chasm of considerable width: on the three following days he continued his fire with equal success. Colonel Skerrit worked traverses in the streets, and, after three different assaults, the enemy was beaten, forced to break up his camp and retire, leaving his wounded and his artillery.

The cause of Spain was triumphant on the sea-coast, while Lord Wellington defeated the French in the interior. Figueras surrendered to the Spaniards on the 10th of April; and Captain Bullen, and the Honourable G. G. Waldegrave, in the Cambrian and Volontaire, took possession of St. Phillion and Palamos, on the 12th and 14th; the guns were embarked, and the batteries destroyed. The French were now driven from every place in Catalonia, except Barcelona, before which General Hilliers concentrated his forces, and commenced the memorable siege.

The French, watchful for the defence of the islands in the Adriatic, and the protection of the trade on the coasts of Illyria and Dalmatia, sent out squadrons of frigates and small vessels

to secure these objects. On the 15th of March, 1811, Captain William Hoste, in the Amphion, of 32 guns, having under his orders the Active, 38, Captain James Gordon; Cerberus, 32, Captain Henry Whitby; and Volage, 22, Captain Phipps Hornby, fell in with an enemy's squadron to windward, lying to off the north point of Lissa. The British squadron instantly prepared for battle, disregarding the superiority of the enemy, whose force consisted of five frigates, one corvette, one brig, two schooners, one gun-boat, and a xebec. This was a French and Italian squadron united. The French commodore, taking the command, bore up in two lines, and very properly led into action, intending to cut through the British, after the manner of Nelson at Trafalgar; the result proved, however, very different from the attacking force on that occasion. Here the assailants were French and Neapolitans, the receiving line British, well trained to their guns, cool and collected, not firing till perfectly certain of their mark, and ready, at a moment's warning, to perform any manœuvre which might be found expedient.

The particulars of this action are as well related by Captain Hoste as his squadron was ably conducted. "After an action of six hours," says this gallant officer, "we have completely defeated the combined French and Italian squadron. The enemy, formed in two divisions, bore down to attack us under all possible sail. The British line, led by the Amphion, was formed by signal in the closest order, on the starboard tack. At nine A. M. the action commenced by our firing on the headmost ships. The intention of the enemy appeared to be to break our line in two places; the starboard division, led by the commodore, bearing on the Amphion and Active; the larboard division on the Cerberus and Volage. In this attempt he failed (though almost on board of us), by the well directed fire and compact order of our line. He then endeavoured to round the van ship to engage to leeward, and thereby place us between two fires; but was so warmly received, and rendered so totally unmanageable, that he went on shore on the rocks of Lissa in the greatest possible confusion.

"The British line was then wore to renew the action, the Amphion not half a cable's length from the shore, the remainder of the enemy's starboard division passing under our stern, and engaging us to leeward, while the larboard division tacked, and remained to windward, engaging the Cerberus, Volage, and Active. The action now recommenced with great fury; his Majesty's ships frequently in a position which exposed them to a raking fire. At 20 minutes past 11 the Flora struck her colours; at 12 the Bellona followed her example:

the rest of the ships endeavouring to make off, pursued by the Active and Cerberus, who, at three P. M., compelled the sternmost frigate to surrender, when the action ceased, leaving us in possession of the Corona, of 44 guns, and the Bellona, of 32 guns. The French commodore, the Favorite, of 44 guns, on shore, blew up soon after." While Captain Hoste was taking possession of the Bellona, the Flora, after having struck her colours to prevent being sunk, made sail and escaped, the British ships having no boat to send to her. The French commodore, Monsieur Dubourdieu, was killed in the action. The squadron had sailed from Ancona on the 11th with 500 troops, and every thing necessary for garrisoning the island of Lissa. This was the scene of the last contests between Cæsar and Pompey.—See Commentaries, vol. ii.

The force of the enemy consisted of seven frigates, a corvette, a schooner, and a gun-boat, mounting 314 guns, manned with 2,976 men.

Our force consisted of four frigates, mounting 124 guns, and manned with 982 men, or about one-third of the number opposed to them. We had 50 killed and 150 wounded. The Flora, after having struck her colours, took advantage of the disabled state of our ships, made her escape, and got into Lepina. Captain Hoste demanded her, but the man who could strike his colours to save his life would feel no compunction at telling a lie to save his ship.*

Lieutenant Dickenson, of the Cerberus, and Lieutenant Campston, of the Active, of 38 guns, were directed by Captain H. Whitby, who commanded the Cerberus, to take the boats and attack a convoy of the enemy in the port of Otranto, on the coast of Italy. The fire of the enemy, and the difficulty of access to the fort, were unavailing. The marines mounted a precipice where the most certain destruction awaited the slightest deviation from the path; while the seamen in the boats drove the crews out of the vessels, and the soldiers from the beach—took out 10 sail of merchant-vessels, loaded with provisions, and an armed vessel intended for their protection, and burnt two large magazines full of naval and military stores.

On the evening of the 6th of March 25 sail of vessels sailed from Otranto, loaded with naval and ordnance stores, provisions, and troops, for the garrison of Corfu, and for fitting out gun-boats for the defence of that island. Twenty-two sail of these fell into the hands of Captain Eyre and his fortunate squadron.

* See more of this action, "Naval History," vol. iv. p. 549, first edition.

On the Cadiz station, in the month of May, Captain Price, of the Sabine sloop of war, captured with his boats three sail of French privateers, sunk another, and retook her prize. So determined was the resistance of the last privateer, that she did not surrender till run down by the Papillon, who saved the crew from drowning.

In the month of May Captain Robert Barrie, in La Pomone, of 44 guns, with the Unité, of 36, and the Scout brig, entered the bay of Sagona, in Corsica, whence the French had long been in the habit of procuring their masts and yards for ships of war. Three large ships were then lying there, moored within pistol-shot of the shore and batteries, all of them well manned, and mounting a sufficient number of guns to defend themselves. The heights under which they lay were also crowned with guns and troops. The squadron was towed in by the boats, until they came within range of the grape-shot. At six in the evening the action commenced, and lasted till half-past seven, when the enemy set their ships on fire and fled. The battery and a martello tower were silenced; and the fort destroyed, occasioned by the burning fragments from the ships falling on the magazine. Captain Barrie ascertained from a prisoner taken off the floating wreck that they were called La Nourrice, of 1,100 tons, Le Giraffe, of 900, and a merchant ship of 500 tons.

On the 10th of February, the Amethyst, of 38 guns, Captain Jacob Walton, was lost in Plymouth Sound in a gale of wind, which drove her on shore on the east side of that anchorage, now so well defended by the breakwater.

In the month of October, the Pomone frigate, of 44 guns, commanded by Captain R. Barrie, was lost in the Needles rocks, coming through that passage to Spithead. It was in consequence of the loss of this ship that an order was issued by the Admiralty, that his Majesty's ships should not in future attempt that passage in the night time.

Captain James Brisbane, in the Belle Poule, in company with the Alceste, of 38 guns, in the month of May chased a French brig of war, of 18 guns, into the small harbour of Palenza. The shallow water prevented the approach of the ships sufficiently near to fire on the forts or the brig with proper effect, although the frigates were frequently struck by the shot from the batteries. A landing was therefore decided on, and 200 seamen and all the marines, under the orders of Lieutenant John M'Curdy, first of the Belle Poule, took possession of a small island in the mouth of the harbour, and at 11 o'clock at night, while the ships lay at anchor, four miles off, with the most incredible labour erected a work which, before five o'clock

in the morning, served as a defence to the men, and was ready to fire on the brig, with two howitzers, two nine-pounders, and a field-piece. At daylight the enemy opened upon them from four different positions. The action lasted five hours, when, the brig being cut to pieces and sunk, the whole party retreated (with their guns) in good order to the boats, having had two men killed and six wounded.

The illiberal policy pursued by the Government of the United States of America tended to excite that ferment which it had been long predicted would end in war.

The Americans had submitted with a very ill grace to the unhappy affair of the Leopard and Chesapeake. The clamour against the act was particularly loud in the southern states. The city of Baltimore, the most violent, because the resort of all the malcontents from England and Ireland, sounded the war-whoop, with all the rage of implacable hatred. To cherish this angry feeling, the most unprincipled acts were resorted to; encouragement was held out to the masters of merchant-ships to report on all occasions, in the most unfavourable manner, every transaction between them and a British vessel of war. Numerous instances might here be cited of gross and unblushing falsehood advanced by these men. I shall not attempt to detain the reader with a refutation of the affidavits of American seamen, made before American justices of the peace, against the captains of British ships of war, convinced as I am that no respectable person ever gave credit to them; but I must offer one instance of unparalleled treachery.

In the year 1807, the Spartan, cruising off Naples, boarded and examined an American ship. The master and supercargo both expressed their thanks personally to Captain Brenton for the kindness, attention, and "*delicacy*" they had experienced from the boarding officer. The ships parted, but met again in a few days, when the captain of the frigate, desiring to know what had kept the American so long upon the coast, sent for his log-book, in which (referring to the period of her first examination) he found the most rancorous and unfounded charges against the very officer whose humanity and forbearance they had before extolled. The master and supercargo were summoned to answer for these falsehoods, calculated, and no doubt intended, to sow dissension between the two nations. They were at first speechless, and at length joined in throwing the blame on the mate, who wrote the log. The mate was not present to vindicate himself. This is quite on a par with the alleged murder of John Pearce, who probably never had any existence; of their denial that the deserters were on board the Chesapeake, where they were found; and of their boast of the

Acasta running away from the Essex, of which she was in search. Could we spare the time, we might, on the other hand, display many flagrant instances of cruelty and fraud practised by Napoleon against his crouching friends. The case of the Horison alone was ten times worse than any in which the navy of England was concerned; and would, if committed by us, have produced immediate, and indeed justifiable war. But every effort of Great Britain towards conciliation was treated with scorn, while every injury heaped upon the Americans by Napoleon was received with such fawning and smiles, as seemed to court a repetition.

The attacks on the Little Belt and the Belvidera by Commodore Rogers in 1811-12 are lasting memorials of the undecided and unmanly conduct of the President of the United States, and the commander-in-chief of his navy.

Fully participating in the feelings and sentiments of Mr. Madison, as well as in the prejudices of his countrymen, Commodore Rogers was sent to sea in the President frigate, to avenge the death of the seamen on board the Chesapeake; but with directions to endeavour to make it appear, that whatever ship he might attack should be the aggressor. The ostensible motive was to reclaim a seaman impressed out of an American vessel by Captain Pechell, of the Guerrière.

The President was the largest ship in the American navy. She mounted 36 twenty-four pounders on her main-deck, 20 forty-two pound carronades, and 4 long twenty-four pounders on her quarter-deck and forecastle, manned with 476 prime seamen. With this ship it was the misfortune of Captain Bingham, in the Little Belt (a sloop of war, mounting only 16 thirty-two pound carronades, and two long nines), to fall in and to be brought to action on the 16th of May, 1811. The ships came in sight of each other at 11 A. M., and at one o'clock Captain Bingham discovered the stranger to be a ship of war, and made the private signal, which was not answered; but as he plainly saw the stranger was an American, and was coming fast up with him, and as he was desirous of avoiding any mistake which might occur after dark, he very properly brought to, hoisted his colours, double-shotted his guns, to prevent surprise, and prepared for action. By his manner of steering, it seemed to be the wish of the American to rake the Little Belt, which Captain Bingham frustrated by wearing three times. At a quarter past eight the President came within hail, and Captain Bingham demanded the name of the ship without receiving a reply; the same question was then very improperly put by the commodore; who, no doubt, had supposed that an avowal of his name would produce an explanation, which might defeat

his fixed purpose of revenge; and, therefore, without taking any trouble to ascertain the cause of the delay or refusal on the part of the British captain to answer, he discharged a broadside into the Little Belt. This was received as it should have been. Captain Bingham returned the fire with spirit, and continued it for three-quarters of an hour, when the American frigate discontinued the action, appearing to be on fire. The Little Belt ceased firing when her guns could no longer be brought to bear, and was left a wreck, with nine men killed, and 23 wounded, more than one-fourth of her complement. The American hailed to know what ship it was, and, being told it was the British sloop of war, Little Belt, he inquired "if she had struck her colours." To this he received a firm and indignant negative from Captain Bingham, who at the same time demanded the name of his opponent. He was informed, it was "a United States' frigate." Convinced that the vessel which he had thus basely and cruelly attacked belonged to Great Britain, and although he was assured she had not surrendered, the commodore neither brought the action to a conclusion by demanding and enforcing submission, nor did he make the offer of that assistance which, as a man and a Christian, he was bound to afford to his fellow-creatures, and above all to brother seamen reduced to distress by his unmanly act: he made sail, and left the Little Belt to her fate. At daylight he again approached, prepared for action, and at eight o'clock hailed, and *asked permission* to send a boat on board, which being granted, an officer came from Commodore Rogers, of the United States' frigate President, to say, that he (the commodore) lamented much the unfortunate affair, and, had he known the force of the British vessel was so inferior to his own, he should not have fired at her. Captain Bingham asked his motives for firing at all; and was told that the Little Belt fired first. This was proved not to have been the fact; nor was it likely that Captain Bingham, sailing under the most positive orders to abstain from any act of aggression against America, should have been so far lost to every sense of propriety, as not only to disobey his orders, but attack a ship more than four times his force. The commodore then made every offer of assistance, and entreated Captain Bingham to put into the nearest American port; but these offers and invitations were both very properly declined. The Little Belt went to Halifax, where a court of inquiry decided that the conduct of Captain Bingham had been judicious and honourable, and he was in consequence advanced to the rank of post-captain.

If there be any part of this transaction which we may be permitted to regret, it is that Captain Bingham did not give the

name of his ship when demanded. The refusal of Commodore Rogers, to whom the question was first put, was not an example which a British captain could justly plead in excuse. If, however, a shadow of blame does attach to Captain Bingham for this omission, what shall we say in favour of Commodore Rogers, who, not being a belligerent, could have had no motive either for concealing the name of his ship, or firing into one of whose nation or intentions, according to his own showing, he was ignorant? That he would not have fired at all had he known the force of the British vessel, was a proof of professional incapacity at least, to say no worse of it. He showed just folly enough to begin an affray without spirit enough to see it out; and thus, after having wantonly murdered and maimed 32 of her men, he neither subdued her as an enemy nor relieved her as a friend. Nothing could be more clear and distinct than the orders of the British officers on the American station. They were, if anything, too mild and forbearing. But they prove that Great Britain was willing to make any reasonable sacrifice rather than provoke a new war: and while she was struggling for the liberties of Europe, Mr. Madison chose that crisis to attack her. Had we really been the aggressors, this consideration alone should have withheld the hostility of a more generous enemy.

As soon as the news of this event reached England, it was thought necessary to reinforce the squadron of Vice-admiral Sawyer, who at that time commanded on the Halifax station; and in the month of September the following ships of war were at Halifax, or Bermuda, or cruising on the coast. This force, we must observe, was fully equal to that of the United States, who had not at that time any ship of the line.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Men.*	*Commanders.*
Africa	64	..	Vice-admiral Herbert Sawyer. Captain J. Bastard.
Shannon	38	284	Philip Bowes V. Broke.
Guerrière	38	284	James Richard Dacres.
Spartan	38	284	Edward Pelham Brenton.
Belvidera	36	264	Richard Byron.
Æolus	32	254	Lord James Townshend.
Tartarus	20	125	John Pasco.
Sloops of War.			
Indian	20	125	Henry Jane.
Atalante	20	125	Frederick Hickey.
Rattler	18	121	Alexander Gordon.
Julia	18	121	Honourable V. Gardner.
Sapphire	18	121	Henry Haines.

It is now evident that the "taste of blood" given to the seamen of the President was meant to be a prelude to that war of which, however, America had great reason to repent; although she, no doubt, met with some success, in the capture of a few of our ships of war, and many of our merchantmen.

By an order in council, dated the 5th of October, the Cape of Good Hope was restricted in its commercial intercourse. Nations not at war with us had been usually indulged with liberty of trading there, but they were thenceforth forbidden, and the trade was confined to British vessels only.

We now return to the Isle of France, and the neighbourhood of Madagascar. A squadron of three French frigates, well commanded, manned, and equipped, with as many troops as they could carry, had sailed from Europe early in the year, with the view of relieving the French settlements at the Mauritius; but they were too late. Arriving off the Isle of France on the 7th of May, they found it in our possession; and, though prepared in a great measure for such an event, they must have been miserably straitened for want of water. In search of this article, and to refresh his people, the French commodore, Monsieur Roquebert, bore away for Madagascar. Off Foul Point, at the south end of that island, he was met on the 20th by Captain C. M. Schomberg, in the Astrea, of 36 guns, having under his orders the Phœbe, of 36 guns, Captain Hillyar; Galatea, 32, Captain Woodley Losack; and Racehorse sloop, of 18 guns, Captain De Rippe. The ships, owing to light and baffling airs, did not get into action till four P. M. The Galatea and Phœbe suffered much, particularly the former, from the accidental position of the enemy. One of their ships lay on the larboard quarter of the Phœbe, and abreast of the Galatea, which was astern of the Phœbe; the other two were placed on each quarter of the Galatea. The fight was maintained until the Astrea caught the breeze, when she came into action. By this time the Galatea was so much cut up as to be perfectly unmanageable; her fore and mizen-topmast fell over the side, she could not wear, and with her the action ceased, after having lasted four hours. Captain Schomberg, supported by the Phœbe, followed up the advantage they had gained, and very soon forced the French commodore to surrender. A second frigate came to his relief, and, after a few broadsides from the British ships, hung out a light, and ceased firing, in token of submission; but perceiving the disabled state of the Galatea, and that the other English ships were prevented from immediately following him, the French captain made sail, and escaped. He was chased by the Astrea and Phœbe till two in the morning, when Captain Schomberg, considering that the

Galatea had made the signal for, and required assistance, and that the ship they had taken (having only put two officers and five men on board her) might escape, returned and secured his prize, which proved to be La Renommée, of 44 guns, 18-pounders, commanded by Monsieur Roquebert. She had 470 men, of whom 200 were picked troops. The numbers killed of her crew we had not the means of ascertaining. Her consorts were La Clorinde and La Nereide, both of the same force. They had sailed from Brest on the night of the 2d of February.

The Galatea had 78 shots in her hull, many of them under water; every rope was cut away; and, though short of her complement when she began the action, she had more men killed and wounded than all the other British ships put together.

	Killed.	*Wounded.*		*Killed.*	*Wounded.*
Astrea . . .	2 ..	16	Phœbe . . .	6 ..	25
Galatea . .	16 ..	45	Racehorse .	0 ..	0

Captain Schomberg, having made good the damages which his squadron had sustained, despatched Captain De Rippe, in the Racehorse, to summon the settlement of Tamatave, on the east side of Madagascar, formerly British, but then recently taken by the French. On his arrival off the port he found in it La Nereide, which the squadron had engaged; he therefore returned, and on the 24th of May rejoined Captain Schomberg, who proceeded with the Astrea, Phœbe, and Racehorse, off the port, which he reached on the following day, and found the enemy prepared for defence. The shoals with which the port is surrounded being numerous and intricate, and having no one on board capable of acting as pilot, he very prudently and properly summoned the ship and garrison to surrender; and, by granting to the enemy the most liberal terms in his power, his demand was complied with. The frigate and garrison were given up to his disposal, together with the detachment of the 22d regiment which had been the garrison of the place previously to its capture. Captain Schomberg having taken two out of the three frigates which his squadron had engaged, and retaken a British settlement, returned to the Isle of France. The captain of the Clorinde, on his return to France, was dismissed from the service and degraded.

Vice-admiral William O'Brien Drury, who had held the command in the East Indies, expired at Madras on the 6th of March, when preparing to accompany the expedition for the reduction of the island of Java. He was succeeded in the command of the squadron by Captain William R. Broughton, who, agreeably to the rules of the service, hoisted a broad pen-

dant, and the expedition sailed for the object of attack to which it had been destined.

Vice-admiral the Honourable Robert Stopford had sailed in October, 1810, from Plymouth, in the Scipion, of 74 guns, to take the command on the Cape of Good Hope station, and to relieve Vice-admiral Bertie. Soon after his arrival at the Cape, he learned that the island of Java was going to be attacked by our forces, and that Vice-admiral Drury was dead; he in consequence pushed away for that island, and was in time to be present at the capture.*

Lord Minto, the governor-general of India, having given directions to prepare a military force for the conquest of this island, the command was intrusted to Lieutenant-general Sir Samuel Achmuty. The expedition assembled in Madras roads; and the first division of troops, commanded by Colonel Robert Rollo Gillespie, sailed thence on the 18th of April, under convoy of Captain Cole, in the Caroline. The second division followed in a week after, under the command of Major-general Wetherall, and conducted by Captain Fleetwood Pellew, in the Phaëton. On the day after the sailing a hurricane drove on shore the Dover, of 44 guns, and every other vessel that had remained with her in Madras roads. Those divisions, however, providentially escaped with a slight brush of the gale. On the 18th of May the expedition reached the harbour of Pulo Penang, in Prince of Wales' Island. Lieutenant-general Achmuty had arrived in the Acbar frigate on the 13th, and sailed for Malacca on the 20th. Lord Minto had touched at Penang, on his way to Malacca, in the Modeste frigate, commanded by his son, the Honourable Captain G. Elliot. On the 21st of May the second division arrived at Penang. On the 24th the whole fleet sailed for Malacca, where they arrived on the 1st of June. Here they found that the Bengal division of troops under the protection of Captain H. F. Edgell, in the Cornelia, had arrived six weeks before, and was encamped along the shores. The governor-general, commander-in-chief, and Commodore Broughton, in the Illustrious, were also here. One of the transports, laden with gunpowder, took fire; and when no hope remained of saving the ship, the crew were taken out, and she blew up without doing any other damage. Lord Minto, soon after his arrival, caused all the instruments of torture, which had been used by the Dutch in their oppressive and cruel government, to be publicly burnt.

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* An elaborate and authentic account of the capture of Java has been written by Major William Thorn, Deputy Quarter-master-general of the forces serving in Java. 4to. Robert Wilkes.

The possession of Malacca has been found of vast importance to our Indian and China trade. The straits are only 16 miles wide, and the best channel of intercourse between the Bay of Bengal, the China seas, and the eastern Archipelago. The straits of Sunda, between Java and Sumatra, were chiefly resorted to by ships coming from the Cape of Good Hope. The route pursued by the united forces, led by Commodore Broughton, was through the straits of Sincapore, between the south end of the peninsula of Malacca and the small islands lying contiguous to it, of which Pulo Bantang is the chief. Taking his departure from Pulo Bantang, the commodore steered for the west coast of Borneo. Passing the island of Timbalan, the fleet came to a cluster called the High Islands. These form, between the west coast of Borneo and the east coast of Sumatra, a very extensive archipelago. The names of the islands, and their position, have not been accurately described by modern geographers; nor has Major Thorn favoured us with any description whereby we might know at which of them it was that the fleet found a plentiful supply of fresh water, hogs, moose-deer, and monkeys, but no human inhabitants. The fleet, it appears, was in imminent danger, from a sudden squall of wind and rain, which drove the transports into shoal waters, where *many of them struck the ground in* a heavy sea, but the bottom being soft mud, they received no damage.

The following is a list of the ships of war, and their captains, employed in this celebrated expedition :—

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Scipion . .	74	Rear-admiral the Hon. R. Stopford. Captain J. Johnston. (This ship joined at Batavia.)
Illustrious	74	Commodore W. Broughton. Capt. Festing.
Minden .	74	Captain Hoare.
Lion . . .	64	Captain (now Sir Henry) Heathcote.

Frigates.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*	*Ships.*	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Acbar . .	38	Capt. Drury.	Hussar .	38	Capt. Crawford.
Doris . . .	36	Lye.	Drake. .	38	Harris.
Nisus . . .	38	Beaver.	Phaëton .	38	Fleetwood Pellew.
President .	38	Warren.	Leda . .	36	G. Sayer.
Bucephalus	32	Pelly	Caroline .	36	C. Cole.
Phœbe . .	36	Hillyar.	Cornelia .	36	H. F. Edgell.
Modeste .	36	Hon. G. Elliot	Psyche .	36	John Edgecumbe

Sloops of War.

Barracouta	18	Owen.	Samarang	16	Drury.
Hesper . .	18	Reynolds.	Harpy .	18	Bain.
Hecate . .	18	Peachy.	Procris .	18	Maunsell.
Dasher . .	18	Kelly.			

Honourable Company's Cruisers.

Ships.	*Commanders.*	*Ships.*	*Commanders.*
Malabar . .	Commodore Hayes. Captain Mansfield.	Vestal . .	Hull.
		Ariel . .	M'Donald.
Aurora . . .	Watkins.	Thetis . .	Phillips.
Mornington .	Pearce.	Psyche.	
Nautilus . .	Walker.		

With 57 transports, and some gun-boats,—the fleet amounting to 100 sail.

The expedition came to an anchor in the bay of Batavia, at two P. M. on Sunday, the 4th of August, 1811, and the landing was effected on the same day at the village of Chillingching, 10 miles to the eastward of the city of Batavia, a spot which the enemy had left entirely unguarded.

The care of this important island had been secretly intrusted by Bonaparte to General Jansens, the Dutch general Daendels not being supposed sufficiently well affected to the cause to keep out the English. The city of Batavia was abandoned by the French and Dutch troops, and most of the respectable inhabitants, the moment our army landed. The pipes which conveyed fresh water to the town were cut off; the bridge over the river Anjol was destroyed; and the store-houses, containing a rich collection of spices, were set on fire. Some of these our troops saved from destruction. By the ready assistance and resources of the navy, a body of troops under Colonel Gillespie was sent across the river, and entered the city. The enemy retreated to Weltervreede, a strong position, which was attacked by the Colonel on the 10th, and carried in grand style, the enemy losing near 500 men. Driven from this position, General Jansens next made a stand on the heights of Cornelis, strongly fortified and defended by the united force of his whole army, which was supposed to consist of nearly 20,000 men, French and Dutch, commanded by officers of distinguished character in the estimation of Napoleon, an unrivalled judge of military merit. Cannon was brought up by the seamen; and batteries, formed of 20 18-pounders and eight mortars, kept them in constant occupation for two days, when the fire of the enemy, at first much greater than ours, became gradually fainter, and, at dawn of day on the 26th of August, the assault was made, the principal attack being led by that distinguished and lamented hero, Colonel Gillespie, supported by Colonels Gibbs and M'Leod, officers of not less conspicuous merit. Major-general Wetherall commanded the reserve, and remained in the batteries. Colonel Gillespie, having made a circuitous route, through an intricate country,

came suddenly on the enemy's advance, routed them, and took a strong redoubt; next, under a heavy fire of grape and musketry, he passed a bridge of great importance to these operations, and carried with the bayonet the redoubt No. 4, after an obstinate resistance. Here Colonel Gibbs separated, and turning to the right, carried the redoubt No. 1, in front of the enemy. At this moment a heavy explosion, whether by design or accident is not known, destroyed a number of gallant British officers and men. Colonel M'Leod carried the redoubt No. 2, took a park of artillery, and dispersed the enemy's cavalry, which had formed for its defence; but that excellent officer fell in the moment of victory. The enemy's front being thus laid open, the whole army rushed in; the carnage became general, and the battle decisive. The seamen from the batteries, and a body of Sepoys under the command of Captain Sayer, of the Leda, drove the enemy from the field. The cavalry, under Colonel Gillespie and Major Trevers, and the horse artillery under Captain Noble, joined in the pursuit, until the whole of the hostile army was either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. One hundred and thirty pieces of brass and iron cannon and mortars were taken at Cornelis, and 613 in the citadel and different forts, with shot, shells, and ammunition in proportion. The number of prisoners amounted to upwards of 1,700.

In the capture of this immense island, the principal labour fell on the army, as the more powerful body, but the navy had its share of the danger and exertion. The royal marines of the squadron, commanded by their own officers, were landed, and served with the army.

The numbers in the army killed in the two actions, amounted to 140; and the wounded to 732. Of seamen, 14 were killed; six officers, and 49 wounded.

Immediately after the decisive action of the 26th of August, and the capture of Fort Cornelis, a summons was sent to General Jansens, to surrender the island of Java to the British forces. This was rejected, and preparations were immediately made for sending a force against Sourbaya, the place of second importance on the island. This force was under the direction of Commodore Broughton. Another body of troops was detached to Cheribon, and the frigates Nisus, President and Phœbe were sent on that service.

Commodore Broughton sailed on the 4th of September for Greisse and Sourbaya, having under his orders the Illustrious, Minden, Lion, and Leda. He was accompanied by transports, containing a body of Sepoys, and ordnance stores, for

the reduction of the remaining settlements of the enemy on the island of Java.

Lord Minto, the Governor-general of India, had, after the surrender of Batavia, taken up his residence at that place, and Rear-admiral Stopford, at his lordship's request, had consented to remain until the complete subjection of the island. This was shortly accomplished. Captain P. Beaver, of the Nisus, took possession of Cheribon. Captain Warren, of the President, who conveyed the summons, hauled down the French, and hoisted with his own hand the British flag on the fort, and with his gig's crew took prisoner the French General Jumelle, who had just arrived, and was in the act of changing horses to proceed to the eastward. Captain Hillyar, of the Phœbe, took possession of Taggall.

Lieutenant-general Sir Samuel Achmuty sailed on the 5th, n the Modeste, and the rear-admiral himself on the following lay, having with him, on board the Scipion, two companies of rtillery and four field-pieces: with the troops embarked on oard the ships of war, assisted by the seamen and marines, he oped to effect the reduction of the other settlements before he transports could arrive, and thus avoid the delay occasioned y the bad sailing of these vessels. We have no instance of an nterprise of this magnitude being conducted with more public pirit and unanimity between the army and navy.

On the 9th, the rear-admiral anchored off Samarang, and vas joined on the 18th by Commodore Broughton, with the hips and some transports under his orders. The rear-admiral nd the general summoned the place to surrender, but, the de- nand being refused, they proceeded to attack and destroy the un-boats. This service was executed by Captain Maunsell, hen acting in the Illustrious, under the broad pendant of Commodore Broughton. On the 12th the town of Samarang vas entered without opposition, the enemy having retired to a trong position seven miles from it. Our troops at this place mounted to 1,500 men. The rear-admiral, being convinced hat the French would retire upon Sourbaya, hastened thither vith the Scipion, Lion, Nisus, President, Phœbe, and Harpy, nd directed all other vessels within his reach to meet him. On the 18th, Captain Harris, of the Sir Francis Drake, joined he admiral, and informed him that the island of Madura, and he settlement of Sumanap, had surrendered. Captain Harris vas now directed by the admiral to take command of the roops which were landed on the 19th, and proceed to Greisse, f which place he took possession on the 28th. Captain Har- is next went with his little army to Sourbaya, which he took;

and intelligence reached the admiral that all the strong places in the island of Java had capitulated to his Majesty's arms. Fort Ludowick, at Sourbaya, the admiral found in excellent order, with 98 pieces of cannon, chiefly brass.

The capture of the principal forts in the island having been effected by the joint operations of the army and navy, Jansens, the Captain-general, surrendered with his whole army, and the conquest of the island of Java was complete.

In his despatches to the secretary of state, Lord Minto says, "An empire which for two centuries has contributed greatly to the power, prosperity, and grandeur of one of the principal and most respected states of Europe, has been thus wrested from the short usurpation of the French government, and added to the British crown." Here ended the conquest of islands. The enemy had no more to lose east of the Cape of Good Hope. Had Napoleon achieved these conquests, he would have made his enemies "forget the way to India." This has never been our policy. The Dutch came unwillingly into the last war, and the colony of Java, which had been wrested from them by France, Great Britain had the generosity to restore.

The capture of the island of Madura, by the British frigates Sir Francis Drake and Phaëton, forms an interesting episode to the conquest of Java. This island, about 70 miles long, lies contiguous to Java, at its eastern end. It was governed by a sultan, who, like all eastern princes, was an absolute monarch. The French and Dutch had landed a few officers, and, having hoisted the French flag, considered it a colony of their own.

Captain George Harris, a mere youth, having two frigates, of 38 guns, under his command, assembled a small force, consisting of the marines and small-arm men of the frigates; and with the boats, himself and Captain (now Sir) Fleetwood Pellew, completely drove the French out of the island, turned the sentiments of the Sultan and his people against them, and rendered Madura a dependency of Java.

Captain Harris had sent the Dasher, sloop of war, round the south end of Pulo J'Langing, to gain an anchorage as near the fort of Sumanap as possible. On the night of the 29th of August the boats, in two divisions, led by the captains of the respective frigates, put off, and sailing through the channel, formed by the east end of Madura and Pulo J'Langing, landed at midnight three miles from the fort without being discovered; and at half-past one the two columns, consisting of no more than 80 men, with two 12, two 4, and two 2-pounders, began their march in such perfect order and silence, that they entered the outer gate of the fort without being perceived. This gate

had been, with unaccountable negligence or treachery, left open. The party next made a rush at the inner gate, which they carried, though defended by guns, and 400 Madura pikemen, who were all made prisoners; and by half-past three o'clock the English possessed the fort. At daylight, French colours still flying on the east end of the town, Captain Harris sent his second in command, Captain Pellew, to demand an immediate surrender. This officer was supported by 100 men and one field-piece (the party having been reinforced from the ships). The governor returned an insulting answer, and prepared to defend himself with 2,000 men. Captain Pellew retained his ground against this immense superiority, despatching a young officer to Captain Harris, to acquaint him with the state of affairs.

Captain Harris ordered his colleague to advance, while he moved out of the port and threatened the left wing of the enemy, whose force and attention, by this judicious manœuvre, became divided. The British heroes made a simultaneous attack, which was resisted by the enemy for about five minutes, when they gave way, and were completely routed. The French governor was taken prisoner, and the Rajah of Sumanap, who was present, was so delighted and awed by the valour of the English, that he forbade his subjects to arm any more against them. The force opposed to the two captains, and their marines and seamen, was such as to give us a very contemptible idea of the prowess of our enemies. They had 300 European infantry, 60 artillerymen, and 2,000 Madura pikemen. The fort was a regular fortification, mounting 16 6-pounders.

Lieutenant Rook, of the royal marines of the Sir Francis Drake, was twice speared by the native troops while wresting the colours from the hands of a French officer, who was killed in the contest. The whole island of Madura was immediately subdued; and Captain Harris assured the admiral that every Frenchman and Dutchman was made prisoner, and conveyed on board the Sir Francis Drake. The governor-general returned to Calcutta. Rear-admiral Stopford having appointed John Brenton, Esq. (his secretary), and Thomas Wallis, Esq. (purser of the Illustrious), agents for the navy, two officers being also appointed by Sir Samuel Achmuty on the part of the army, the rear-admiral gave them charge of the property taken, and set sail for the Cape of Good Hope, leaving Commodore Broughton with the temporary command in India until the arrival of Sir Samuel Hood. The property taken in the island of Java netted to the captors nearly £1,000,000 sterling, which was paid to them within the space of five years.

Captain Edward Wallis Hoare, of the Minden, of 74 guns,

had landed a small body of seamen and marines at Point St. Nicholas, in the island of Java, for the purpose of procuring supplies for the use of the squadron. This party was attacked by a very superior force of the enemy, who approached within a few yards of them. After contending for a quarter of an hour the enemy fled. During the action Captain Hoare joined his men with a reinforcement, making about 200 in all. A second time assailed, the English reserved their fire until the enemy came within 15 paces, when a very spirited contest was quickly decided; the French running in every direction, leaving 44 of their men killed, among whom were many officers, and taking away with them a great number wounded. Our loss was 10 men killed and 23 wounded. The force of the enemy consisted of more than 500 European and native troops.

Lieutenant (now Captain) Edmund Lyons, of the Minden, with the launch and cutter of that ship, carrying no more than 34 seamen and marines, stormed the Dutch fort of Marrack, on the coast of Java, mounting 54 guns, and having a garrison of 180 soldiers. This desperate service was undertaken contrary to the orders of Captain Hoare, who was obliged to call on Lieutenant Lyons to account for his conduct. We find a disciplined body of men, prepared with walls, cannon, and every species of offensive weapon, defeated and dispossessed of a strong fort by one sixth part of the number. Mr. Lyons, in his modest defence, says, "Being convinced the enemy did not expect an attack, and that they had no suspicion of a British army being in Java, we thought the surprise of Marrack might draw their forces towards that quarter, and operate as a favourable diversion for our troops." Having made his arrangements during the day, he placed his boats at sunset behind a point which concealed them from the enemy's sentinels: at half-past 12 at night he rowed in to the attack, and was received with a volley of musketry. Seeing there was no hope of surprising them, he boldly ran his two boats on the beach in a heavy surf, under the embrasures of the lower tier of guns, placed his scaling ladders, mounted the walls, killed three men in the very act of applying matches to their guns, and in an instant was master of the lower battery. Without giving the enemy time to recover, he re-formed his men, placed the ladders again to the upper fort, reached the summit, and found the Dutch drawn up to receive him. They stood the first volley from the English, but on Lyons calling out that he had 400 men with him, and would give no quarter, the enemy fled. At one o'clock a third battery and two gun-boats opened their fire on this adventurous officer and his little party; but they returned it with some of the guns they had just taken, while his men

were busily employed in spiking and disabling the others. By dawn of day, having nearly completed the destruction of the whole, he retreated to his boats, and found his launch had beat so high up on the beach with the force of the surf as to leave no hope of getting her afloat; he was therefore compelled to embark all his party in a six-oared cutter. At sunrise, the enemy, from their walls, beheld the small force by which, during the night, they had been invaded and disgracefully beaten, return to their ship.

Captain Harris, in the Sir Francis Drake, off Rembang, in the month of May, 1811, fell in with nine sail of felucca-rigged gun-boats, and five proas, armed in the same manner. Five of these vessels he captured by his own guns. Shoal water prevented his ship approaching the others; but, despatching his boats, under the command of Lieutenant Bradley, the whole were taken before eight o'clock in the morning, without the loss of an Englishman. Numbers of the enemy jumped overboard and were drowned; others were killed in boarding; many were upset in their small boats, with which they attempted to gain the shore; nor could the British officers and men, with every endeavour, succeed in saving many of these victims to their own base fears. These boats were all quite new: they were 80 feet long, 17 wide, pulled 60 oars, and were fitted to carry an 8-inch howitzer abaft, and 24-pound carronade forward. Only one of them had her guns in, the others were either thrown overboard in the chase, or had not been put on board. Captain Harris was under the necessity of burning the whole of them except one, which he reserved for a despatch boat. It is remarkable that these vessels were all under French colours, commanded by French officers, with crews partly of that nation and partly natives. The numbers on board of each were generally from 20 to 30 men, not having their full complements.

Captain Robert Maunsell, in the Procris, sloop of war, in the same month, defeated a similar force at the mouth of Indromay river, where six gun-boats, having under their convoy 40 or 50 sail of proas, had come to an anchor. The sloop not having water enough to approach them, Captain Maunsell took his boat and two flat-boats, with an officer and a party of 22 men each, from the 14th and 89th regiments. Five of the gun-boats he boarded and carried; the sixth blew up before the assailants reached her. The crews, after throwing their spears into the boats of the Procris, jumped overboard and swam away: the convoy escaped up the river. These boats carried one brass 32-pound carronade forward, and one 18-pounder aft: their complement of men 60 each. The British had 11 men wounded; the loss of the enemy was never known.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1. *Baltic, &c.*—Wise and temperate policy of Sir James Saumarez—Its effects on the Northern powers—Peace between Russia and England—Union of forces at Riga—Successful enterprise of Captain J. P. Stewart—Other actions in the Baltic—Defeat of the Boulogne flotilla by Captains Harvey and Trollope—British and Russian gun-boats on the Aa take possession of Mittau—Dreadful state of the French army in Russia—Russians reach the banks of the Elbe—Melancholy fate of Lieutenant Gamage.
2. *Channel, &c.*—Loss of the Laurel—Death of Admiral Sir Charles Cotton—Lord Keith succeeds to command the Channel fleet—Captain Hotham destroys two frigates and a brig off L'Orient—Eruption from the sea at St. Michael's—Successes and events on the north coast of Spain.
3. *Mediterranean, &c.*—Suchet at Valencia—Siege of Tariffa—Successes of Lord Wellington—Affair of Petro Nera—Captain Thomas off Marseilles—Discovery of fresh water off the mouth of the Rhone—The Eagle captures La Corcyre; the Active and Alceste, La Pomone—Unité captures La Persanne—Blockade of Tarragona—Affairs in the Adriatic—Capture of the Rivoli by the Victorious—Captain Usher attacks and destroys Almunecar—Successes in the Adriatic under Commodore Rowley.
4. Meeting of Parliament—Disputes with America—Message of the President to the Congress indicates war, which is declared in June by the United States against England—Charge of supineness brought against the British navy, refuted—Repeal of the Berlin and Milan decrees, and in consequence of this, of the orders in council—Commodore Rogers attacks the Belvidera—Gallant defence of Captain Byron—Retreat and extraordinary proceedings of the Commodore—Prudence and caution of Vice-admiral Sawyer—West India convoy protected by Captain Broke—Action between the Guerrière and Constitution—Remarks—Captures made by our cruisers—Arrival of Sir John Warren to take the chief command in America—Capture of the Frolic and the Macedonian by the Wasp and United States—Bloody and determined action between the Java and Constitution—Death of Captain Lambert—The Java taken and burned by the enemy—Observations.

THE Baltic fleet had been again detained this year unusually long on these seas, in consequence of the political and commercial relations between ourselves and Sweden. To the superior management of Sir James Saumarez we owe it, that that power was not added to the number of our enemies. Sir James, whose flag in the Victory was flying in the capacious harbour of Wingo Sound, had received the unfortunate Gustavus with kindness and hospitality; and after the abdication of that mo-

narch, had, by his firm but amiable and conciliating conduct, preserved a good understanding with the court of Stockholm. The admiral conducted the negotiations with so much skill and forbearance that Sweden, after her declaration of war, not only remained tranquil, suffering our convoys and our fleets to collect in her ports, but finally came into the cause of the allies, and shared in the glory of restoring peace to Europe. A letter was written to Sir James by the Crown Prince himself, who, it must be remembered, had been a French general, and the friend of Napoleon; with it was sent an elegant sword, the gift of the new King of Sweden.

Another letter, couched in still stronger terms, was addressed to the admiral by a nobleman holding a high confidential situation at the same court, but whose name I am not at liberty to reveal. He says:—

"At length rejoice, my dear admiral! you have been the guardian angel of my country; you have been, by your wise, your premeditated, and loyal conduct, the first cause of the plans which have been formed against the demon of the Continent. He was on the point of succeeding; folly and want of confidence in some, have made them doubt the success of the good cause; you have shared my anxiety; but now all is over. Two couriers have arrived this night from the head-quarters of the Emperor, and the Prince Royal. War was declared on the 17th of July: Austria is with us. Thus, if Providence has not decided something against all probability, Bonaparte will be defeated, humanity may breathe again, and Europe be once more raised up. With Wellingtons, Moreaus, Bernadottes, against him, what hopes! and what reasons to depress our enemies! I shall not fail to communicate to you the first news of any importance; for once more I must tell you, that you are the first cause that Russia has dared to make war against France: *had you fired one shot when we declared war against England*, all had been ended, and Europe had been enslaved. I own to you, also, my satisfaction, that our august Prince Royal has conducted himself in such a manner as to leave your Excellency no cause to repent of that which some people were pleased to call 'credulity,' but which events have proved to be wisdom."

At this fortunate juncture the eyes of Europe, and of Russia in particular, began to be opened to the real consequences of the policy of Napoleon. The Emperor Alexander saw to what his vast extension of power would reduce the kingdoms of the continent; for, although the ostensible motives of France were a maritime peace, and the humiliation of the British flag, no one could doubt that continental empire was the secret object of the adventurer who had placed himself on the throne of the Capets. Fortunately for the happiness of mankind the Em-

peror Alexander listened to the voice of reason; the British ministers induced his majesty to sign a peace with Great Britain at Orebo, on the 18th of July, 1812; and on the 11th of August the *London Gazette* revoked the order of reprisals against Russia, which had been in force since December, 1807. These great events revived the drooping hopes of those who began to consider the power of Napoleon as too firmly fixed ever to be shaken.

The Spaniards, notwithstanding the liberal assistance which they had received from England, would probably have been reduced to submit to the government of Bonaparte, had not this formidable enemy risen up in the North. The destruction of the French army in Russia was an interposition of Providence not less miraculous than in the case of the blasphemous Sennacherib. From the moment the peace was signed with England, the affairs of France went rapidly into confusion. To the double project of invading Spain and Russia Napoleon owed his downfall. The British navy, surrounding the coasts of Europe, from the Naze of Norway (including the Baltic) to the straits of the Dardanelles, was ready at every point to afford its assistance to the brave, and its protection to the feeble, who were struggling to throw off the chains of despotic power. The French, having crossed the Vistula, had advanced into the Russian provinces, where the armies of that patient and enduring people awaited them with calm determination to meet death in the performance of their sacred obligations to their country. On the side of France the war was one of plunder; Russia and her allies sought only peace and security. Sir James Saumarez had stationed Rear-admiral Thomas Byam Martin at Riga, to co-operate with the Russian army under Prince Bagration; a division of gun-boats, commanded by Captain Hew Steuart, was placed in advance on the river of Riga. Davoust, the French general, was in the neighbourhood with a strong body of cavalry, which the Russian general attacked with energy, and defeated: this was the advance of the French army. Nine regiments were cut to pieces; 1,000 men, and 50 staff officers, made prisoners. The difficulties which the enemy endeavoured to interpose between the junction of the first and second Russian armies were by this victory entirely removed. Rear-admiral Martin, being at Riga, on the 27th of July acquainted Sir James Saumarez with the junction of these two armies, the greater one being under the command of General Barclay de Tolli. The Emperor Alexander reached Smolensko, to stimulate by his presence the energies of his people. A peace between Russia and the Porte was concluded at the

same time, and the armies on the Danube now turned from the Turks to oppose the French.

The British and Russian gun-boats under Captain Steuart, of the British navy, became highly important in the defence of Riga, and effectually prevented the enemy crossing the river at the falls above the town, where they made the attempt, and were driven back. Count Witgenstein defeated General Oudinot on the 31st of July, and took 3,000 prisoners, compelling him to cross the Duna. General Von Essen, the governor of Riga, bore testimony to the services of the British officers, who broke down the only bridge (that of Kalnazeen) over which the enemy could retreat. Captain John Brenton, who commanded the gun-boats at this attack, was honoured by his Imperial Majesty with the order of St. Vlodimir.

Captain James P. Stewart, in the Dictator, of 64 guns, with Captain Roubillard, of the Podargus, of 18 guns, Captain Henry Weir, of the Calypso, of 18 guns, and Lieutenant England, in the Flamer gun-brig, attacked a Danish squadron lying in the harbour of Mardoe, in the Sleeve, with complete success, and came off with great honour.

The Dictator ran into the channel at seven in the evening, engaging the enemy, who was flying from him under a press of sail. At half-past nine, after having gone twelve miles through a pass so narrow in some places as scarcely to admit the studdingsail-booms being run out, the Dictator's bow was laid upon the rocks, with her broadside bearing on the enemy, at that moment within hail, at an anchor, with springs on their cables. The Calypso having taken the ground, the Dictator had passed her; but Captain Weir soon extricated his vessel, and prevented the heavy gun-boats raking the Dictator, which would have done great damage, as that ship could not bring her broadside to bear on them.

The enemy's squadron was posted close to the small creek of Lymgoe, supported by a division of gun-boats. Their force consisted of a large frigate, called the Nyarden, of 50 guns; a brig, called the Laaland, another called the Samsoe, and a third, called the Kiel; but the fire of a two-decked ship was too heavy for the frigate, which, in half an hour, was a wreck and on fire: her main-deck was beaten in. The brigs surrendered, the gun-boats were either sunk or disabled, and the frigate burnt to the water's edge.

The Dictator was again unexpectedly attacked by a strong body of gun-boats, which had retreated from the action, and either from shame or necessity had returned to their duty; but they were silenced by Captain Weir, in the Calypso.

In the mean time the Podargus and the Flamer, both lying aground, were warmly engaged with the batteries and gun-boats; but were soon got afloat. The Dictator and Calypso, coming down the channel with the prizes, were once more attacked by a fresh set of gun-boats, whose fire came from behind some rocks, on which the Dictator could not get a gun to bear; at the same time the prizes grounded, and, having many wounded men on board, humanity forbade their being destroyed. Leaving them therefore to their fate, the British squadron came down the harbour, having completed as gallant an exploit as any on record. The Danes acknowledge to have lost between 200 and 300 men; the British had nine killed, and 26 wounded. The Nyarden mounted long 24-pounders on her main-deck, and had 320 men. The Laaland mounted 20 guns, long 18-pounders, and had 120 men; she was taken, but abandoned. The Samsoe, which had 18 guns, long 18-pounders, and 125 men, escaped.

The Lords of the Admiralty were so much pleased with the conduct of Captain Steuart and his associates, that they granted a very liberal promotion. Captains Weir and Roubillard were posted: the first lieutenant of the Dictator, and Lieutenant England, of the Flamer, were promoted to the rank of commanders. Captain Steuart, who was only acting in the Dictator, was confirmed post; in the following year appointed to the Amphion, of 32 guns; and subsequently made a companion of the Bath.

Lieutenant Thomas Jones (the second), with 18 men in the boats of the Briseis, sloop of war, took out of Pillau Roads the Urania, an English merchant-vessel, which had been captured. She was richly laden, and the enemy were removing her cargo. Mr. Jones boarded her at midnight, and drove the enemy from her decks, cut her cable, and brought her out with a schuyt which was lashed alongside.

Lieutenant William Henry Dixon, of the Britomart, accompanied by the Lieutenants Malone, of the Osprey, and Romney of the Leveret, each in a boat from his respective sloop, pursued a lugger privateer, which they saw in the N. W., from Heligoland, eight or nine leagues distant. This enterprise seems, among others which have been related in the present year, to partake of a romantic bravery either unknown, or very uncommon, in former naval wars. The continuation of the calm favoured the approach of the boats; and when it is considered how perfectly the enemy was prepared, and how exhausted the Englishmen must have been after rowing such a distance, we can scarcely believe it possible that they could have had the temerity to approach; they did, however, and

boarded her; and, after a very animated struggle of 20 minutes, at the point of their sabres, carried her. She was called L'Eole, pierced for 14 guns, mounting only six, and having a complement of 31 officers and men.

The 14th division of the famous flotilla, consisting of 12 large brigs and one lugger, came out of Boulogne, and was standing to the westward when discovered by Captain Harvey in the Rosario, who chased it. The enemy prepared to attack, and lay him on board. Captain Harvey stood on until he could call the Griffon to his assistance, and having gained the attention of Captain Trollope, he made all sail in chase of the enemy, and fell upon their rear, just as they were entering the port of Dieppe. The French line received this attack, and returned the fire, while the Rosario played round them like a yacht at Spithead, till, finding himself secure of his object, and being quite far enough to windward, Harvey ran into the body of the little fleet, threw two of the brigs on board of each other, and, as they lay in this confusion, backed his main-top sail, and engaged them within musket-shot, until they were clear of each other, then stood on and engaged another, which he soon dismasted, and compelled to anchor. Passing this wreck, the Rosario drove the next on shore; two more remained to leeward; the intrepid seaman bore up, and ran the nearest of them on board, at that time no more than three-quarters of a mile from the shore. Thus far the action was sustained by the Rosario alone, who, taking her prize in tow, made sail beyond the reach of the batteries. The Griffon had only then, under a press of sail, been able to get into action. She came up and drove the other brig on shore in St. Aubin's Bay, after which Captain Harvey made her the signal to attack the enemy in the S. E. These were the part of the flotilla which had come to an anchor. Captain Trollope ran his brig between one of the enemy's vessels and the land, and laid her on board, cut her cables, and brought her out, under a furious fire from the batteries. The Griffon in this action had suffered much, and, having her prize in tow, was unable to attempt more; but Captain Harvey, having taken out the prisoners, and in some measure repaired his damages, ran the dismasted brig on board, and found the crew had deserted her. The night now became dark: the last seven of the flotilla made good their retreat into Dieppe, and the two British heroes, with their prizes, returned to the Downs, having given the flotilla a good practical lesson on tactics and gunnery. The brigs had three long 24-pounders, and one eight-inch howitzer, and a complement of 50 men—a force more than double that of the Griffon and Rosario united, independently of the assistance they derived from the

proximity of their batteries. The two captains were promoted to post rank, and honoured with the ribbon of Companions of the Bath.

The Apelles and Skylark, brigs of war of 16 guns each, having been driven on shore in a gale of wind near Etaples, fell into the hands of the enemy; but the Apelles was very gallantly recaptured by Captain Cunningham, in the Bermuda sloop of war.

Admiral William Young commanded the North Sea fleet off the Scheldt; his flag was in the Impregnable. This officer had under his orders a fleet of 11 sail of the line, and kept his station on the Flemish banks in the worst weather, and in a manner to elicit the admiration of his country. The Scheldt fleet, with the arsenal of Antwerp, and the dock-yard of Flushing, had become objects of important consideration, and greatly increased the expense and anxiety of the war.

Lieutenants Hawkins and Masters, of the Horatio frigate, commanded by Lord George Stewart, had a very desperate contest with two Danish armed vessels in Tromptsen Sound, on the coast of Norway. Sailing up one of the inlets of that romantic coast, a distance of 35 miles, they discovered a cutter and a schooner at anchor, with their broadsides opposed to the entrance of the port, springs on their cables, and every means of defence which high rocks, smooth water, and local knowledge could give. The British officers laid the enemy on board and took them, together with an American ship of 400 tons, which they had detained. The Danish vessels mounted six and four guns, and were commanded by a lieutenant of the Danish navy. Lieutenant Syder, of the royal marines, was killed in the act of boarding.

In the month of September, 1812, a corps of Prussians having advanced upon the river Aa, the Russian and British gun-boats, under the command of Rear-admiral Muller, of the Russian navy, and Captains Hew Steuart and John Brenton, of the British navy, proceeded to attack them. They met with no opposition till they approached within five miles of Mittau, where they found three booms across the river, about half a mile distant from each other. Within pistol-shot of the third boom, which was very strong, and well constructed, were placed three batteries of four guns. The booms were soon destroyed, and, as the gun-boats came up to the works, the enemy fled, leaving four 24-pounders. The English boats were always in advance. They took possession of Mittau on the same day, where they found large magazines of clothing, grain, and some arms and ammunition. The Russians, under Prince Kutusof, had, on the 7th of the same month, defeated the French with

great slaughter at the village of Borodino. In the month of November, after the conflagration of Moscow, Napoleon commenced his disastrous retreat from the ill-fated country.

A general panic, after the severe frost had set in, took possession of the French armies and their leaders; from the banks of the Vistula to those of the Elbe and Weser, all was disorder and confusion. A corps of the Russian army entered Hamburg, and the enemy evacuated the town of Cuxhaven and its citadel, the castle of Ritzbuttel. On the appearance of a British gun-brig, the Blazer, commanded by Lieutenant Banks, they set fire to 20 sail of gun-boats lying in the harbour, and Cuxhaven joyfully received a British garrison. The whole country of Hanover was everywhere up in arms; and the British flag on the banks of the Elbe and the neighbouring rivers, was received with the most enthusiastic demonstrations of national good will.

An event of the most lamentable nature occurred in the Downs, on board his Majesty's sloop the Griffon, in November, 1812. We allude to it with regret, lest it should chance to revive the sorrows of those who may have been deeply interested in the fall of the gallant but unfortunate officer.

Lieutenant Richard Stewart Gamage, first of the Griffon, sloop of war, while carrying on he duty of the ship in the Downs, in the absence of his captain, received a complaint against the sergeant of marines, for improper conduct. The man was called up, and, being ordered by the lieutenant to walk the quarter-deck with a musket on his shoulder, he refused, and threw it down with an air of defiance and contempt, which so inflamed the anger of young Gamage that he drew his sword, which he had previously gone down to his cabin to procure, and, after repeated warnings, ran the unfortunate man through the body, who almost instantly expired. A court-martial was assembled for the trial of the lieutenant. He was found guilty of murder, sentenced to be hanged at the yard-arm, and was executed on board the Griffon on the 23d of November. The fate of this young officer, whose character was in every other respect unimpeachable, ought to make a deep impression on the minds of our naval youth, who till that time laboured under the mistaken notion that they had a right to take away the life of a fellow-creature at their own pleasure, for any supposed act of disobedience, when it was in their power at the time to appeal to the laws of their country. As this case bears some resemblance to that of Lord Camelford and Lieutenant Peterson, related in the first volume of this work, I cannot but think that the sentence of "honourable acquittal" pronounced on his lordship had the worst effect in

misleading the mind of Mr. Gamage and, I believe, that of many others. The young man was so sensible of the enormity of his crime, that his mind was incapable of receiving consolation, and, had his life been spared, he would have lived in unabating sorrow and remorse: he died like a Christian and a hero. It is but justice to the court-martial which tried him to say, that he was most strongly recommended to mercy; and no individual case so deeply occupied the royal bosom, or the attention of the council. Perhaps it was feared that the pardoning of this offence might lead the seamen to suppose that justice was not duly administered. Deeply as I deplore the death of Lieutenant Gamage, I am bound to say that it produced the best effects on the discipline of the service.*

The Laurel, of 38 guns, a beautiful frigate, which was found on the stocks at Flushing, and brought away in 1809, was lost in Quiberon Bay in February, 1812. She was commanded by Captain S. C. Rowley, who was at that time quite a stranger on the coast, and was coming through the Teigncuse passage, with the Rota and Rhin frigates, commanded by Captains Somerville and Malcolm. Captain Rowley, when the ship struck on the rock called the Govivas, hailed the Rhin, and saved her from the same fate; the Laurel was got off, but made so much water that they were forced to run her on shore on a reef called Les Pères. The moment this was perceived, the battery on the peninsula opened a heavy fire from great guns and mortars. Every shot struck her, while the ship was beating to pieces on the rocks, and the people, with scarcely a hope of escaping to the shore, were exposed at once to the perils of the sea and the cruel fire of the enemy. A flag of truce was hoisted, the colours hauled down, and not a shot returned, but still the fire of the enemy continued; the wind increased, and the quarter-deck of the ship was under water: nor did these monsters cease from their purpose until the boats of the Laurel, with a part of the men, reached the shore, and craved a suspension. The fire was then discontinued for a short time; but the officer who commanded refused to allow the boats to return for the remainder of the crew. The boats of the Colossus, Rhin, and Rota, approaching the wreck, the fire of the enemy began again, and continued till every man was taken off, and conveyed to the ships: Captain Rowley and his officers were the last on board. They were all honourably acquitted.

Sir Charles Cotton, admiral of the blue, and commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet, died at Plymouth on the 23d of

* See the account of his trial and execution, "Naval Chronicle," 1812 and 1813.

February, 1812; he was succeeded in his command by Lord Viscount Keith.

One of the first duties of an officer is to acquire a complete knowledge of the coast on which he is employed: without this attainment his valour or skill as a seaman can only be partially useful, while his ignorance may often be fatal. In acquaintance with the French coast, no officer was perhaps ever more perfect than the late Vice-admiral Sir Henry Hotham; who, in 1812, commanded the Northumberland, of 74 guns, and was ordered by Rear-admiral Sir Harry Neale to cruise off the Penmarks, for the purpose of intercepting a squadron of French frigates expected to arrive in the port of L'Orient. In the discharge of this duty his knowledge of the coast proved of the highest service.

On the 22d of May Captain Hotham was 10 miles to the southward of the Isle of Groix, the Growler gun-brig, Lieutenant John Weeks, in company, when two frigates and a brig were seen in the N. W., crowding every sail to get into L'Orient. Captain Hotham's first intention and wish was, by weathering Groix, to prevent the enemy entering the channel between that island and the main land; but finding this impracticable, and being perfectly master of the ground, he dexterously ran round the south-east point of the island, fetched to windward of the harbour of Port L'Orient, and continued working in the channel, exposed alternately to the fire from the main land or the island, as he tacked towards the one or the other.

The French commodore, as he approached his port, found himself in great difficulty; a fast sailing and well managed 74-gun ship to leeward forbade his entrance, and if he hauled his wind he would most probably be overtaken before night. The only alternative was to make a bold push between his enemy and Point Talieu, and to endeavour to gain the protection of the port and batteries of L'Orient. This he gallantly and judiciously determined to do, but failed in consequence of the superior local knowledge of the officer who opposed him. The wind was at W.N.W., blowing very fresh. At 49 minutes past two P. M., the enemy bore up in a close line a-head, and under every sail they could carry. Captain Hotham, with his ship under an easy commanding sail, perfectly prepared for action, and ready to lay the enemy on board, placed the Northumberland close to the Pointe de Pierre Laye, with her head to the shore, and the main-topsail shivering. The French commodore hauled so close round the point that Captain Hotham did not think it practicable, with a ship drawing 24 feet water, to approach nearer the shore: he therefore bore up,

and ran parallel to them at the distance of about 400 yards, engaging them, and three strong batteries, for the space of 20 minutes.

By steering close to the dry rock called Le Graul, Captain Hotham prevented the enemy passing outside of it; and within there was not sufficient water for them to run. Here the utmost nicety of pilotage was required, for, in addition to the difficulty of a navigation with which Captain Hotham and Mr. H. Stewart, the master of the Northumberland, could only be acquainted by the French charts, the smoke, which rolled in dense clouds a-head of the ship, concealed every object from them. Here the slightest deviation or fault of the pilot or helmsman might have been fatal to the ship; and never perhaps was an instance of more correct pilotage shown. The Northumberland was steered within her own length on the south-west side of the rock; and the enemy, instead of hauling outside of the Northumberland, or coming to the wind and separating, chose, with unpardonable ignorance, to attempt a channel in which they ought to have known there was not sufficient depth of water for them to pass. They all grounded on the rocks, between the Graul and the main land, with every sail set, and in the utmost degree of confusion.

Seeing them thus securely fast upon their own rocks, Captain Hotham hauled off to repair his damages, which, in his sails and rigging, were very considerable, committing the enemy's ships to the operation of the falling tide, which in a short time left them on their beam-ends, with their mast-heads towards the shore. While shifting his fore-topsail, and turning to windward in the channel, the Growler gun-brig got alongside of the enemy, and opened her fire within a very short distance. At twenty minutes past five the Northumberland anchored in six and a half fathoms water, Pointe de Pierre Laye bearing N. W. half N., the citadel of Port Louis or L'Orient E. three quarters N., and the Graul Rock N. half E. 400 yards. In this position, having the enemy's ships fairly exposed, their keels nearly out of the water, the fire of the Northumberland was deliberately kept up within point-blank range, for one hour and a quarter: the main-mast of one of the frigates and the brig fell. The ships' bottoms being pierced with numerous shot, the crews all deserting them, and the headmost frigate being in flames, Captain Hotham deemed his object completely accomplished; he therefore weighed, and removed from the reach of a strong battery, which, during the last part of the action, from the period of his anchoring, had done him more mischief than all the firing from the ships and batteries in the early part of the day. The Growler kept

under sail near the enemy, pouring a constant fire from his long 18-pounders, and prevented the crews returning to their ships. About eight o'clock the frigate which was on fire blew up. At dark Captain Hotham came to an anchor out of the reach of the batteries, either from the main land or from Groa; Point Talieu bore N.N.W. half W., south-east point of Groix S.S.W. half W., the French vessels N. by E. At 10 o'clock the second frigate appeared to be on fire, and at half past 11 she was one mass of flame from stem to stern. On seeing this Captain Hotham weighed, and with the Growler stood to sea.

In the heat of the action a seaman, who stated himself to be a native of Portugal, swam on board of the Northumberland. He said he had been taken in a ship called the Harmony, of Lisbon, by the French ships, whose names were the Andromache, Arianne, and Mameluke brig. The frigates mounted 44 guns, and had 450 men each (including prisoners), and the brig 18 guns, and 150 men: they had sailed from the Loire on the 9th of January; had cruised ever since in various parts of the Atlantic; and had destroyed 36 sail of vessels, of different nations, Americans, Spaniards, Portuguese, and English, taking out the most valuable parts of their cargoes.

The Northumberland had five men killed, 14 severely wounded, and 14 slightly. Mr. John Banks, the first lieutenant of the Northumberland, and Mr. John Weeks, the lieutenant of the Growler, were promoted to the rank of commanders for their distinguished good conduct on this occasion.

A very remarkable volcanic eruption burst out of the sea in the month of June, 1812, about two miles from the island of St. Michael's, in a N.N.W. direction. It was preceded by several severe shocks of an earthquake. It formed an island 600 feet in height, where before the water had been 480 feet deep. Captain Tillard, of the Sabrina, who was present, and made drawings of it, gave it the name of Sabrina Island. It soon after sank into the sea, leaving only a shoal dangerous to shipping.*

Lieutenant Turner, of the Rota frigate, with the boats of that ship, boarded and took a French privateer, called L'Espador, pierced for 10 guns, having only three mounted, and manned with 45 men, of whom seven were killed and four wounded. The Rota had one killed and four wounded.

* It is to be observed, also, that a volcanic eruption from a *soufrière* in the Island of St. Vincent, in the same year, covered the neighbouring islands with darkness, which lasted four hours, from the dawn of day till noon: the fine powder which issued from the volcano lay an inch thick on the ground at Barbadoes, and extended as far as 500 miles to *windward* of St. Vincent, covering the ships' decks. This powder resembled emery.

Lieutenant Josiah Thompson, of the Medusa, also with the boats of the ship, boarded, in the harbour of Arcason, the French national store-ship, La Dorade, of 14 guns, and 86 men. The enemy, prepared for the attack, hailed the boats, but the ship was carried with great slaughter: the whole of the crew, except 23, were either taken, killed, or compelled to jump overboard. The Medusa had none killed, and only five wounded. The prize grounded on the ebb tide, coming down the harbour; and, after taking out the wounded and prisoners, the victors set fire to her, and she was totally burned: she was very valuably laden.

In the month of June, Sir Home Popham, in the Venerable of 74 guns, assisted the guerillas in an attack on Lequito, a town on the north coast of Spain, in possession of the French, whom they drove out, took away their cannon, ammunition, and small arms, destroyed the fort and convent in which they had taken shelter, and came off without the loss of a man, and taking with them the French commandant and 290 soldiers prisoners. Sir Home soon after joined in an attack upon Bilboa, which the French evacuated. The works of Plenica were destroyed by the Captains Malcolm and Bouverie, in the Rhin and Medusa frigates: all the guns on the banks of the river of Bilboa were either spiked or brought away. The castle of Galea was blown up by Captain Bloye, who destroyed eight 24 and 18 pounders. The batteries of Algorsa and Begona were destroyed by Lieutenants Groves and O'Riley: these had between them nine 18-pounders. On the opposite side of the inlet, the batteries of El Campillo, Las Quersas, and Xebilles, mounting eleven 24-pounders, were destroyed by the Lieutenants Coleman and Arbuthnot. On the 25th of June, the French advanced with 2,000 men, and entered the ruins of Algorsa, whence they were compelled to retire on the approach of our squadron.

Lieutenant Warrand, in the Sea-lark schooner, fought a desperate action in the month of July, off the Start, with a lugger, of 16 guns, and 75 men. The Sea-lark was a vessel far inferior in force; but Lieutenant Warrand determined that the enemy should not escape: he laid her on board between the fore and main masts, and in this position engaged her for one hour and 30 minutes, with great guns, musketry, and hand-grenades, when the Frenchman caught fire. Mr. Warrand (being wounded) directed his master to board her, which he did, and carried her. She was called La Ville de Caen, had sailed the day before on a cruise, and in this action had 15 men killed, the captain and 16 wounded. The Sea-lark had seven killed, and 22 wounded; an immense propor-

tion between two such vessels. Lieutenant Warrand was promoted to the rank of commander.

As the war of the Revolution draws to an end, the increasing importance of the transactions, both naval and military, compels us to devote but little space to the notice of the latter; and that merely to keep up the connexion of events, and that we may show how our generals were employed in the interior of Spain, while our admirals guarded the coast.

In the last chapter, we left Captain Eyre making an effort to draw off the attention of the French from Valencia, in which the unfortunate Blake was shut up with 26,000 men by the victorious Suchet. A bombardment of short duration, but unusual severity, produced a surrender of this important place, the capital of the kingdom of Valencia.

Ciudad Rodrigo was taken by storm by the British army under the Earl of Wellington, who received from the Cortes the title of duke of the city he had won. Badajoz, after a short siege and bombardment, was likewise taken by the victorious Wellington on the 6th of April. In these two famous sieges, prodigies of valour were performed by our troops; which completely undeceived the Portuguese and Spaniards, who had been taught by the French to believe, that the English, though fine-looking men, could not face their enemies in the field. The loss of the British and Portuguese armies, in killed and wounded, in the storming of Badajoz, was little short of 5,000 men. These two places falling, rendered the position of Marshal Soult, before Cadiz, very insecure. A fruitless attempt was made in February by the Spaniards to retake Tarragona. They appeared to have lost all their energies, and sense of national glory. Lord Wellington, with his army, pushed on from one strong place to another, until, in the month of August, his lordship entered Madrid, and King Joseph fled to Ocana. On the night of the 24th, the enemy abandoned the siege of Cadiz, and broke up his camp on the Isla, leaving a very large quantity of artillery and powder: most of the guns were rendered useless; but he appeared to have retired with much precipitation. Thus ended the siege of this place by the French; it had lasted two years and a half. Cadiz, indeed, may be said to have been in a state of siege or blockade by land and sea, with very little intermission, for 15 years.

Lord Wellington defeated General Rouget, who had advanced to attack Bilboa, before which place lay Sir Home Popham, in the Venerable, of 74 guns. Lieutenant-colonel Skerrit took Seville by assault on the 27th of August.

The French, on the coast of Calabria, were defeated and greatly disturbed by a very distinguished young naval officer (Captain Robert Hall), who commanded the British and Neapolitan flotilla, with the rank of brigadier-general in the service of the King of Naples.

The enemy had thrown up works at Pietro Nera, to protect a convoy of 50 sail of armed vessels, which had assembled to transport naval stores to Naples. Captain Hall having consulted with Lord William Bentinck, who commanded the British army in Sicily, his lordship ordered four companies of the 75th, under the command of Major Stewart, and a body of seamen under Lieutenant Le Hunte. These officers, without waiting for further assistance, ascended the heights, defended by a complete battalion, two troops of cavalry, and two pieces of artillery. Captain Hall at the same time sent forward a corporal's party of the rocket corps, whose novel and destructive fire threw the enemy into confusion. Our troops charged: the French still resisted, until their colonel-commandant and most of his officers were killed or made prisoners, and the hill covered with their dead. The Neapolitan flotilla, under Captain Trubert, opened its fire on the batteries; but they held out until stormed by Lieutenant Le Hunte, with the seamen. By eight o'clock in the morning the whole of the vessels were in possession of the assailants: the timber was launched and brought away: 150 of the enemy were killed and wounded and 163 taken prisoners, amongst whom were the colonel of the regiment, three captains, two captains of cavalry, and one of artillery: two six-pounders were also brought away. The gallant Major Stewart was killed after the attack had succeeded, when with Captain Hall he was putting off from the shore. The loss on our side was, with this exception, very trifling.

In the month of April Captain Thomas, in the Undaunted, was directed by Sir Edward Pellew to blockade the port of Marseilles, having under his orders the Volontaire, commanded by the Honourable G. Greville Waldegrave (now Lord Radstock), and the Blossom, commanded by Captain Stewart. On the 26th of April, off the mouth of the Rhone, he came suddenly upon a convoy of 26 sail of gun-boats and merchant-vessels, drove all on shore but five, which escaped, brought off seven, burnt 12, and left two stranded on the beach. Among the number burnt was a national schooner, mounting four long 18-pounders, and having 75 men. Captain Stewart, of the Blossom, was principally indebted for the complete success of this enterprise to his running his vessel close into the beach, among shoals and broken water.

While on this station, Captains Waldegrave and Thomas rendered a substantial benefit to the British fleet in the Mediterranean. The greatest inconvenience experienced by ships of war, when cruising, is a want of water: provisions for five or six months are easily carried; but water can rarely be replenished, or made to last, with a due regard to health, beyond 12 weeks: at the end of that time, if they continue at sea, the men must go to short allowance of this prime necessary, and fill their empty casks with salt water to preserve the ship's trim. These officers brought their ships to an anchor off the mouth of the Rhone. Captain Waldegrave, within two miles of the shore, discovered excellent fresh water in the sea, when the wind was from the land, and the broad and rapid stream came pouring into the Mediterranean. Captain Stewart, of the Blossom, was dispatched with a sample of this water to Sir Edward Pellew, who instantly sent his ships there from Toulon to complete their water. Captain Thomas, also, found the anchorage very secure, riding out a gale of wind at S.S.E. for two days, without any strain on his cable, the holding ground being soft mud, and the under-tow or outset of the freshes from the river being stronger than the action of the wind and sea together. This account must not, however, lull our officers into security: one captain lost an anchor and three cables off this place, for which the great Collingwood never forgave him. In future wars this discovery may be of incalculable advantage to our blockading ships. While the Undaunted lay there, nothing could pass along shore without being discovered. I have even been informed by experienced officers, that so soft is the bottom, off the Malora, and so strongly impregnated is the water with mud, when it blows hard from the sea, that the waves will not break, and that a ship lying on shore will receive little or no damage.

Captain Charles Rowley, in the Eagle, captured off Brindisi the French frigate La Corcyre, of 44 guns, but mounting only 26 18-pounders on her main-deck, and having on board 170 seamen, and 130 soldiers, with a cargo of wheat and military stores: she was bound, with another frigate and a brig, to Corfu. Her consorts escaped, and got into Brindisi. The frigates under the orders of Captain Rowley were still more successful; and indeed nothing could be more unfortunate than the French marine appear to have been in the Adriatic.

The Alceste, Captain M. Maxwell, the Active, Captain J. A. Gordon, and the Unité, Captain E. H. Chamberlayne, when lying at Lissa, received information of three French frigates being at the south side of the island. On the 29th of December, in the morning, the enemy was seen off the island

of Augusta, and boldly formed in line to engage the British frigates. This determination did not last long; for, seeing our ships bearing down upon them in close line, two of them ran away to the N.W. under a crowd of sail: the third, steering to the N.E., was pursued by the Unité. The Alceste brought the nearest ship to action at one o'clock, but, losing her main-top-mast, she dropped astern. The Active soon came up and supplied her place, which compelled the French commodore to return to the assistance of his consort. The action lasted two hours and 20 minutes, when the French commodore, taking advantage of the crippled state of the Alceste, made sail and escaped. The other frigate surrendered to the Active, after being totally dismasted, and having five feet water in her hold. She was called La Pomone, mounted 44 guns, had 322 men, and was commanded by Captain Rosamel. The frigate which escaped was called La Pauline, of the same force, and commanded by Monsieur Montford, with a broad pendant. The third frigate was captured the same day, after a chase of eight hours, by the Unité: she was called La Persanne, of 28 nine-pounders, and 195 men. She had on board, as a cargo, 120 iron, and some brass, guns. This squadron was from Corfu, bound to Trieste. The Alceste had seven men killed and 13 wounded; the Active eight killed. Captain Gordon lost his leg; Lieutenant W. B. Dashwood (now a post-captain) his arm: Lieutenant (now Lord John) Hay and 24 men were also wounded.

A French privateer having arrived in the port of Palamos with a cargo of provisions for the army, Lieutenant Isaac Shaw, of the Volontaire, went in with the boats of that ship, and brought her out without loss.

In the month of February, 1812, Lieutenant Bartholomew, in the Richmond brig, attacked the French privateer L'Intrépide, of 18 guns, and 180 men, as she lay in a bay near Vera, on the coast of Grenada. When the Richmond had approached within a short distance of the enemy, the Frenchmen set fire to their own vessel, and escaped to the shore. Lieutenant Bartholomew boarded and brought her out, though in flames; but she blew up in spite of all his exertions.

The enemy having possession of Tarragona, it was closely watched by the British squadron under Captain Codrington, while Lacy, the Spanish general, held his troops in readiness to repel the French approaching Reus; and, with the Baron d'Eroles, he defeated them with considerable slaughter, taking 600 prisoners.

The boats of the Sultan, of 74 guns, Captain West, under the command of Lieutenants Anderson and Woodcock, boarded

and captured, off Bastia, two French national armed vessels; one a settee of eight guns and 31 men; the other a brig of six guns and 53 men. This was a service of remarkable merit.

Lieutenant Rowland Mainwaring, first of the Menelaus, captured, by boarding with the boats of that ship, near the bay of Frejus, the French brig of war St. Joseph, pierced for 16 guns, but having none mounted. She was moored within pistol-shot of a battery, to which her halsers were made fast, another battery flanked her, and the shore was lined with musketry.

At Venice, the great maritime port of the Adriatic sea, the French had with much difficulty completed the construction of a 74-gun ship, called the Rivoli. Her departure was anxiously expected by Captain John Talbot, in the Victorious, of 74 guns; the Weazel brig, of 18 guns, Captain Andrews, being in company with him. The Victorious arrived off the port on the 16th of March, 1812, and on the 21st got sight of the Rivoli. She was attended by a large ship, two brigs, and two gun-boats, steering towards Rota, in Istria. The Victorious and Weazel gave chase, and at a quarter past four in the morning, the Weazel, being a-head, brought the two brigs to action. At five, the Victorious being within pistol-shot of the Rivoli, a furious action began: soon after, one of the enemy's brigs blew up; and at daylight Captain Talbot saw the Weazel in chase of the other, but recalled her, perceiving that she did not gain upon her enemy. The other ship and the gun-boats were not in sight, and the contending ships being in seven fathoms water, off the point of Grao, Captain Talbot thought the brig would be of more service near him, in case of either ship getting on shore. Captain Andrews placed his brig within pistol-shot on the bow of the French ship of the line, and gave her three broadsides. It was now nearly calm: the action had lasted four hours; the fire of the enemy was very faint; and at a quarter before nine he hailed to say that he had surrendered. The ship was immediately boarded and taken possession of by Lieutenant Peake, first of the Victorious.

It appeared that the French squadron consisted of the Rivoli, of 74 guns, bearing the broad pendant of Commodore Barrée, the commander-in-chief of the enemy's force in the Adriatic; the Jena and Mercure, brigs of 18 guns; the Mameluke, of 10 guns: the other was a transport, or merchant ship. At no period of the action were the two line-of-battle ships at a greater distance than half musket-shot from each other. The firing ceased at short intervals until the fog

and smoke cleared away. The commodore did not surrender until nearly two hours after his ship had become unmanageable. His mizenmast fell just before he struck his colours, when his captain, most of his officers, and 400 of his men, were killed or wounded. The Victorious had 42 men killed, and 99 wounded. The Rivoli had on board 862 men at the commencement of the action; the Victorious no more than 512, of whom 60 were in the sick list. Captain Talbot received a medal for this action, and subsequently was made a Knight of the Bath. Captain Andrews was made post, and Lieutenant Peake, of the Victorious, a commander. It is a curious fact, that, after the valuation of the Rivoli, no less a sum than £13,000 was deducted from the proceeds for damages done to the ship in action!

In the month of July Lieutenant Dobbs, of the Leviathan, with the boats of that ship, attacked a French privateer and some merchant vessels in the port of Agay. Four of the latter were brought out, and the privateer being on shore was set on fire, and burnt.

Captain Usher, who for his former gallant services had been promoted to the rank of post-captain, was now in the command of the Hyacinth, of 20 guns, on the coast of Spain, and zealously employed in assisting the guerilla chiefs in an attack upon the town and castle of Almunecar, seven miles to the eastward of Nessa. Having placed his own ship, with the Termagant sloop of war, Captain Hamilton, and the Basilisk gun-brig, within point-blank shot of the castle, he silenced its fire in less than an hour. On the following morning the enemy began their fire again, but by 10 o'clock the British ships had effectually driven them from the castle to the town, where they fortified themselves in the churches and houses. Unwilling to destroy the unfortunate inhabitants, already enduring too much from the violence and cruelty of their oppressors, Captain Usher returned to Nessa for a reinforcement of guerilla troops, which he obtained. Taking 200 infantry on board, and directing the cavalry to march through the mountains to the appointed rendezvous, he returned once more to Almunecar; but the French, hearing of his movements, fled towards Grenada.

Captain Usher hoisted the British and Spanish flags in the town, demolished the castle, situated on a high and rocky peninsula, with a wall 30 feet high, a ditch on the land side of as many feet deep, and 60 feet wide; over this ditch was a narrow drawbridge, the only entrance to the castle. The whole of this was destroyed by mines and explosion, the ditch filled up as far as the means would admit, the artillery brought away, and

many German deserters from the French army, who joined the British squadron.

Captain Josias Rowley, of the America, of 64 guns, having with him Captain P. Campbell, of the Leviathan, 74, and Eclair sloop of war, fell in, on the 9th of May, with a French convoy of 18 sail, which took refuge under the batteries of Languilla. The batteries were stormed and taken by the captains of marines, Rea of the America, and Owen of the Leviathan. The resistance of a strong body of French troops, and batteries of heavy guns, was overcome; and the enemy fled to the woods, whence they kept up a heavy fire on our people. The Eclair drove them from the beach and the houses; and the boats boarded and brought out the vessels, which they found deeply laden, and made fast to the houses, their sails and rudders being taken on shore. The marines and the seamen were re-embarked. Captain Bellamy, of the Eclair, Lieutenant Richardson, of the America, who commanded the invading party, and the Lieutenants Molesworth, Moodie, Dobbs, and Hambly, all partook in the honour of this attack. Little loss would have been sustained but for one unfortunate shot, which sunk the America's yawl, as the party was landing; by which accident 10 marines and one seaman were drowned.

It would be a proper precaution, when armed men in boats are approaching batteries, if they were to hold their cartouch-boxes and side-arms in their hands. It was probably owing to their being encumbered with them, and unable to disengage themselves readily, that these brave fellows were lost.

Captain J. T. Nicholas, in the Pilot sloop of war, 18 guns, attacked and brought off a convoy of 10 vessels near Cape Palinure: the boats were commanded by Lieutenant Alexander Campbell. The prizes were laden with oil, from Pezzo, bound to Naples.

In the month of May the Pilot, in company with the Thames, attacked the port of Sapri, defended by a strong battery and a tower, which mounted two 32-pounders, defended by 38 men. After sustaining the fire of our vessels for two hours, the town surrendered at discretion, and 28 vessels laden with oil were brought off. Some of them, however, must have been very small, since Captain Napier observes, that they were *launched, although lying one quarter of a mile distant from the sea-shore.*

In the month of June Lieutenant Isaac Shaw, of the Volontaire, with the boats of that ship, boarded, and after a desperate conflict carried, a French felucca privateer, called La Colombe. She had one long gun, and eight swivels, with 45 men.

On the 27th of June the Leviathan having been joined by

Captain Tower, in the Curaçoa, of 36 guns, Captain Campbell once more attacked the towers of Languilla and Alassio. The Eclair covered the landing. Lieutenant Dobbs, and Captain Owen, with his marines, landed, and took the batteries, spiking the guns, killing 22 of the French soldiers, among whom were two officers, and making 18 prisoners, although the force opposed to them was more than four times their number. The enemy's vessels were all so securely made fast to the houses, whence Captain Campbell found it impossible to dislodge the musketry, that he contented himself with destroying 18 sail of convoy. After spiking the cannon, the party embarked with very little loss.

In September Captain Charles Rowley, of the Eagle, of 74 guns, sent Mr. Cannon, his first lieutenant, with three barges, to watch the coasting trade of the enemy off Cape Maestro, while he proceeded with the Eagle and anchored off the mouth of the Po; and was soon after joined by his boats, bringing with them two gun-boats, and 13 vessels laden with oil, each vessel carrying a six or eight pounder gun. These had all been taken under circumstances peculiarly marking the national spirit of our countrymen. Twenty-three sail, under convoy of two gun-boats, had been seen standing towards Goro; as our boats approached they drew up in a line of battle, under a 4-gun battery, and the beach lined with armed people. Lieutenant Cannon, with his little party, attacked the gun-boats, which had placed themselves in front, carried one, and turned her guns on the convoy; with the same success he attacked and carried the second; and then, with his whole united force, falling on the convoy, captured all but two, which effected their escape. Unable to man all his prizes, he burned six, and returned victorious to the Eagle, but not long to enjoy the honour of his victory. This gallant and excellent young officer had received in the battle a mortal wound, of which he died on the 22d of September. Lieutenant Festing, who had taken the command of the boats after the fall of his companions, conducted them to final success with the same intrepidity.

Captain William Hoste, in the Bacchante, was equally fortunate on the coast of Istria, in the same month. Lieutenant O'Brien, with the boats of the frigate, was detached to bring out from Lerna some vessels which were loading with ship-timber in that port. On his approach he discovered that the merchant-vessels were protected by an armed xebec, and two gun-boats: he, however, boarded and took the whole of them. But this exploit was far exceeded on the 18th, when that officer was sent in pursuit of another convoy, between Termite and Vasto, on the coast of Apulia. It was nearly calm, so that the

ship could not approach; but Lieutenants O'Brien and Hood rowed in among them. The merchant-vessels ran on shore; and their crews, armed with musketry, took refuge in a thick wood close to the sterns of their vessels, while their front was protected by eight armed feluccas. The Lieutenants boarded and carried the whole of them, in defiance of the heavy fire of grape and musketry; and the marines, under Lieutenant Haig, landed and drove the enemy out of the wood. Eight gun-boats, carrying each one 12-pounder, and 16 men, together with 18 vessels, laden with oil, almonds, and other merchandise, were brought out without the loss of one Englishman.

The British Parliament, upon whose counsels and resolutions, under Divine Providence, depended the liberties of Europe, assembled on the 7th of January. The speech from the throne was delivered by commission, and adverted to our successes in the preceding year in Europe and Asia. The cause of the Peninsula, supported by our armies, under the Earl of Wellington (it observed), held out the fairest hopes of a triumph over the power of France. These hopes, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent confidently expressed, would be supported by every assistance in the power of the Legislature to afford. The disputes with the United States of America were mentioned in terms of gloomy anticipation. The address was opposed in the Commons by Mr. Whitbread, whose desponding language tended to depress the spirits of the country, and to induce it to abandon the cause at the moment when our labours were about to be rewarded by the most brilliant victories.

The thanks of Parliament were voted to Lord Minto, the governor-general of India, to the Honourable Rear-admiral Stopford, to Lieutenant-general Sir Samuel Achmuty, and to the army and navy employed in that country, for the capture of the islands of Java, France, and Bourbon.

In this session Mr. (now Lord) Brougham brought forward a motion relative to the droits of Admiralty, which he said (and we believe correctly) amounted in the last 29 years to the enormous sum of £8,000,000, yielding a yearly revenue to the Crown of £180,000. This sum had been principally accumulated by detention of neutral vessels, under an apprehension of approaching hostilities with the powers to which they belonged. Mr. Brougham's motion went to dispute the right of the Crown to the disposal of this sum; but it was negatived by a very great majority. I should humbly hope that in future wars such a fund might be applied to increasing the pay and retiring pensions of seamen; by which means we shall avoid the necessity of impressment, and prevent in a great measure one cause of dispute with America, as well as the loss of our own ships.

The growing ill-will and mutual distrust between Great Britain and the United States have been recorded in the progress of this work. The charges laid against us had, at the commencement of the year, increased to a degree that forbade the hope of peace. These were the detention of their trade, and the impressment of their seamen. The final act of Commodore Rogers, in attacking the Little Belt, plainly showed that America was bent on war with England.

It is not to be supposed that America, of all the nations on earth, will ever again concede this point of taking men out of her ships, be they ships of war or merchantmen. And this alone must for ever put an end to impressment; for, if the practice be continued in our own service, the seamen will fly to a country speaking our own language, and claim nationality there. Nor would a war bring them back to us; nor would it answer any other purpose than an increase of mutual injury; falling heavier on us than on the enemy, as indeed it should, we being the authors of the wrong. Our remedy therefore is, to hold out to our seamen such fair and honourable compensation and reward as shall induce them to prefer the King's service to any other. This we must look to, or we are undone.

In the session of Congress which met in November, 1811, Mr. Madison, with a want either of candour or of correct information, imputed to the captain of the Little Belt the charge of firing the first shot; but, as this appears to have been intended to flatter the popular feeling, and did answer the purpose, we must leave it recorded on the page of history, and submit the fact to the judgment of impartial posterity.

How it happened that Mr. Perceval, so well acquainted with the political sentiments of the Americans, their love of France, and their hatred of England, should have disbelieved that they would go to war with us, can only be accounted for by supposing that he judged too highly of Mr. Madison's understanding; that, as he knew America could derive no possible advantage from war, so he concluded that her ruler would never have recourse to it for the gratification of his own selfish passions. But, while he doubted, America had decided; and before the declaration of the President could reach England, Mr. Perceval was no more. That excellent minister and upright man was shot in the lobby of the House of Commons on the 11th of May, 1812, by one John Bellingham, who was immediately taken, and having been tried, was found guilty and executed on the 18th of the same month.

In the spring, the British squadron assembled at Halifax, where it was evident that war was confidently anticipated by the admiral. I was sent in the Spartan to Quebec, with

money to pay the troops; and had orders to co-operate with and assist the governor of the Canadas, Sir George Prevost, in fitting the gun-boats for the protection of the river, or to act in any other way for the good of the service. The Belvidera was off New York. The Africa, Guerrière and Shannon were cruising in the vicinity of Cape Cod. About the 25th of June an express reached Sir George Prevost, at Quebec, announcing a declaration of war on the part of the United States against Great Britain: this act was dated the 18th. The American squadron, under the command of Commodore Rogers, was sent out in search of our ships; but, it would seem, with orders "to drive them out of the waters of the United States," rather than to capture them. About this time, the British naval officers were accused of supine indifference in the discharge of their duty, and in every thing but the ornamenting of their ships: having, by the victory of Trafalgar annihilated the navies of Europe, it was said, they had resigned themselves to all the pride and insolence of invincible conquerors. The Earl of St. Vincent, in a letter to myself, in 1813, thus expresses himself: "I hear the exercise of the great gun is laid aside, and is succeeded by a foolish frippery and useless ornament." How far this may have been the case on other stations, I shall not say; but certainly on the coast of North America, it was not so: the ships on that station being kept constantly in exercise, under the daily expectation of a war, although, at the same time, due care was taken by the admiral to avoid giving offence to the Americans. This is shown in the following extract from the orders of Vice-admiral Sawyer, given to me as captain of the Spartan, and dated at Bermuda, the 6th of January, 1812:

> In the execution of this service, you are to be particularly careful to give no just cause of offence to the Government or subjects of the United States, and to caution the officers who may be sent on board their vessels accordingly. You are not to anchor in any of their ports but in cases of necessity.

Similar orders were given to the Little Belt and all the cruisers. It is therefore not at all credible that a British naval officer, tenacious of character, and impatient of rebuke, would subject himself to the loss of his appointment, by any deviation from so plain a path.

On the 28th of April, 1812, Bonaparte repealed his famous Berlin and Milan decrees, in consequence of which, on the 23d of June, the orders in council, as far as they related to the United States, were repealed in England. On the same day, Commodore Rogers attacked the Belvidera, off Sandy Hook,

near New York; an act of precipitation which Mr. Madison himself and his country had cause to deplore.

The American squadron consisted of the President of fifty-four guns and four hundred and seventy-six men; the United States, Commodore Decatur, of the same force; the Congress, Captain Smith, of thirty-six guns; the Essex, thirty-two guns, Captain David Porter; also the Hornet and Argus, two very large and well-manned sloops of war. Commodore Rogers sailed from New York on the 21st of June, and on the 23d fell in with the Belvidera, of 36 guns, commanded by Captain Richard Byron, unacquainted with the declaration of war, but perfectly prepared for it as a probable event. Captain Byron at first stood towards the strangers; but, having ascertained by their inattention to his private signals that they were Americans, greatly superior to him in force, at half-past 11 in the forenoon he tacked, with very light winds, while the Americans kept the breeze; and at 20 minutes past four the President began to fire her bow guns at the Belvidera. This was the first act of open and undisguised hostility on the part of America. Captain Byron returned the fire from two 18-pounders out of his cabin windows, and two 32-pound carronades from his stern ports on the quarter-deck. The President, having the advantage of sailing, might very soon have been alongside the Belvidera; but the commodore kept constantly altering the position of his ship, to bring his guns to bear. By thus altering his course, he dropped astern, showing the same indecision as in the affair of the Little Belt. This running fight had lasted from four till near seven o'clock, when another American frigate came up, and began to fire, but at so great a distance as to excite the contempt of the people on board the Belvidera. At half-past 10, Captain Byron hauled up six points, and the Americans followed him, though not with the spirit and determination of men bent on the destruction or capture of their enemy. At half-past 11, P. M., to the astonishment of the British officers, the President wore, and hove-to! Thus ended the first naval action of the second American war, leaving the conduct and character of Commodore Rogers in a worse state than after the affair of the Little Belt.

It was affirmed, by way of excuse for the commodore, that one of his chase-guns had burst, and killed or wounded 22 men, besides six others who met their fate from the shot of the Belvidera: but, admitting this, still the President was not disabled; and the indelible disgrace sustained by Commodore Rogers, on this occasion, was a just retribution for the injury he had done to the brave Captain Bingham. The able and gallant conduct of Captain Byron was beyond all praise: no

ship ever showed a higher state of discipline, loyalty, and thorough command of all the requisites for a ship of war. Mr. Sykes, her first lieutenant, was promoted to the rank of commander, as a compliment, not only to his captain and himself, but to the officers and ship's crew; which certainly would not have been done had there been any want of discipline observable in the ship. The loss on board the Belvidera was two killed and three or four wounded; among the latter were the gallant Byron and Lieutenant Bruce. The rigging was much damaged; and, shameful to relate, though a new ship, her ring-bolts and gun-fastenings gave way at every discharge.

Captain Byron, on his way to Halifax, detained three American vessels, which he carried in with him, but which were released by Admiral Sawyer, who, with becoming prudence and caution, and still unwilling to believe that the Americans meant more than "to drive us out of their waters," sent Captain Thompson, in the Colibri, with a flag of truce, to New York, to demand an explanation. This overture met with the reception which might have been expected, although the vice-admiral was perfectly justifiable in sending it. It was his duty to prove, like Sir James Saumarez, in the Baltic, that no precipitation of his, no eagerness for prize money, had induced him to grasp at the first excuse for beginning hostilities. On the return of the Colibri, and the embarkation of Mr. Forster from the United States, there was no longer a hope of peace; and the vice-admiral sent out his cruisers in every direction, more with a view to give assistance to the trade of his country, than to enrich himself by captures from the enemy.

The American privateers swarmed on the coast of Nova Scotia, in the bay of Fundy, off the Bermudas, the gulf of Florida, Barbadoes, in short, every track, every creek, by which our commerce had been in the habit of passing to and from the mother country. Nevertheless, the madness of the American Government, in thus going to war without a previous embargo of one year at least, was soon very apparent by the numerous valuable captures made by the British cruisers.

The American squadron, whose orders, it appears, were to intercept the West India convoy, then on its passage home, and not very far from them, might have succeeded, had they not been detained three days in repairing the damages sustained by the President from the fire of the Belvidera.

The squadron under Captain Broke having arrived off New York, that active officer gained intelligence of the American commodore, and stood to the southward, in the hope of falling in with the convoy. He saw and chased the Constitution, but could not come up with her. He, however, took many prizes;

burned a number of American vessels, and, on the 25th, spoke an English schooner, which had parted with the Jamaica fleet on the day preceding, under convoy of the Thetis frigate. Captain Broke made all sail to join them, which he was so fortunate as to effect on the 29th, in lat. 40° 44′ N., and long. 63° 12′ W., accompanying them as far as the lat. of 43°, and long. 52° W., when any farther apprehension of their being attacked by the Americans might be dismissed. A heavy gale of wind and a thick fog separated the ships on the banks of Newfoundland; and early in the month of August, the provisions and water being nearly expended, the British squadron returned to Halifax.

In the mean time the Guerrière, cruising alone on the banks of Newfoundland, on the 19th (according to Captain Dacres's official letter, but the 20th according to Captain Hull's) of that month, fell in with the Constitution, an American frigate, of the same force as the President, though inferior as to scantling. The Constitution, when first seen, was to windward: it was blowing fresh, with a heavy sea running; the Guerrière was on a wind, on the starboard tack. As the enemy appeared determined to fight, Captain Dacres shortened sail to his topsails, foresail, jib, and driver, and threw his main-topmast to the mast. The Constitution also hove-to, hauled up her courses, took a reef in her topsails, and handed her topgallant-sails. Captain Dacres filled, and stood on under the same sail, upon a wind. The Constitution came down, and at 10 minutes past four this eventful action began by the Guerrière firing a few guns at the Constitution, more with a view to try the distance than for any effective attack. At 15 minutes past four the American hoisted his colours, and opened his fire; the Guerrière wore several times to avoid being raked, and the action was continued as both ships ran off the wind, the Constitution, on the larboard-beam of the Guerrière, endeavouring to cross her bows, but which Captain Dacres for some time prevented. Thus far the two ships had fought with an equal chance of success, when the day was decided by one of those accidents to which ships of war are ever liable, and which can rarely be guarded against. A 24-pound shot passed through the mizen-mast of the Guerrière, and at 20 minutes past five the mast fell over the larboard-quarter: the ship consequently came to against her helm, which was kept hard a-port, and the Constitution had an opportunity of raking her with a very destructive fire. The stern of the Constitution coming in contact with the bow of the Guerrière, the boarders on each side were preparing to rush into the opposing ships, but were prevented by the motion, and the uncertainty of the number which might be

able to reach the decks of the enemy at one time. While the bow guns of the Guerrière, and her small-arm men, were firing into the Constitution, the latter, with a numerous company of well-trained marines, did great execution among the officers and crew of the Guerrière, whose bowsprit at that moment striking the taffrail of the Constitution, slacked the forestay of the Guerrière; and, the fore-shrouds on the larboard or weather side being mostly shot away, the mast fell over on the starboard side, crossing the main-stay; the sudden jerk carried the main-mast along with it, leaving the Guerrière a defenceless wreck, rolling her main-deck guns in the water. The American, as soon as the Guerrière's masts fell, removed to a distance, lying by for a short time to repair her damages. Captain Dacres, though severely wounded, still kept the deck, and with his brave officers and crew exerted himself to clear the wreck and get the ship before the wind. The spritsail was loosed, and, a small spar being lashed to the stump of the foremast, in three quarters of an hour a topmast-studdingsail was set on it, and she was going off before the wind. But valour, skill, and exertion were alike fruitless; the spritsail-yard went in the slings, the haul-yards of the jury fore-yard were shot away, and the motion of the ship was so quick and so violent that it was impossible to work a great gun. She had several shot-holes between wind and water, the Constitution had taken a position to rake her, without the smallest chance of the Guerrière returning a shot, and, the officers concurring in opinion with the captain, the colours were struck.*

Mr. Ready, the second lieutenant, commanding on the main-deck of the Guerrière, was killed, with 14 men; the captain, first lieutenant (Mr. Kent), and 61 seamen and marines wounded. This number made nearly one-third of the crew with which she went into action. The third lieutenant, second lieutenant of marines, two midshipmen, and 20 seamen were away in prizes. All the officers, and every midshipman capable of taking charge of a watch (except one), were wounded. The

* This account of the action between the contending frigates differs very little from that which is given in a work written in America, by a Mr. A. Bowen, and called "The Naval Monument." As a history, that work is so partial as to be quite beneath criticism: the official documents only are valuable; but they are disgraced by an exaggerated statement of the British force: for this I am, however, inclined to make great allowance; they had too much to show, by way of example, in our own Gazettes. I cannot notice this work any further. The prints, or plates, are quite contemptible, and do not deserve the name of engravings. My account of the different engagements between our ships and those of the United States was written very shortly after they occurred, and at a time when all the facts were fresh in my memory, and I cannot consent to alter them on the suggestions or assertions of persons who, being entirely destitute of local or professional knowledge, were incompetent judges.

comparative force of the ships will be best shown by the accompanying table; and, when all the circumstances are taken into consideration, it will be allowed that the Guerrière was most nobly defended against a ship very nearly double her force; and that the sentence of the court-martial, by which Captain Dacres, his officers, and ship's company were honourably acquitted, was no more than a just tribute to their valour and misfortunes. Captain Dacres, as a proof that the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty approved of his conduct, was, before the conclusion of the American war, appointed to the Tiber, a new frigate, of 44 guns, which he commanded for five years; and in 1833 was appointed to the Edinburgh, of 74 guns, in which ship he has ever since been employed in the Mediterranean. He owes this command to the shameful attack made on his character in the House of Commons by the late William Cobbett. If this author wrote or spoke in ignorance, he was inexcusable; still more so, if in the spirit of that rancorous and hostile feeling towards the British navy, which he so keenly evinced in every part of his writings that ever came under my notice. He was too little scrupulous in the article of veracity to be relied on as a credible witness. I remember his saying, in 1803, when Lord St. Vincent was at the head of the Admiralty, "that such was the degraded state of the navy at that period that no officer of spirit or merit could be found to take the command of a ship." This was at the most brilliant period of our maritime warfare.

CONSTITUTION.

	Guns.	*Men.*	*Boys.*
Main-deck	30 24-pounders	476	
Quarter-deck	24 32-pounders		
Forecastle	2 long 18-pounders.		

GUERRIÈRE.

Main-deck	30 18-pounders	244	19
Quarter-deck	14 32-pounders		
Forecastle	2 32-pounders. 2 long 9-pounders.		

Lieutenant Kent was promoted to the rank of commander.

The Guerrière could not muster more than seven men to a gun, and in some instances only five; the number of her small-arm men was not above 30, while her enemy had more than 60, besides 12 riflemen in each top.

Captain Dacres, on going into action, gave permission to seven American seamen (all he had on board) to retire from their quarters. Of this they availed themselves. Had the de-

generate Englishmen on board the Constitution asked for and received the same indulgence, it is probable the ship would have been taken into Halifax.

On the morning after the action it was discovered that the Guerrière was so completely a wreck that it would be impossible to take her into port; she was therefore set on fire and burnt. The conduct of Captain Hull, of the Constitution, to Captain Dacres, and his officers and crew, was that of a humane and gallant enemy, with one exception only, which I am about to mention. Soon after his arrival at Boston, Captain Hull, resigning the command of the Constitution, was made a commodore and a commissioner of the navy of the United States.

It appeared in evidence on the court-martial that there were many Englishmen on board the Constitution, and these were leading men, or captains of guns. The officers of the Guerrière knew some of them personally, and one man in particular, who had been captain of the forecastle in the Eurydice, a British frigate, then recently come from England; another was in the Achille at Trafalgar; and the third lieutenant of the Constitution, whose name was Read, was supposed to be an Irishman. It was said, and I have no reason to doubt the fact, that there were 200 British seamen on board the Constitution when she began the action; so that we may justly say it was a large British frigate taking a small one.

Captain Dacres, while lying wounded in his cot, heard one of the men say to an American boatswain's mate, "Don't strike me! you Yankee ———: if it had not been for us, you would never have had the Guerrière." And so fearful was Captain Hull that the remnant of the Guerrière's crew would be tempted by the number of their countrymen on board to make some desperate effort, that he kept his prisoners manacled and chained to the deck during the night and a greater part of the day.

I have been more than usually minute in giving the particulars of this ill-fated action, not only with a view of rescuing the character of a brother officer and esteemed friend from undeserved censure, but to efface an impression that our navy was declining, and our officers and men deficient in their duty! The erroneous inference was founded on a supposition, that if two ships happen to be called frigates, the lesser one, being manned and commanded by Englishmen, ought to take the greater, though a ship very nearly double her force. We need scarcely enter into any argument to prove the fallacy of such an expectation. A ship five feet wider, and 12 or 15 feet longer, has much more room for fighting her guns, is steadier

on the water, higher above its surface, and less vulnerable to the shot of her enemy, as her sides and her masts are so much thicker, while the shot of her adversary are proportionably smaller. If to these advantages we add nearly double the number of men, and the stoutest of them Englishmen, we think the capture of the Guerrière is fairly accounted for.*

In July the Americans invaded the western provinces of Upper Canada. The war was carried on with the utmost vigour on both sides, yet without any declaration on our part. The port of Halifax was crowded with prizes of the most valuable nature, though till the following year no commission was granted for their trial or condemnation. Much of their cargoes was stolen from them by nightly plunderers, and much afterwards consumed in expensive litigation, while the hulls of the vessels drifted from their anchors, and were scattered in careless profusion round the harbour. This apparent indifference on the part of Government to the interests of the seamen was the cause of great desertion and discontent. According to the *Gazette* numbers, no less than 1,400 sail of ships of war, privateers and merchant-vessels, were taken in the course of the short space of two years and a half; and by accurate calculation it appears that British vessels taken by the Americans were fully equal in number, and perhaps of greater value.

On the 27th of September Admiral Sir John Warren arrived at Halifax, in the St. Domingo, of 74 guns. He took on him not only the command on the North American station, including Newfoundland, but also that of the Windward and Leeward Islands and Jamaica; and was vested with the powers of a minister plenipotentiary.

That a command so extensive as this should have been intrusted to one officer, may excite some feelings of astonishment and regret. I never heard any good reason given for it in time of war. To unite the commands of Quebec and Jamaica was not less incongruous than it would have been to unite those of the Channel and the Mediterranean, since the communication from one to the other is equally remote and uncertain. Sir John Warren seemed to be sensible that his powers, or rather

* It is pleasing to add, that since Captain Dacres has been at Malta, in the command of the Edinburgh, he has had the satisfaction of meeting with, and showing attention to, Commodore Hull, and his amiable consort, who visited that island very lately. Perhaps there are few pleasures greater to a noble mind, than meeting in peace those against whom we have honourably contended in war. Dacres always entertained a high respect and esteem for Hull; and I have often heard him bear testimony to the excellent character, both public and private, of Commodore Rogers, whose courage and honour, he says, were undoubted. I am happy to relate this, because the authority is good, and because my readers might and would draw a contrary inference from what I have been compelled to say in the affair of the Little Belt, and of the Belvidera.

that the extent of his command, was enormous, and observed to me that he thought the Government had acted wisely in making such an arrangement, "because you know," he said, "if I want ships from Jamaica or Barbadoes, I have only to send for them." It was not for me to argue with my commander-in-chief on this delicate point; but I might have observed, that it would have been as easy to draw reinforcements from England as from the West Indies. Perhaps, had the gallant admiral held the chief command at Jamaica, and found himself placed *under* that of North America, he might have been induced to question the propriety of the new arrangement.

Sir John Warren was accompanied by the Poictiers, of 74 guns, commanded by Sir John P. Beresford: some noble frigates also arrived on the coast from England, intelligence having been received that Commodore Rogers had sailed with a squadron to destroy our Newfoundland trade. Captain Broke was sent after him with the Shannon, Nymph, and Tenedos, of 38 guns each, and the Curlew, brig. Sir John Warren sailed soon after for the Chesapeake, with a very strong squadron. In November Vice-admiral Sawyer returned to England.

Another action of as mortifying a nature as the last was fought between the Frolic brig sloop of war, of 18 guns, and the Wasp, called also a sloop of war by the Americans, but as much superior to her opponent in point of size, scantling, and number of her crew, as the Constitution was to the Guerrière; to which it may be added, that the Frolic was a disabled vessel, only half manned.

Captain Whinyates, of the Frolic, was on his passage home from the bay of Honduras with a convoy, on the 16th of October, 1812. After having come through the gulf of Florida, and being informed of the war with America, he encountered a gale of wind, which dispersed his convoy, carried away his main-yard, and sprung his main-topmast: he was short of his proper complement of men, and of his crew one-third were fit subjects for invaliding. On the 18th of October, after having collected six sail of his convoy, he fell in with the Wasp, an American sloop of 20 guns, eighteen 32-pounders, and two long 12-pounders, and 138 men.

Captain Whinyates first made the signal to the convoy to provide for their own safety; after which, when they were at such a distance as to ensure their escape, he came to the wind and engaged his enemy. This action, like that of the Guerrière's, was also decided by an accident. The fire of the Frolic was so spirited, that in a few minutes the fore-topmast of the Wasp fell over the side, and, unfortunately, almost at the same

moment, the gaff-head of the Frolic, which, having no square mainsail, wanted after-sail to keep her to the wind. This allowed the Wasp to take a raking position, and the decks of the Frolic were swept of her officers and men with comparative impunity; but nothing could induce Captain Whinyates to surrender, as long as there was a chance of victory: when the Frolic had scarcely 20 men unhurt on her decks, the crew of the Wasp boarded from their own vessel, and struck the British colours. Captain Whinyates surrendered his sword to an enemy who could not but respect his valour. The Frolic had 15 officers and men killed; her first lieutenant and master mortally wounded; Captain Whinyates, the second lieutenant, Mr. B. Wintle, and 43 men wounded with more or less severity: some of these died in consequence. The British brig was entirely disabled. The Wasp, which had 137 stout men, was supposed to have eight men killed, and as many wounded, but their numbers were carefully concealed. The action was scarcely ended, when the Poictiers, of 74 guns, hove in sight, retook the Frolic, and captured the Wasp. In number of guns and weight of metal the two sloops were nearly equal; the superiority of the Wasp lay in her size, the number and quality of men, and scantling of her timbers. A court-martial decided the merit of Captain Whinyates, by declaring that he had done all that could be done to defend his vessel, and he was therefore honourably acquitted, with all his officers and crew. Captain Whinyates at the time of fighting this action was a post-captain, but did not know it: he received his commission on his arrival in England.

Another severe mortification awaited us, in the capture of the Macedonian, a British frigate, similar in size and rating to the Guerrière, that is to say, an 18-pound frigate, with a complement of 284 men.

On the 28th of October, 1812, in lat. 29° N., and long. 29° 30′ W. this frigate, commanded by Captain J. S. Carden, fell in with the United States, an American frigate of the largest class. Both ships mutually steered a course to close with each other. The Macedonian set her fore-topmast, and top-gallant studding-sails: it was blowing strong: Captain Carden, as the enemy approached, took in his studding-sails, and was under a plain sail before a shot was fired. The British frigate, sailing faster than the American, would soon have been alongside of her, but in the first or second broadside the Macedonian lost her mizen-topmast, and gaff-haulyards. This produced an equality in the rate of sailing, and the United States kept her enemy in one position on the quarter in a running fight. The first man killed on board the Macedonian was by a 42-

pound carronade shot,—a proof that, contrary to numerous reports, he commenced action within range of carronade, and indeed so close, that Captain Carden attempted to lay his enemy on board, in which he was disappointed only by his lee-forebrace being shot away. This brought his ship up in the wind, and probably saved the lives of most of his crew; for it would be the height of presumption to suppose, that the very reduced numbers on board the Macedonian could have contended against the crew of the United States, in a personal conflict, as an assailing enemy. Captain Carden was ignorant of the action that had been fought between the Guerrière and Constitution. He exerted himself to the utmost to defeat his enemy, but was compelled to surrender, after his mizen-mast and topmasts were shot away, and his ship a mere wreck. The Macedonian had 36 men killed; 36 severely, and 32 slightly wounded. A court-martial acquitted him, his officers, and crew. Mr. David Hope, the first lieutenant, was severely wounded in the head, towards the close of the action; but, after being carried below, he immediately returned to his duty. This officer was highly complimented for his gallantry by the court, and is now a captain. He is the same whose conduct we noticed as first lieutenant of the Freya at Guadaloupe, in the year 1810. The guns of the United States, according to the official report of Captain Carden, were, on the main-deck, 30 long 24-pounders; forecastle and quarter-deck, 22 carronades 42-pounders, and two long 24-pounders; making 54 guns, besides a traversing carronade and howitzers in her tops; her complement of picked men amounted to 476. The present Vernon would have been a fitter match for her.

Captain Carden received his sword from Rear-admiral Sir Henry Hotham, the president of the court, who took occasion to pay him a very handsome compliment on his gallantry; and as the court was composed of men of honour, of the naval profession, it is to be presumed that an investigation of four days put them in possession of the facts, and that they returned a verdict according to their oaths.

Commodore Decatur, who commanded the United States, behaved to his prisoners in a manner so honourable and humane, as to entitle him, not only to the thanks of Captain Carden and his officers and men, but also to the grateful record of history. The commodore, who was an ornament to his country, lost his life in a duel with a brother officer: they fought with muskets; both shots took effect, but one only inflicted a mortal wound.

The year 1812 terminated with the loss of another British frigate, the Java, of 36 guns, 18-pounders, commanded by

Captain Henry Lambert, one of our most distinguished officers, whom we have had occasion to mention with peculiar honour in the East Indies, as captain of the Psyche and St. Fiorenzo. The Java, on her way to the East Indies, had sailed from England late in the year. She was newly equipped, with a crew composed of different portions of the men of other ships, and a sad mixture from the guard-ships at the Nore, and in Hamoaze: such at the close of the war were the generality of our crews. She had but a small proportion of seamen, and 19 of her men were away in a prize.

On the 29th of December, when off St. Salvador, on the coast of South America, the Java fell in with the Constitution, commanded by Commodore Bainbridge. At first, the Constitution, on making out the Java to be a British frigate, stood away from her under all sail upon a wind. The Java pursued and gained on her, when the American hoisted her colours. shortened sail, and, bearing up, placed herself on the lee-bow of the Java. At 10 minutes past two she began to fire, when half a mile distant from her enemy, giving her larboard broadside. This was not returned by the Java until close upon the weather-bow of the Constitution, when a determined action ensued. The American avoided close fighting, and fired high to disable the Java, in which he too well succeeded: by cutting away the head of her bowsprit, and most of her running rigging, he obtained the weather-gage, and at length raked the Java, with a heavy and destructive fire. Captain Lambert had ordered his ship to be laid on board the enemy, but at the very moment his foremast fell, and soon after the main-topmast, while the stump of the Java's bowsprit passed over the Constitution's taffrail. It was now easy to perceive that the day was gone: the only hope was by boarding, which the enemy was too wary to allow; having all his masts standing. At half-past three, Captain Lambert received a mortal wound in the breast, and was carried below. The command devolved on Lieutenant Henry Ducie Chads, the first lieutenant. Many of the guns of the Java were disabled: two or three were all that could be brought to bear until a quarter-past four, when her mizen-mast falling, she broke off a little, and brought her starboard guns to bear, and the enemy's rigging being much cut, she could not avoid shooting a-head, which brought the two ships fairly alongside of each other. In this position they continued engaging until 35 minutes past four, when the Java's main-yard went in the slings; and she was frequently on fire, owing to the wreck hanging over her guns on the fighting side. The American now made sail a-head, and remained out of gun-shot for one hour, while the Java lay an unmanageable

wreck, with nothing standing but her main-mast, and that expected to fall every moment. The Java was, however, not yet given up, though in a condition in which few would have thought a defence practicable; still, like the Guerrière, they rigged a small jury-foremast, cleared the wreck from their guns, and spared no exertion to be ready to renew the action. A small sail was set on the bowsprit: the weather half of the main-yard remaining aloft, the main-tack was hauled on board, and the helm put up in hopes of getting before the wind, but, the ship rolling very heavily, the main-mast fell, and nearly covered with its wreck the whole of the starboard guns. What more could be done by the bravest? a useless sacrifice of those who, while a hope remained, freely devoted themselves to the cause of their country, would have been an ungrateful return for their patriotism; and, as the Constitution approached within hail to rake them, the officers of the Java agreed with Mr. Chads, that it would be proper to surrender, and at five minutes past five the colours were struck. No sooner were the wounded men taken from the ship, than the American captain, seeing *she could not float*, set her on fire, and she went down. The reader will be struck with the remarkable similarity between this action and that between the same American frigate and the Guerrière; and the result of the whole forms a mass of undeniable evidence, proving that neither courage, discipline, nor seamanship, was wanting on our side, but that these frigates were taken, simply because they were opposed to ships as much their superiors in every respect as a British first-rate is to an 80-gun ship. The killed on board the Java amounted to 22, viz., five mates and midshipmen, a clerk, and 16 seamen and marines; besides the captain, who died a week after. The first lieutenant, master, and 75 seamen, Lieutenant Davies, of marines, two sergeants, two corporals, and 17 privates, were wounded.

Captain John Marshall, of the royal navy, a passenger, Lieutenant James Saunders, of the navy, and Captain Wood (aide-de-camp to Lieutenant-general Hislop, who was also on board), were wounded.

Mr. Chads wrote a very modest letter, accounting for the capture of the Java, in which he detailed the action in the language, not only of a seaman, but of a scholar and a gentleman. He spoke of the support he had received from Lieutenant-general Hislop, Major Walker, and Captain Wood; of Captain John Marshall, R. N.; of the Lieutenants Hetheringham and Buchanan; of Mr. Robinson, the master, and Lieutenants Mercer and Davies, of the marines; and of the Lieutenants Aplin and Saunders, R. N., who were passengers. He diffi-

dently offered a tribute of praise to his gallant and lamented captain, whose remains were interred with military honours at St. Salvador. Commodore Bainbridge behaved with great kindness to the officers of the Java; but Mr. Chads states that the crew were plundered of everything by the Americans, and confined in irons. This latter instance of rigour might only have been an effect of caution, as Captain Broke was obliged to confine the Americans, and Captain Hull the crew of the Guerrière. A monument in St. Paul's cathedral deservedly commemorates the name of Captain Henry Lambert as a young and deeply-regretted naval hero.

The Constitution received in this action so much damage, that a very little more resistance, had it been possible to have made it, would have at least reduced her to a wreck, if not have compelled her to submit to an 18-pound frigate. Her fore-mast, mizen-mast, and main-topmast, were much cut, as were her yards and rigging. She had 10 men killed and 46 wounded, four of whom died within the week. The commodore and his fifth lieutenant were also wounded.

The remaining officers and crew, who survived from the Java, were speedily conveyed to England, where, in the month of April following, they were brought to a court-martial for the loss of the ship. The trial took place on the 13th of April. Sir Graham Moore, one of the best judges of naval merit in our service, was the president of the court. After all the evidence had been gone through, and the defence concluded, the prisoners were *most honourably acquitted*, and Rear-admiral Moore thus addressed Lieutenant Henry Ducie Chads:—

> I have much satisfaction in returning you your sword. Had you been an officer who had served in comparative obscurity all your life, and never before heard of, your conduct on this occasion has been sufficient to establish your character as a brave, skilful, and attentive officer.

The same observations made on the capture of the Guerrière will apply to the Java; both ships were overmatched, and both were taken by the assistance of British seamen. Let us endeavour to attach that class of men more firmly to their country by every act of kindness and justice, and we need not then be jealous of America, or fear any nation on earth.

Lieutenant Chads was promoted to the rank of commander, and in 1825 to the rank of captain, for his brilliant services in the Irrawaddy during the Burmese war, of which we are shortly to speak.

CHAPTER XIX.

1. Debates in Parliament on the American war—Treaty with Sweden, and union of Sweden and Norway—Losses of the French in the Russian campaign—Prussia and Austria join the allies—Successes of their arms—Lord Wellington defeats the French at Vittoria, and enters France—Capture of Cuxhaven, Stadt, and Gluckstadt—Position of the allied armies—Counter-revolution in Holland—Prince of Orange embarks on board the Warrior, and lands in his dominions.
2. *Channel.*—Capture of the Argus, American brig of war, by the Pelican—Capture of the Weser and Trave, French frigates—Defence, capture, and re-capture of the fortress of Castro.
3. *Mediterranean.*—Various achievements—Conduct of Captain Black in the Weasel—Attack on the Col de Belaguer—Storming of St. Sebastian—Capture of Fiume by Rear-admiral Fremantle—Capture of Cattaro, D'Anzo, and Lucca—Attempt on Leghorn.
4. *North America, &c.*—Action between the Hornet and Peacock—Nondescript frigates sent out—Despondency of the British nation on the supposed decline of its marine—Action between the Shannon and Chesapeake—Observations on the clock-machines and torpedoes—Horrible plot of some Americans to blow up the Ramillies—Destruction of a lieutenant and ten seamen—Capture of the Boxer gun-brig—Death of Captain Blythe—Operations on the Coast of North America conducted by Rear-admiral Cockburn—Destruction of Havre de Grace—Capture of Kent Island—Proceedings on the lakes—Actions with American flotilla—Capture of the British vessels Detroit and Queen Charlotte.—General Remarks—Action between the Amelia and Arethuse.—Successes of Captains Dashwood and Pell.

THE war with America was the question which engrossed the attention of the British Parliament. On the 18th of February Lord Castlereagh delivered to the House of Commons a most able, luminous, and satisfactory account of the whole correspondence with that country, and the transactions which had led to the commencement of hostilities. His lordship's speech was founded on the declaration of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, dated on the 19th of January preceding. This declaration completely disproved every assertion of Mr. Madison, in his message to the Senate of the 4th of November, 1812.

Lord Castlereagh observed, "that the Americans, in their complaints against this country, had assumed that Great Britain had impressed 15,000 or 20,000 citizens of the United States; but, upon particular inquiry by the Admiralty, it had

appeared, that out of 145,000 seamen employed in the British service in January, 1811, the whole number claiming to be American subjects amounted to no more than 3,300, of whom not more than one in four could prove their citizenship; so that the real number would have been reduced to 1,600, or 1,700,"—the whole of whom, his lordship might have added, were discharged as soon as their claims were proved. "Nor could the House of Commons believe," said his lordship, "that for such a consideration as 1,700 seamen, his Majesty's Government would irritate the feelings of a neutral nation, or evade public justice." Having convinced the great majority of the house of the moderation and propriety of the measures pursued by the Government, his lordship concluded by moving an humble address to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, assuring his Royal Highness of the entire approval of the resistance which had been made by the British Government to the unjustifiable pretensions of America; being satisfied that those pretensions could not be admitted without surrendering some of the most ancient, undoubted, and important rights of the British empire. This subject should, however, be very clearly understood; and if we so justly value these rights in our own case, let us also respect them in that of our neighbours; this is no more than strict justice demands. A case of necessity, no doubt, might arise when it would be necessary to impress men, and even horses and carriages for their conveyance to the scene of action; but we must be certain that the necessity really exists before we have recourse to such violent, and otherwise unjustifiable, measures; and we must also be prepared for the consequences, both of resentment and resistance. No nation will submit which has the power to resist; and if the certain consequence of the act be war, it behoves us to look well, and calculate the cost beforehand. It would have been infinitely cheaper to have given our sailors double pay, and thus outbid the American Government, than to have gone to war for the recovery of a few hundred seamen. If these men are necessary for our defence, pay them well, and do them justice, and your ships will be crowded with volunteers as soon as your regiments. Let us be just, and leave our cause to God.

On the 12th of March the Marquis Wellesley, no longer in office, made his motion relative to the retreat of the British army under Lord Wellington, from Burgos, at the latter end of the preceding year, contending that Lord Wellington had not been supported by a sufficient supply of troops to enable him to face the enemy. His lordship was answered by Earl Bathurst and the Earl of Liverpool, and his motion was lost by a great majority.

The motion of the Earl of Darnley, in the House of Peers, on the 14th of May, met a similar fate. His lordship, in calling the attention of the House to our naval disasters on the coast of North America, particularly alluded to the action between the Peacock and Hornet (to be presently related). He disapproved of the small force on the coast of America at the commencement of hostilities, when it had long been obvious that a war must ensue; and contended, that five sail of the line, 17 frigates, and an adequate number of small vessels, should have been stationed to blockade the enemy's ports. His lordship remarked on the length of time which had elapsed between the declaration of war on the part of America, on the 18th of June, and the granting of letters of marque and reprisals in this country, on the 13th of October, and observed, that more than two months elapsed after this last date before "any orders were given to blockade the Chesapeake and the Delaware, but Rhode Island *and* Newport remained open, and in the *last* the American frigate was refitted which took the Macedonian." Who would not suppose from this statement that these were two harbours? Yet I can affirm that there is but one; Newport being the name of the town and harbour of Rhode Island. The licences granted by the British Government to the American commerce were strongly and justly reprobated; and his lordship concluded by saying that a case had been made out loudly demanding investigation. The motion was seconded by Earl Stanhope.

Lord Melville contended, that although it was easy to foresee hostilities, yet a general opinion prevailed that a revocation of the orders in council would have satisfied the American Government. With respect to the lapse of time between their declaration of war and ours the delay had been admitted, in hopes that America would have altered its determination. His lordship denied that it was the duty of Ministers to keep a fleet always on the coast sufficient to blockade the ports; "the public service in other parts of the world," his lordship said, "would not have admitted of it." With respect to the extraordinary dimensions of the American frigates, his lordship said, and (I think with very great propriety,) "that we were not to alter the classes of ships in the British navy merely to meet those of America; that it was far better to send out seventy-fours for that purpose." I am sorry this wise determination was ever departed from, by building or altering those non-descripts, of which I shall speak in another place. The motion of Earl Darnley was lost by a large majority, in favour of Ministers.

On the 11th of June the treaty, then recently concluded between Great Britain and Sweden, was laid before Parliament.

By this treaty it appeared that the King of Sweden was to employ 30,000 men in direct operation on the Continent against the common enemy; they were to be commanded by the Prince Royal of Sweden, and to act in concert with the troops of Russia. His Britannic Majesty acceded to the convention between these two powers as far as it related to the annexation of Norway to Sweden, promising to afford his assistance, if necessary, towards the accomplishment of that object.

The reasons assigned for this arrangement were, that the French Government had occupied Swedish Pomerania, and menaced the empire of Russia. The contracting parties had engaged to make a diversion with from 25,000 to 30,000 Swedes, and 35,000 Russians, on some part of the coast of Germany; but as the King of Sweden could not, consistently with the safety of his dominions, make such a diversion, while he must regard Norway as an enemy, the Emperor of Russia engaged, either by negotiation or by force, to unite Norway to Sweden. The King of Denmark was to be indemnified by territory on the south side of the Baltic, more contiguous to his dominions. Sweden received from us a subsidy of £1,000,000 sterling. Guadaloupe was ceded to her in full sovereignty; his Swedish Majesty granting to Great Britain, for 20 years, the right of entrepôt in the ports of Gottenburg, Carlsham, and Stralsund, for all commodities, on an *ad valorem* duty of one per cent. The date of the treaty is the 24th of March, 1812.

Denmark and Norway were at first highly indignant at this transfer. Norway was disposed to resist; and in consequence her ports were declared, by a British order in Council, of 1814, to be in a state of blockade; but she soon after submitted, and the treaty was finally carried into effect, to the great regret of all who are acquainted with the manners, habits, and sentiments of that excellent people. The day may arrive when we shall have cause to lament that such an arrangement was ever confirmed. Sweden, "the *France* of the North," is much more likely to be our enemy than Denmark. In such an event the whole coast of Norway, abounding in good harbours and strong frontiers, will afford, as in the late war, the most inexhaustible means of annoyance to our trade. Add to this, the Norwegians will long remember the injury inflicted on them by our concurrence in the hateful measure of separating them from Denmark.

It is curious to observe the various mazes of political mutability. One hundred years before, Peter the Great and Charles XII. had combined against King George I. to wrest Norway from the Danes. England then espoused the cause of Denmark, and would have prevented the separation which, in 1813,

she was the means of effecting. (See "Hervey's Naval History," vol. iii. p. 381.) The death of Charles XII. disconcerted this plan in 1718.

The year 1812 closed on Napoleon with the loss, in his Russian campaign, of 41 generals, 1,298 officers, 167,000 men, and 1,131 pieces of cannon. Memel, with immense stores, fell into the hands of the allies. The Prussian general, D'Yorck, with 15,000 men, was cut off from the French army, and compelled to remain neuter; and Prussia almost immediately became the enemy of France. On the 6th of January, 1813, Witgenstein, the Russian general, entered Konigsberg, the French flying in the utmost confusion, leaving behind their sick, cannon, and baggage. Tchitchagoff and Platoff entered Marienwerder, from which Murat and Victor narrowly escaped. The Russian generals soon after took Marienburg and Elbing, and, crossing the Vistula, pursued the French in every direction. Platoff invested Dantzic. Napoleon, in the mean time, flying from his distressed army, as he had done in Egypt, got back to Paris, and directed his agents to make out the best story they could to tranquillize the public mind.

The following extracts of two letters written by Admiral Tchitchagoff, an officer of distinction greatly attached to this country, give in few words a perfect idea of the losses and the sufferings of the French army. This officer, though an admiral in the Russian service, acted on this occasion as a general, and I think with very great ability.*

Wilna, the $\frac{16}{17}$ December, 1812.

This was begun at . . . but could not be finished there; since that time I have been chasing Bonaparte till he got out of our frontiers. He has lost nearly all his guns, baggage, shot, and powder, and three-quarters of his army. He has saved himself, with some of his guards only; all the rest were left behind, in the most wretched state possible, famished, exhausted, and half-frozen. The road he has passed is covered with dead—frozen or killed. I am sure there never was such a scene of human misery witnessed, as in the countries he has gone through. His ravages can hardly be described. His people have been burned in the very cottages they set fire to, or frozen in those in which they had destroyed doors and windows, and which otherwise might have served to shelter them. I hope he will not attempt any thing more against a

* I have lately had the honour of becoming acquainted with this gallant and distinguished officer, and am indebted to him for much valuable information relative to the war between Sweden and Russia in 1789, as well as to that of 1812. The admiral is now a naturalized Englishman. His father, the late Admiral Tchitchagoff, commanded the fleet of Russia a part of the time, and the present admiral served under him. In the Russian service, admirals, or sea officers, not unfrequently served with the armies on shore.

country which is so strongly guarded by its position, and by its climate. The nation has shown a great hatred for the French, and has strongly contributed to their expulsion. They were destroyed whenever the peasants could get at them. This campaign must have cost him at least 300,000 men, and certainly a great loss of confidence, and a diminution of that terror, which other nations had of him. If every one does his duty now, the world may be delivered of its tyrant, and every nation recover its independence.

St. Petersburg, the $\frac{1}{13}$ June, 1813.

The last time I wrote, I mentioned only that I had quitted the army, without saying why. I can tell you something more of it now. Whilst I was coming from Moldavia to act with the troops that were to be opposed to Napoleon, who was already between me and Moscow and Petersburg, our communication was rather difficult, and therefore many people said what they thought about the state of my army, and greatly exaggerated our advantages over Bonaparte, reducing the number of the enemy, and augmenting mine, according to their own fancies. In short, it was so well managed, that on the point where I met Napoleon, he was said to have had 20,000 men, and about 24 guns only, and I, 80,000 men; but, in fact, he had 120,000, and more than 300 guns, when I had only 25,000 to oppose him. The truth of this was proved afterwards at the place where I first met him, at the passage of the river Beresino; there we found no less than 30,000 bodies, and I made about as many prisoners, besides what were frozen upon the road from thence to Wilna; yet Napoleon passed with nearly 50,000 through that town. The ignorant and the mischievous, at first clamorous, are now silent. The truth will be better known hereafter; but as I did not wish to expose myself to such stupid and absurd judges, I retired from the service.

Prussia and Austria again joined the allies. The French evacuated Pomerania; and, retreating towards the Elbe with the swarm of Douaniers from the shores of the Baltic, were encountered by a Danish army. Morand, the French general, on the 18th of March, was glad to escape across the Elbe, leaving his cannon behind him. Hamburgh gladly received General Tettenborne. The Russians and Prussians fought side by side against the French at Lunenberg, which they took by storm, and made 2,300 prisoners. General Morand was killed. Blucher was called to the head of the Prussian armies, and every hour brought fresh accounts of victory to the British capital; but the French, under Davoust, again got possession of Hamburgh, and grievous were the cruelties practised by that ferocious general. In the month of June an armistice was concluded between the Emperor Alexander and Napoleon, affording both parties time to recruit their forces.

Hostilities recommenced in August, when the Austrian army

took the field in favour of the allies. Tremendous conflicts succeeded before Dresden, in which Napoleon, after having in some degree quieted the fears of the Parisians, had intrenched himself with 130,000 men. An assault was made by the allies on the 27th of August. General Moreau, who had joined them, was mortally wounded, and the loss on both sides was considerable, without any decided results. On the 30th Vandamme was defeated at Kulm by the troops of Russia and Prussia, lost ten thousand men, sixty pieces of cannon, and was himself, with six of his generals, taken prisoner. Blucher had, on the 22d, defeated Marshal Macdonald near Goldberg, taking eighteen thousand prisoners, and one hundred and three pieces of cannon. The Crown Prince of Sweden, Bernadotte, with the Swedish, Russian, and Prussian troops united, defeated the French army, of seventy thousand men, under Marshal Ney, taking eighteen thousand prisoners, four hundred waggons, and fifty pieces of cannon.

Napoleon, in the month of October, concentrated his forces in and about Leipsic, to the amount of 180,000 men. On the 17th, 18th, and 19th he fought the famous battles in which he was utterly defeated; Leipsic was taken, himself escaping only two hours before the enemy entered the town.

In proportion as he lost ground in the north, his prospects in the south became still more desperate. His losses on the Elbe were supplied in some degree by draughts from Spain, whence he took near 30,000 veteran troops, and this after the Marquis of Wellington had defeated King Joseph at Vittoria. That glorious victory was obtained on the 21st of June, when Joseph, with Marshal Jourdan and the great body of the French forces, were completely overthrown and dispersed, with the loss of baggage, cannon, provisions, treasure, waggons, and cattle. Joseph crossed the Bidassoa and entered France, followed by the victorious Wellington, who planted the British banners on "the sacred soil."*

Captain Arthur Farquhar, of the Désirée, of 36 guns, had the command of the British vessels employed in the Elbe and Weser, and in the reduction of the fortress of Gluckstadt. The enemy was at that time flying from the neighbourhood of those rivers in the utmost confusion, pursued by the combined armies. Holland was effectually freed from the hated presence of the French soldiers.

By an order in council, dated the 27th of November, 1813, the blockade of the rivers Elbe, Weser, and Ems was discontinued; the provinces of East Friesland, the state of Kniphausen, the duchy of Oldenburgh, and the duchy of Bremen,

* So called by Napoleon.

were declared to be no longer under the control of France. Bremerleehe, or Castleburgh, on the Weser, having a French garrison of 260 men, and 13 pieces of ordnance, surrendered to the combined British and Russian forces on the 23d of November. Captain Farquhar, in La Desirée, contributed to the capture of this place.

The French had been driven from Cuxhaven, and regained possession more than once; but, on this occasion, with the assistance of Captain Farquhar, their expulsion was final. The works were very strong: they had 26 heavy guns, and four 13-inch mortars, with a garrison of 300 men. The city of Stadt, in the same river, was taken by the Russians. The army of the Crown Prince entered Holstein on the 28th of December. Davoust retreated on Hamburgh. Captain Farquhar, crossing the Elbe from Cuxhaven, ascended to Gluckstadt on the right bank, and co-operated with the Swedes in the reduction of that fortress, the siege and bombardment of which commenced on the 24th of December. Captain Farquhar's squadron lay in the river, and reduced the place to great distress. The assailing batteries fired red-hot shot, a mode of warfare very unusual with us since the siege of Gibraltar. While the British naval force thus harassed the town by night and day, and had frequently set it on fire, a detachment of the army of the Crown Prince of Sweden sat down before it, and protected the batteries from a sortie. A British rocket corps assisted at the siege; and the place finally surrendered on the 4th of January, 1814. This event released the army of the Crown Prince from before a fortress, which he could not with safety have left in his rear, and enabled him to neutralize the army of Denmark by a suspension of hostilities. Ten gun-boats and two sloops of war were taken from the enemy on this occasion. There were in this fortress 200 pieces of cannon, with an immense quantity of military stores.

Thus the tide of war set strong against the usurper's power. The Elbe, the Rhine, and the Bidassoa, the Danube, the Po, and the Guadalquivir no longer controlled the advance of the conquerors; every boundary was passed, and France became a prey to foreign invaders, after having for 22 years desolated Europe. The armies of Russia, Prussia, and Austria were ready to cross the Rhine in December, in the neighbourhood of Basle. The allies commanded the Elbe and Weser; the Duke of Wellington, at St. Jean de Luz, entered France between the sea and the Pyrenees; the Austrian armies were in Italy, on the shores of the Adriatic and the banks of the Mincio. The island of Schoenen surrendered to Lord George Stewart on the 7th of December, the French garrison be-

coming prisoners of war, and on the 9th his lordship, with great promptitude, obtained possession of the island of Tholen, and its battery, commanding the entrance to the Keetan.

About the same time, in consequence of information that an enemy's privateer had made many captures up the Elbe, Lieutenant T. B. Devon, of the Brevdrageren, proceeded up that river on the night of the 28th of March, 1813, with his own gig, and the Blazer's six-oared cutter, in search of her. At daylight two galliots were discovered at anchor, and on the supposition that they were merchantmen, the gig advanced considerably a-head of the cutter to examine them; nor was it discovered until within hail, that they were two Danish gun-vessels. To retreat, or even wait for the support of the other boats, was alike impracticable; nor was there time for hesitation, as the enemy, on hailing, immediately commenced firing. The gig boarded the nearest (the commodore) under the smoke of the second discharge, which most providentially passed over the boat, though close to the muzzles of the guns; at the same moment an explosion of some cartridges on the enemy's deck threw them into utter confusion; and to these circumstances must be attributed the unexpected success of a small gig with eight men and a youth, the lieutenant's brother, carrying a formidable Danish gun-vessel, mounting two long 18-pounders, and three 12-pound carronades, with a complement of 26 men, and commanded by a lieutenant, fully prepared, and in open daylight. The cutter soon arriving up, the prisoners were effectually secured under hatches; in the mean time the enemy's other gun-boat, panic-struck, had made sail for a fort, from which the distance was not more than four miles.

The guns of the captured vessel were reloaded and put in fighting order, cable cut, and sail made in chase, and she was soon perceived to gain fast on the enemy; but he being so very near his own port, from which the whole proceeding might be distinctly seen, no time was to be lost. Mr. Dunbar, the master of the Blazer, was despatched in the cutter to intercept and board, if necessary. Seeing her former consort ranging up, and ready to pour in a broadside, and retreat being effectually cut off, this vessel struck her colours without further resistance. They proved to be the national gun-vessels Der Jonge Troutman and Die Liebe, of equal force, commanded by Lieutenants Lutkin and De Witt, of the Danish navy.

Admiral Sir William Young, at that time commander-in-chief in the North Seas, addressed the following letter to Lieutenant Devon on the occasion just related; and we think, it does honour equally to the chief and the officer to whom it was addressed:—

SIR, *Deal, April 4th*, 1813.

I have had the pleasure, this morning, of sending Lieutenant Bankes to convey to you and to those who were with you, the expression of the Admiralty's approbation of your conduct in the capture of the Danish gun-boats, which does indeed well deserve to be approved of. I am afraid that gun-boats make but bad prizes; but whatever they may produce, I have desired my agent to distribute my share of it among the crews of the two boats by which they were taken, and heartily wish it were much more than I fear it will be. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

WILLIAM YOUNG.

The fleet of France lying in the Scheldt at this time consisted of—

Ships.	*Guns.*	
3	80	half manned and equipped.
4	80	in ordinary.
8	74	partly manned and equipped.
5	74	in ordinary.
2 (frigates)	44	
12 gun-brigs.		

In Flushing—1 ship of 80 guns; 3 frigates of 44, not manned.

In the road of Flushing—4 frigates of 44 guns, manned and ready for sea.

These ships were extremely ill put together, and not seaworthy. We shall hereafter give an account of the further disposal of them.

The North Sea fleet was commanded by Admiral Young, who had his flag in the Impregnable, of 98 guns. He had with him 15 sail of the line, and during the whole of the winter kept his station off the mouth of the Scheldt. On the 17th of December Commodore Owen landed at Tergoes with a party of marines from the fleet, and distributed the proclamations of the Prince of Orange to his subjects. He was received with the loudest acclamations. The French garrisons everywhere retreated, and the Dutch flag, displayed on all the forts, assured his highness of a welcome reception. Thus, after all our efforts in favour of Holland, the current of public opinion suddenly changed, and the exiled family, after an absence of 20 years, was received with affection by their repenting and deluded countrymen. The Dutch, encouraged by the disasters of the French on the Elbe and Vistula, and the retreat of the army of Napoleon, threw off the yoke, and recalled his serene Highness William, Prince of Orange, now King of the Netherlands. The prince embarked on board the Warrior, of 74 guns, at Deal, on the 26th of November. The ship was commanded by Captain Lord Viscount Torrington. The Orange

flag was hoisted at the main-topgallant-mast head, and saluted by the Warrior, and all the ships in the Downs. The prince sailed on the following day for his native land, and on the 30th came in sight of the coast of Holland, when he had the satisfaction to perceive the Dutch flag displayed on the steeple of the Hague; this was general throughout the country. The French, however, still held the little fortress of the Brill; the prince therefore landed at Scheveling, where he was received by his subjects with every token of loyalty. The prince presented Lord Torrington with a gold-hilted sword, as a mark of his royal approbation.

In the Channel an action was fought between two vessels of nearly equal force, the one British, the other American. This action, immediately following that between the Shannon and Chesapeake, completely restored the British navy to the good opinion of its country, which it had most undeservedly lost.

Captain John Fordyce Maples, commanding the Pelican, of 18 guns, sixteen 32-pounders, two long sixes, and 120 men, had been ordered by Vice-admiral Thornborough to cruise in the St. George's Channel for the protection of the trade, and to seek for an American sloop of war supposed to be on the coast. On the 12th of August, at dawn of day, Captain Maples got sight of the enemy, then setting fire to an English merchant brig. Both vessels sought each other, and both were equally well prepared. The Pelican gave three cheers, and at half-past five began a close and a bloody action, which continued 45 minutes, when Captain Maples laid his brig alongside of the enemy, and was in the act of boarding as she hauled down her colours. She proved to be the American sloop of war Argus, of eighteen 24-pound carronades, and two long 12-pounders, having at the commencement of the action 127 men: of these about 40 were killed or wounded, and among the latter their gallant and lamented commander, W. H. Allen, who died of his wounds, and was buried with every mark of respect at Plymouth. Two only were killed on board the Pelican, and five wounded. Captain Maples was promoted to the rank of post-captain, and was subsequently honoured with the junior order of the Bath.

The Weser French frigate, of 44 guns and 340 men, was gallantly engaged by the Scylla and Royalist, commanded by the Captains M'Donald and Bremer. After watching, chasing, and fighting her for four days, she surrendered in the presence of Captain Cole, of the Rippon, of 74 guns. This frigate had left the Texel, in company with La Trave, of similar force, which was captured on the 25th of the same month by Captain Tobin, in the Andromache, of 38 guns. Having been

previously disabled in her masts and rigging, she had no prospect of escaping, and struck her colours very soon after the action began.

The defence of the sea-port town of Castro, on the north coast of Spain, although it ended in the surrender of that place to the French army of 13,000 men, was so honourable to the British and Spanish arms that we shall give a few of the particulars, as stated in the official letter of Captain R. Bloye, of the Lyra, to Lord Keith. The enemy had been twice repulsed from its walls, when they again appeared before it in the month of April. It was at that time a place of no strength; the garrison consisted of an irregular body of Spanish royalists, under the command of Don P. D'Alvarez, who, after having made a vigorous sortie, was reduced to act solely on the defensive; in this he was ably assisted by Captain Bloye, who had under his orders the Sparrow and Royalist brigs of war. On the 7th of May the French had established a battery to the westward of the town; when a 24-pound carronade was landed from the Sparrow, on a small island, within point-blank shot. On the following morning the two adverse batteries began to fire on each other; and the single gun of the Sparrow was directed with so much effect as to render the embrasures of the enemy untenable. The Spaniards in the castle plied them at the same time with continued discharges of artillery. The enemy approached in another position, and brought a heavy gun within 100 yards of the castle; to counteract which a 12-pounder was mounted by the British seamen; but it unfortunately burst after a few discharges. The Spaniards, encouraged by the presence of their allies, defended the place with obstinacy; while the French seized every opportunity of adding to their number of troops and battering train by sea and land conveyance from Santona and Portugalette. Off the latter place Captain Bloye directed the Royalist and Sparrow to watch by turns, while he remained to afford assistance to the besieged; every effort on the side of the French was met by a corresponding movement on that of the allies; but numbers at length gained the day. A practicable breach was effected, and at nine o'clock at night 3,000 men rushed into the town. They were received with firmness, and every inch of ground disputed from house to house, until the garrison were driven into the castle, whence they embarked in the British boats by companies, under showers of musketry, and reached the Lyra, Royalist, Sparrow, and Alphea schooner. While this was going on, the enemy endeavoured to enter the castle, but were kept out until all the guns were thrown into the sea;

they however got in before the train was fired, which would have blown the castle down; but not before every soldier, and most of the inhabitants, were embarked in safety by the British officers, and their intrepid seamen and marines.

The French, having gained possession of the place, committed barbarities too shocking to be detailed; but did not long enjoy their conquest. The British cruisers intercepted all the supplies; and, on the 22d of June, the French garrison was forced to retire to Santona. Captain Taylor, of the Sparrow, seeing this movement, took possession of the castle, without giving them time to destroy the works and artillery, which they attempted to do. Fourteen prisoners, who were taken in the place, were carried to Bilboa, and there executed by the Spanish authorities, as a punishment for their cruelty to the innocent inhabitants of Castro.

Among the young officers who distinguished themselves on the coast of Spain, the name of Captain Timothy Scriven deserves to be recorded. In a schooner called the Telegraph, of 16 guns and 60 men, he attacked, on the 13th of October, the French national corvette, Flibustier, of 20 guns, and 160 men, then lying at anchor under the batteries of Bayonne, and so near the shore as to enable the Frenchmen to save themselves in their boats, after a severe action of three-quarters of an hour, having set their vessel on fire. The boats of the Telegraph boarded instantly, but could not save her from the flames; she mounted sixteen 24-pounders, two long nines, a brass howitzer, and four brass three-pounders. She was bound to Santona, and had on board treasure, arms, and ammunition for the relief of that garrison.

In the month of January, Captain William Hoste, of the Amphion, sent Lieutenants O'Brien and Hood, with Lieutenant Haig, of the royal marines, to attack a division of gun-boats off Otranto. They boarded and captured five sail, armed with heavy guns, and manned with from 30 to 40 men each.

The boats of the Havannah frigate, Captain the Honourable G. Cadogan, were sent, in the month of February, to attack a convoy of 25 sail, which had taken refuge under some guns. Lieutenant Lumley, who commanded the party, destroyed the battery, and took, sunk, or burnt four gun-boats, and the whole of the vessels collected. This convoy was from Venice, laden with ordnance stores.

In the same month, Captain Tritton, in the Kingfisher sloop of war, captured one armed trabaccoli, and drove nine on shore, which were totally destroyed, on the island of Corfu; and in the following month, Captain Cadogan destroyed a large tra-

baccoli, carrying three nine-pounders, and small arms. The next morning, the 23d, he captured five other armed trabaccolis, and destroyed five feluccas.

Captain Napier and Mounsey, in the Thames and Furieuse frigates, with a body of troops, consisting only of the second battalion of the 10th regiment of infantry, took the little island of Ponza, near Naples. This island has a small harbour, about a quarter of a mile in breadth, and a mole, which was defended by 10 pieces of heavy cannon, and two nine-inch howitzers. Waiting till the wind suited, Captain Napier ran the two ships in, and anchored across the mole-head, sustaining the fire from the enemy for half an hour, before their position enabled the British ships to return a shot; but the moment the guns could be brought to bear, the ships engaged on both sides, while Colonel Coffin landed, and marched directly for a tower on the heights, to which the enemy had retreated, and whence they sent down a flag of truce to say that they had surrendered.

The Honourable Captain G. G. Waldegrave, in the Volontaire, destroyed some strong batteries at Morgion, near Cape Croisette, landing his marines and seamen at Sormion, under the command of Lieutenant Isaac Shaw. That young officer ascended the hills, came on the forts in the rear, and took them after a short resistance. In one fort were five 36-pounders, in the other two 24-pounders; he threw the guns over the cliffs into the sea, spiked a mortar, destroyed the ammunition, and took the lieutenant and his guard prisoners. While the first lieutenant was thus employed, Lieutenant Sayer, of the same ship, though opposed by two field-pieces, boarded, and took 11 sail of vessels laden with oil, and burned three others.

Captain Thomas Usher, of the Undaunted, destroyed the battery of Carey, near Marseilles. Lieutenant Tozer, with a party, landed, and drove the enemy from their palisadoes, took four 24-pounders, a six pounder, and a 13-inch mortar.

Captain (now Sir Edward) Brace, of the Berwick, of 74 guns, in company with Captain Napier (removed from the Thames to the Euryalus), attacked a convoy of the enemy at Cavalacci. Lieutenant Sweedland, first of the Berwick, with Captain Mathews, of the royal marines, landed, gained possession of the fort, and turned the guns on the convoy, and an armed xebec. The latter only attempted to escape, but Captain Napier pushed the Euryalus so close in shore, as to cut her off. She mounted 10 long nine-pounders, and had 95 men, who reached the shore. Twenty-two vessels, of different descriptions, found in the harbour, were either taken or destroyed,

the guns spiked, and every thing worth bringing away was embarked.

Captain Charles Adam, of the Invincible, acting in conjunction with the Baron de Erroles, attacked the ports of Ampollo and Perello. Two of his boats armed with carronades, and a Spanish felucca, were sent under the orders of Lieutenant Corbyn, first of the Invincible, to attack Ampollo, which they surprised, killed the sentinel, and turned the two 18-pounders in the tower on the guard-house. The guard fled to Perello, which, though at two leagues distance, was taken by the same officer, and a detachment from the Spanish army. Two small privateers, which had been highly useful to the enemy, were taken; and his means of communication with the Col de Belaguer, a strong fortress, near Barcelona, were considerably abridged.

In the month of May, the enemy had again fortified the post of Morgion; and again it was attacked, under the orders of Captain Moubray, of the Repulse, of 74 guns, who directed Lieutenant Shaw, of the Volontaire, to land, accompanied by Captain Ennis, of the royal marines, and one hundred men of that corps; the boats of the Undaunted, and a party of men from that ship; together with the launches, armed with carronades. This force took the fort, spiked and destroyed the guns, and brought away six vessels with cargoes.

The island of Augusta, on the coast of Dalmatia, and not far from Lissa, surrrendered to Captain B. W. Taylor, of the Apollo, and Lieutenant-colonel Robertson, with 250 infantry. The same force took Carzolo. They also captured seven vessels, laden with grain; and retook all the church plate, and other valuable property, which the French had shipped to carry away. This was, of course, restored to its proper owners.

In the month of April Captain James Black, in the Weasel brig, of 18 guns, discovered a convoy close to the land off the island of Zirona, making for the ports of Tran and Spalatro. Seeing a vessel in chase of them they separated; the greater part, with 10 gun-boats, bore away for the bay of Roscalini, and at half-past five, A.M., anchored in a line about a mile from the shore, and hoisted French colours, the wind blowing strong at S.E., directly into the bay. At six o'clock, A.M., the Weasel was brought to anchor, with springs on her cable, within pistol-shot, and engaged them for 20 minutes, when the enemy cut their cables, and ran closer in shore. They again anchored, and renewed the action: Captain Black cut, and followed. Three heavy guns now opened on the Weasel, and 200 or 300 small-arm men from the heights above their heads. The action continued with fury till 10 o'clock, when three of the gun-boats

struck their colours, two were driven on shore, and one sunk. Four more came down to their assistance, and anchoring outside of the Weasel, obliged her to engage on both sides; but these soon after ran in, and joined the others; and the whole eight, from behind a point of land, whence their mast-heads only could be perceived from the Weasel's decks, covered her with grape-shot. The day was going hardly with the British vessel; five of her men were killed, and 20 wounded; with difficulty she could man four guns, and keep a few seamen and marines at the small arms. During the day the enemy had received considerable supplies of troops, who kept up an incessant fire upon the Weasel. The sloop was almost a wreck, within a few yards of a lee-shore, not a rope or sail but what was cut to pieces, her masts crippled, many shot in her hull, five between wind and water, both pumps shot away between decks; and with difficulty she could be kept free by constantly baling at both hatchways. At dark Captain Black sent in his boats, and burned, besides the gun-boats, eight sail of the convoy, bringing out their anchors and cables for the use of the Weasel, and without which she would in all probability have gone on shore, as her own were shot to pieces. All night the laborious crew were employed in warping their vessel out from the land, from which, at daylight, on the 23d of April, they were distant only one mile, when they were again attacked by the remaining gun-boats, who took a raking position; nor could the broadside of the Weasel be brought to bear upon them. The whole of this day, and the succeeding night, was passed in warping out.

On the 24th a battery was still to be passed, and the brig still warping out. This opened upon them about noon, and the gun-boats began again to rake them astern, while musketry from the shore flew thick about them; nor was it till five o'clock in the afternoon of the third day that the gun-boats ceased firing, and the Weasel was safe out of the bay. Captain Black was himself among the wounded, as was Mr. Whally, his first lieutenant. What might not be expected from such men in a ship of the line?

Captain Charles Adam, in the Invincible, was directed by Rear-admiral Hallowell to co-operate with Lieutenant-colonel Prevost, in the siege of the Col de Belaguer, on the road between Tortosa and Tarragona. It is situated in a most difficult pass, and the only way by which cannon could be brought into Catalonia, without going round by Lerida. It was at that time armed with 12 pieces of cannon, and surrounded by heights almost impassable, but on which these officers contrived to establish their batteries.

The force intended for the investment consisted of the rifle

men of De Rolle's regiment, and some other light troops, which were landed from the Invincible on the 3d of June, with four pieces of artillery. These, being mounted on the heights, were placed under the command of Lieutenant Corbyn, of the Invincible, who, with a detachment of seamen from the ship, kept up an admirable fire, diverting the attention of the enemy from another party of the besiegers, who had landed five 24-pounders. Captain W. F. Carroll, of the Volcano bomb, and the seamen and marines from the ships of war, were incessantly employed in gettting the heavy guns up the heights, and completing the breaching battery; and by the evening of the 5th two eight-inch mortars, and two 24-pounders, were brought to the foot of the hill, with a large quantity of ammunition. It was not till the morning of the 7th that the two mortars began to play, supported by the battery of Lieutenant Corbyn; and at seven in the morning the governor surrendered, on condition of being allowed to march out with the honours of war.

The siege of Tarragona, and the progress of the British arms in the neighbourhood of that place, were checked in the month of June; and circumstances of a nature peculiarly unpleasant between the two services occurred on the embarkation of the British troops. As entering into details on this subject would naturally lead to a renewal of a controversy, now happily terminated, I pass over with more than usual precipitation that part of the Peninsular history, trusting to the candour of the future military historian to do justice at least to the exertions of the navy, and particularly to those of Rear-admiral Sir Benjamin Hallowell.

On the north coast of Spain the enemy continued to lose ground, being forced by the Spaniards and English to evacuate the fortress of Guitaria, together with the castle, town, and port of Passages.

The siege and storming of St. Sebastian form one of the most brilliant epochs of the Peninsular war. The British army, in its rapid progress towards the eastern confines of Spain, was forced to reduce this strong hold, which, both by land and sea, was highly important to the operations of the allied armies. The island of Santa Clara, lying at the mouth of the harbour, and close to the town, was stormed on the night of the 26th of September by a party of seamen, marines, and infantry, under the orders of Captain Cameron, of the 9th regiment. and Lieutenant the Honourable James Arbuthnot, of the Surveillante, assisted by Captain Henderson, of the royal engineers, Lieutenant Bell, of the royal marines, and Captain John Smith, of the Beagle. The only landing-place lay under a flight of steps, commanded by a small intrenchment thrown up on the west

point, and completely exposed to the fire of grape-shot from the whole range of works on the west side of the walls of the town. This strong and important little post was defended by one officer and 24 men, who, assisted by the fire from the town, killed two of the assailants, and wounded 17, after which they surrendered; and the approaches of the British army, under the Duke of Wellington, were considerably facilitated by this gallant exploit. Breaches had been made in the walls of St. Sebastian on the 30th of August. On the 31st two divisions of boats from the ships of war in the bay, having been previously arranged for the purpose, under the command of the Captains Galway of the Dispatch, and Bloye of the Lyra, made a feint to attack the back of the rock, which, as had been anticipated, diverted a great part of the enemy's force from the point really assailed. The sloops of war weighed at the same time, with a slight breeze, and the Dispatch and the boats received a heavy fire from the batteries. As the tide fell, the British troops, under Sir James Leith, advanced to the assault, and after a murderous struggle in the breach, the town of St. Sebastian was carried. The citadel, into which the garrison retreated, still held out. Among the naval officers most distinguished for their share in this memorable siege were Captains the late Sir George Ralph Collier, of the Surveillante, R. Bloye, of the Lyra, and John Smith, of the Beagle; the lieutenants the Honourable James Arbuthnot and O'Reilly, of the Surveillante. Ships of the line could not be brought near enough to act with effect, or find safe anchorage. The frigates lay out of gun-shot. The sloops of war and gun-boats only could bring their fire upon the works. The ships which were employed upon that service were:—

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Surveillante	44	Captain G. R. Collier.
Révolutionnaire	44	
President	44	
Magicienne	36	
Andromache	32	

(The five frigates at anchor off St. Sebastian.)

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*	*Where stationed.*
Sparrow	16	Captain Taylor.	Off the Bidassoa.
Lyra	16	—— Bloye.	In the harbour of St. Sebastian.
Beagle	18	—— J. Smith.	In the harbour of St. Sebastian.
Dispatch	18	—— Galway.	Off the mouth of the Bidassoa.
Challenger	16		

Constant gun-brig, Lieutenant Stokes, and Nimble cutter, in the Bidassoa, with some schooners and gun-boats.

The castle of La Motte, or citadel of St. Sebastian, capitulated on the 10th of September to Lieutenant-general Sir Thomas Graham, after a bombardment from 54 pieces of ordnance. One thousand seven hundred men were made prisoners.

The capture of St. Sebastian, at that season of the year, was important to the further operations of the war; and the small but repeated disasters of the French flotilla, from Trieste to the Texel, produced a vast effect on the general result of the Peninsular campaigns.

Fiume, in the Adriatic, from its commercial importance and military strength, attracted the attention of Rear-admiral Fremantle, who, in the month of May, collected a squadron to attack the place. The ships were the Milford, 74 guns, flag; Elizabeth, 74; Eagle, 74, Captain Charles Rowley; Bacchante, 44, Captain William Hoste; and Haughty, gun-brig. The Rear-admiral anchored off Fiume on the evening of the 2d. The Eagle silenced a battery to which she was opposed; and the signal being made to storm, Captain Rowley, in his gig, led the first division of marines to the attack, and hoisted the British colours on the battery, while Captain Hoste, with the marines of the squadron, spiked the guns of another fort, which had been silenced by the Milford and Bacchante. Captain Rowley, leaving a party of marines to turn the guns of the battery he had taken against those which still held out, with the remainder of his men entered the town, receiving the fire of the inhabitants and military from the windows and tops of the houses, and a field-piece placed in the centre of the great street. The Lieutenants Lloyd and Nepean, with the marines and seamen, attacked this gun, and the enemy retreated with it until they came to the great square, when they made a stand, taking post in a large house. At this moment Captain J. D. Markland came up with the boats of the squadron, armed with carronades, and opened his fire on the house, when the enemy fled out of the town. Captain Hoste, joining with his division that under Captain Rowley, the conquest of the place was complete. The two remaining batteries were taken. The governor, and every officer and man of the garrison having run away, the public stores, and all the shipping in the harbour, fell into the hands of the conquerors. It should be recorded, that, although the place was taken by storm, no violence was offered to the peaceful inhabitants, nor were they plundered of any article of their private property. Ninety vessels were taken, but the smaller ones were restored. Great quantities of ordnance, ammunition, and provisions, were brought away or destroyed. Porto Ré and Ormagro suffered the same fate; and Captain Harper, in the Saracen, sloop of war, took the

island of Zapano by surprise, making prisoners the greater part of the garrison. In July Captain Rowley, with the boats and marines of his own ship, took the fortress of Farasina; the storming party was led by the Lieutenants Greenaway and Hotham, and Lieutenant Lloyd, of the marines. The Honourable Captain Cadogan, in the Havannah, frigate, captured another convoy of 10 sail of vessels under the town of Vasto. This service was conducted by his first lieutenant, Mr. Hambley.

In the month of August Captain Usher, of the Undaunted, with the Captains Coghlan, Sir John Sinclair, and the Honourable R. Spencer, attacked the batteries of Cassio, near Marseilles, which they took by storm, destroyed them, and brought out from the mole, or burnt, all the vessels they found there. The citadel battery was carried by escalade by Captain Coghlan and the marines, who drove the French before them at the point of the bayonet. Two large gun-boats were taken, and one destroyed, with 25 sail of vessels. Captain R. H. Moubray, of the Repulse, landed the marines, under the command of Captain Innis, and Lieutenant Harris, of that corps, and took the town of Vernazza, burning five vessels lying in the harbour.

In the same month the Austrians entered Fiume, and established a communication between their army and our squadron.

The small actions in the Adriatic, which occurred so frequently during the latter part of the war, become too numerous to admit of being severally detailed. The boats of the Apollo, Cerberus, and Bacchante, in the course of the summer, nearly annihilated the trade of the gulf of Venice. Rear-admiral Fremantle, who had the command in that division of the Mediterranean, remained in St. George's harbour, in the island of Lissa, detaching and spreading his active cruisers in every direction.

The boats of the Cerberus, Captain T. Garth, conducted by Lieutenant John William Montagu, with Lieutenant Nares, attacked 11 gun-boats supported by soldiers on the cliffs, and took two of them by boarding. Captain Hoste, in the Bacchante, chased a large convoy off Guila Nova: these consisted of 10 gun-boats and 14 sail of merchant vessels: they anchored or grounded, and the beach astern of them was lined with musketry, and two field-pieces. From these the boats sustained a heavy fire until they were fairly alongside of their enemy, when the crews were driven from the vessels with great loss, and the whole were taken or destroyed.

Rear-admiral Fremantle wrote to Sir Edward Pellew, the commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean fleet, acquainting

him with the fortunate events which had put us and our allies in possession of the coast of the Adriatic. "The imperial flag," he says, "was flying on the whole coast of Istria, and Croatia was almost entirely up in arms against the French; Ligne, Porto Ré, and Fiume had the Austrian flag flying." The Croats in the French army, hearing of the success of the Austrians, changed their character, and became our allies. One thousand five hundred were marching with 600 French troops from Pola to relieve Fiume, when the Croats rose on the French, made them prisoners, and sent them to General Nugent, who commanded the Austrians at Fiume.

The people of Croatia swore never more to admit the French into their country: 150 of them, in garrison at Lusin, spiked the guns, obliged the French commander to pay them their arrears, and then sent the French garrison to Istria, giving up the island of Lusin to the natives; and from Lissa to Trieste the islands were nearly clear of the French.

Captain Black, of the Weasel, surprised the garrison of Ragosniza with the boats of the Milford and his own. He left the ships after dark, when seven leagues from the land, and having passed the sea-battery unperceived, landed at the back of the island, and at daylight the enemy heard their cheers, and saw them on the hill above their heads. Captain Black and his men rushed down, took their fort, which was open in the rear, and in which they found six 24-pounders, and two seven and a half-inch howitzers. A captain, subaltern, and 60 soldiers were taken prisoners, and the boats returned to their ships. Captains C. Rowley and Hoste, in the Eagle and Bacchante, took Rovigno on the 2d of August, destroying the forts, and burning, sinking, or bringing away every vessel in the harbour.

Captain the Honourable G. Cadogan burnt or took seven sail of gun-boats and armed merchant-vessels on the coast of Manfredonia. In the month of November Captains Harper and Black, in the Saracen and Weasel brigs, landed, and took the island of Mezzo, near Ragusa. This conquest was effected by the marines and seamen, who, headed by their captains, after infinite labour, mounted some guns (which they carried with them) on the top of a rocky mountain, whence they commanded the castle.

Rear-admiral Fremantle had now, by his able measures and active co-operation with Count Nugent, the Austrian general, established the allies in every strong post on the coasts of Istria and Dalmatia. On the 21st of September he arrived at Capo d'Istria, at the head of the Adriatic, and soon after proceeded to Trieste, leaving the Elizabeth, of 74 guns, off

Dwino. While the Milford, at Trieste, lay at anchor, with her stern near the shore, the rear-admiral was surprised by the French opening a masked battery on the ship with a field-piece and a howitzer. Captain Markland got springs on his cables, hove his broadside to the shore, and in a quarter of an hour demolished the battery. A shell exploded on the poop of the Milford, but did no damage. After this Captain Markland was sent on shore with the marines, and, in conjunction with Count Nugent, laid siege to the castle of Izonzo, against which they established two batteries, mounting 12 guns, and from which a heavy fire was kept up the whole day. The enemy was driven from a post called the Windmill, which was immediately occupied by the Austrians.

Captain C. Rowley had advanced a long 32-pounder to within 200 yards of the Spanza, a strong building with one gun, and loop-holes for musketry, which stood on a hill, with a wall 14 feet high surrounding it. On firing the first shot from the 32-pounder the ground gave way, and the gun fell six feet below the platform. It was fine to see (says the honest admiral in his despatch) Captain Rowley and his people immediately get a triangle above the work, and the heavy gun with its carriage run up to its place again, in the midst of a shower of grape and musketry, which did considerable mischief, and occasioned severe loss to our brave men; but the perseverance of Captain Rowley was crowned with success. The enemy surrendered the Spanza; and the castle soon followed. This place was very strong, and garrisoned by 800 Frenchmen; it mounted 45 large guns, 40 mortars, and four howitzers. Thus, by the timely co-operation of the British squadron with the Austrians, these fruitful provinces were liberated from oppression. The number of British seamen killed amounted only to 10, and of the wounded to 35. The number of merchant-vessels taken in the harbour was 50; and Trieste was, by the aid of Britain, once more restored to the house of Austria.

Although the scale of naval war was not extensive in point of numbers engaged, or force employed, yet the Adriatic produced in the year 1813 a noble display of British valour and resources; and much discomfiture to our inveterate enemy. The islands on the eastern shore of the gulf of Venice are numerous, strongly fortified, and afford excellent anchorage. Bonaparte was aware of the advantages of such a country. The coasts of Istria, Croatia, Dalmatia, Albania, and Greece, supplied soldiers to the French army, seamen to her fleet, and naval stores for her ships of war. From Trieste to Corfu on the east side, and from Venice to the point of Otranto on the

west, the trade was carried on with vigour by the enemy, and opposed with the most daring enterprise and complete success by the British cruisers. Of this we have already adduced proofs; but more remains yet to be told.

Captain Hoste, in the Bacchante, whose name has so often appeared in the annals of the Mediterranean, arrived off Ragusa on the 12th of October, where he was joined by Captain Harper, in the Saracen, and a detachment of troops under the command of Captain Lowen. With this little force Captain Hoste forced the narrow passage between Castel Nuovo and the fort of Rosas, and found excellent anchorage three miles above the first-named place. Captain Harper attacked and took the island of St. George, making the whole garrison prisoners. The capture of this post was highly conducive to farther successes; it commanded the approach to the town of Cattaro, a strong place belonging to the Venetians. The forts of Rosas and Castel Nuovo, in the Bocca de Cattaro, surrendered by capitulation, and the French had nothing left but Fort St. John, about 15 miles up the river. Into this they retreated, with 600 men.

Farther to the north-west lies the excellent port and castle of Zara, which, in the month of December, surrendered to the Honourable Captain G. Cadogan, in the Havannah, with a sloop of war, and supported by a party of Austrian troops. The castle stood a bombardment of 13 days from the batteries erected against it by the allies; and in his despatches, Rear-admiral Fremantle says, "Captain Cadogan, with the crews of a frigate and sloop of war, has accomplished as much as required the services of the squadron united at Trieste."

Two attacks on the enemy's vessels by British officers and boats from the ships of war deserve to be recorded. Captain E. S. Dickson, of the Swiftsure, 74 guns, sent Lieutenant William Smith, with the boats of that ship, in pursuit of a French privateer. The enemy reserved his fire until the boats had begun, when a bloody and desperate conflict of 10 minutes terminated in victory on our side, but was purchased with the lives of a gallant officer and four men: four officers and eleven men were wounded. The loss of the enemy was about equal. The name of the vessel was the Charlemagne, of eight guns, and 93 men, stored for a six months' cruise.

Captain E. R. Sibley, of the Swallow, sloop of war, sent his boat, under the command of Lieutenant S. E. Cook, in chase of a privateer, off the mouth of the Tiber; and although the vessel ran close under D'Anzo, and was supported by numerous batteries, and two gun-boats, they boarded and carried her, keeping her in tow until she was brought out. She was

called La Guerrière, mounted four guns, and had sixty men. This was one of those daring enterprises which sometimes succeed from the very circumstance of their want of probability; a single six-oared cutter, in the face of day, boarding an enemy's vessel of this force, seems hardly credible; and when we consider that of this boat's crew two were killed before they got fairly alongside, and that the vessel was carried by the remainder, we are almost afraid of being thought too credulous. Nevertheless the fact is well attested; Captain Sibley, when he sent his boat away, supposed the vessel to be a merchantman.

D'Anzo was taken on the 5th of October by Captain G. H. L. Dundas, in the Edinburgh, of 74 guns, assisted by Captain the Honourable H. Duncan, in the Impérieuse, with the Resistance, 38 guns, Captain Fleetwood Pellew, Swallow, 18, Captain E. R. Sibley, Eclair, 18, Captain Thomas Bellamy, and Pylades, 18, Captain James Wemyss, sloops of war. The ships were brought against the batteries, and, a storming party landing at the same moment, the enemy fled, after a short resistance, leaving 29 sail of vessels in the mole, which were brought out without any loss; 20 of them were laden with timber for the dock-yard at Toulon. This successful enterprise seems to have been attributed with much justice to Lieutenant Trevers, of the Impérieuse, who, a few nights before, had, with a boat's crew, stormed a tower of one gun, and brought away the guard, from whom he acquired the information which led to the attack. Captain William Mounsey, of the Furieuse, performed an exploit of a similar nature at Marinelo, where a convoy of 19 sail were observed at anchor. This place is about six miles to the eastward of Cività Vecchia: here he attacked them, and under the fire of batteries and 500 troops, brought out 14 sail, and sank two, with the loss of 12 men killed and wounded. One of these vessels was a gun-boat, carrying a long brass 24-pounder, and four swivels; two others were armed vessels; and the rest laden with merchandise.

In the month of October, 1814, Captain the Honourable Henry Duncan, in the Impérieuse, of 44 guns, attacked three French gun-boats, each carrying an 18-pounder, and moored under a strong fort, near the town of Positana, in the gulf of Salerno. One of the gun-boats was immediately sunk by the fire of the frigate, which had silenced the fort, but the enemy not being driven out, Captain Duncan ordered Mr. Eaton Trevers, his first lieutenant, and Lieutenant Pipon, of the Royal Marines, to land and storm it, which they did under a heavy fire of musketry, and against treble their numbers. The

enemy fled, leaving 30 prisoners and 50 stand of arms. The guns, which were 24-pounders, were spiked by our men, and thrown over the cliff.

France was at this time daily losing ground on the continent, which she owed in a great measure to the loss of her fleets. Her coasts were nearly defenceless, and might have been a prey to the first invader. Distracted with numerous and incessant calls for their assistance, her armies knew not which way to move first. The naval force of Britain, so multiplied and so expert from long practice, had acquired greater capability of annoying her by more intimate knowledge of her harbours, bays, and creeks: our officers knew the depth of water, and the resistance likely to be met with in every quarter.

Early in December, Captain Josias Rowley, in the America, of 64 guns, collected a squadron, consisting of the Armada, of 74, Edinburgh, of 74, Impérieuse and Furieuse, of 44, Mermaid, of 32, and Termagant, of 18 guns. On board of these ships he embarked an Italian levy of 1,000 men, commanded by Colonel Catanelli, an officer whose valour appears highly conspicuous amidst the degradation of his country. With this force Captain Rowley attacked Via Reggio, landed the troops and field-pieces; drove the enemy from the town, and took the batteries. Colonel Catanelli pushed to Lucca, which he took the same night. Captain Rea, of the royal marines, with 40 of his men, took a strong castle to the northward of Reggio, walled, ditched, and regularly fortified. This place was capable of holding 1,000 men. Captain Rowley ordered it to be blown up. Colonel Catanelli, having returned with his men from Lucca, was attacked on the evening of the 12th by a column of 600 French troops, cavalry and infantry, from Leghorn. These he completely routed, taking from them three field-pieces and howitzers; killing, wounding, and making many prisoners. Supposing they could reach Leghorn by sea, before this party could return to it by land, Captain Rowley and the colonel agreed to proceed thither immediately, and arrived on the following day at three o'clock, when a part of their troops and guns were landed without opposition, but bad weather prevented them from getting the remainder on shore. By this time the corps of the enemy, which had been defeated at Via Reggio, having been reinforced, came up, and attacked the marines and seamen of the squadron under the orders of the Honourable Captain Dundas, of the Edinburgh; but was completely defeated. The attack on Leghorn failed, owing to the strength of the fortifications, and a superior French force within the walls: the troops and seamen were therefore re-embarked, during a temporary suspension of hostilities.

In America, we have at the commencement of the year 1813 one more melancholy action to relate. It was that fought between a British and an American sloop of war, in which the latter was victorious. We shall never attempt to diminish the credit due to an enemy, where no false claim is exhibited. Captain Lawrence was a gallant young officer; but his assertion respecting his *blockading* the Bonne Citoyenne must receive the most formal contradiction. Captain Pitt Burnaby Green, had he had no more than the Hornet to contend with, would have taken her, or perished in the attempt; but his duty forbade his engaging the Hornet, while the Constitution was looking on. The correspondence upon this subject is printed at large in the "Naval Chronicle," 1813, vol. i.

After the destruction of the Java, the Constitution and the Hornet continued till January off St. Salvador, when they separated; and Captain Lawrence says, he was driven from the blockade of the Bonne Citoyenne by a British seventy-four. He next proceeded off Demerara, and on the 24th of February, 1813, fell in with the British brig of war Peacock, of eighteen guns, commanded by Captain William Peake. The force of the Peacock was sixteen thirty-two pound carronades, and two long sixes, with one hundred and twenty men and boys: that of the Hornet was eighteen thirty-two pound carronades, two long twelves, and a complement of one hundred and forty men. Captain Peake brought his enemy to action. The American captain received him with steady courage, laid the Peacock on board on the starboard quarter, and by a superior fire killed her captain, and about thirty of her men. In 15 minutes the action was concluded, the Peacock struck, and made the signal of distress. The Americans were very active in saving the wounded; but, after bringing both vessels to an anchor, the Peacock went down in five and a half fathoms water, taking with her 13 of her own crew, and three of the Americans. For his conduct in this action, Captain Lawrence received the merited praises of his countrymen: he was soon after removed to the command of the Chesapeake, that ill-fated ship, the continued source of disaster to her country.

No sooner were these defeats of our frigates and sloops of war known in England, than the government saw where the fault lay, and, willing to apply a remedy, flew from one extreme to the other. Our 18-pound ships being too slight, a heterogeneous body was constructed, a frigate only in name, but not in fact. Such were the Lancaster, the Java, the Leander, and the Newcastle, ships of 60 guns, carrying 24-pounders on their main deck, and having one complete tier of 32-pound carronades from stem to stern, along the gangways, quarter-deck, and fore-

castle. The Majestic, Saturn, and Goliath, three 74 gun ships, were cut down and armed in the same manner. In such ships no honour could have been gained by taking the "President;" and disgrace would have attached for surrendering to an American 74. They were wretchedly manned, and the guns on their gangways, like one-third of their crew, would have swelled the triumph of an enemy, without contributing to the defence of the ship, in which they were only lumber.

The British Navy, depressed by repeated mortifications, had in some measure lost its spirits; and the dissatisfaction expressed in the public journals of the empire produced, as no doubt many of the writers intended, a feeling of discontent and disgust in the bosoms of our seamen. This melancholy impression was, however, removed by the fortunate and gallant action fought on the 1st of June, 1813, between the Shannon, of 38 guns, 18-pounders, and the American frigate Chesapeake, of the same force in guns, but superior in the number of her crew. Captain Philip Bowes Vere Broke, an officer of great good sense and determined resolution, had long been watching the Chesapeake as she lay in Boston harbour, whence Commodore Rogers in the President, with the Congress, another large frigate with 24-pounders, had escaped; during a fog, on the 13th of May, passing by the Shannon and Tenedos. Finding the Chesapeake alone remained, Captain Broke detached the Tenedos to cruise off Cape Sable, while he continued close in with Boston, and on the 1st of June sent in a challenge to Captain Lawrence, of the Chesapeake, to come out and fight him, promising that no other ship should interfere, whatever might be the event of the battle, and requiring the same pledge from Captain Lawrence.*

The day was fine, with a light air of wind, when the Shannon, with a blue ensign at the peak, stood in towards Boston, exercising her great guns, but without firing. At 11 o'clock the Chesapeake loosed her sails: at 12 o'clock the Shannon was lying to, Cape Anne bearing N.N.E. half E. 12 or 14 miles. At half-past 12 the Chesapeake weighed, and set

* I am informed, however, from very good authority, that Captain Lawrence never received the challenge, but came out to decide the affair as one of the highest national importance. Previously to this important action, I had been long intimately acquainted with the gallant and excellent Captain (now Rear-admiral Sir Philip) Broke. The Shannon and the Spartan were sister ships; we were often much in company, and I had frequently observed the high state of discipline and training in which Captain Broke kept his ship: he was most exact in his exercise of the great guns, and to this particular branch of his duty he was in great measure indebted for his success in the action, his first and second broadsides having nearly cleared the enemy's quarter-deck. I took the portraits of the two ships as they lay in Halifax harbour, and obtained all the facts here related from the officers of the Shannon, with whom I was well acquainted.

royals and studding-sails: at one, the Shannon stood out, under her topsails, to gain a little more offing, the enemy, with 50 or 60 pleasure boats, and a privateer schooner, coming out of Boston roads. At 40 minutes past three, the American frigate fired a gun, and hauled up, intimating that she was not to be led farther from the land, on which the Shannon's fore-topsail was laid aback, and the Chesapeake again steered for her. At four, Boston light-house W. by N. six leagues, the enemy still coming out, under top-gallant-sails, jib and foresail, having taken in his studding-sails, and sent his royal yards on deck. He had three ensigns displayed; one of unusual size in the main rigging, one at the peak, and one at the mizen-top-gallant-mast head: an American jack at the main, and a white flag at the fore, on which were written the words, "Sailors' rights and free trade." At 10 minutes past five the Shannon beat to quarters, filled her fore-topsail, kept her main-topsail shivering, set her jib and spanker, and was going about two miles an hour. At 45 minutes past five, the enemy hauled up within 200 yards of the Shannon's weather-beam, and gave three cheers. On this Captain Broke addressed his ship's company, told them that that day would decide the superiority of British seamen, when well trained, over other nations; and that the Shannon would show in that day's action, how short a time the Americans had to boast, when opposed to equal force. The two ships being now not more than a stone's throw asunder, the Chesapeake about one point abaft the starboard beam of the Shannon, whose guns were most deliberately and exactly pointed, as the object varied its position; at 50 minutes past five, the action commenced by the Shannon giving her broadside, beginning with the aftermost guns on the starboard side. The enemy passing too fast a-head to receive more than a second discharge from the aftermost guns, the boarders were ordered to prepare, when the Chesapeake, attempting to haul her foresail up, fell on board the Shannon, whose starboard bower-anchor hooked the larboard mizen chains of her opponent. Here a sharp fire of musketry took place between the marines of both ships: when this had lasted a few minutes, the enemy appeared to flinch, and Captain Broke, at the head of his boarders, mounted the forecastle carronade, and leapt on the quarter-deck of the Chesapeake, followed by Lieutenant Watt, Sergeant Molineux, Corporal Osborne, and the marines. This division was supported by the main-deck boarders under Mr. Falconer, the third lieutenant, and Mr. Smith, a midshipman. Captain Broke, followed by about 60 of his people, put to death all that opposed his passage round the gangway, and drove the Americans below, while the bow guns of the Shannon,

under the command of Lieutenant (now Captain) Wallis, made dreadful havoc on the main-deck of the enemy. Mr. Comahan, a midshipman of the Shannon, placed himself on her main-yard, whence, with musketry, he killed or wounded nearly all the men stationed in the main and mizen-top of the enemy.

Captain Broke, in the mean time, with the boarders, had cleared the enemy's quarter-deck, though a little impeded by their fire. Our men gave three cheers, rushed forward, and, carrying all before them, united on the forecastle, and drove the crew of the Chesapeake below. It was in making a charge along the larboard gangway, that Captain Broke saved the life of an American seaman who called for quarter; but the villain, suddenly snatching up a cutlass, gave his deliverer that blow on the back of his head, which had nearly proved fatal at the time, and from the effects of which he has never recovered. The Shannon's people instantly cut the miserable man in pieces. The Americans were rallying on the main-deck, when the English made another desperate rush among them; and in 15 minutes from the commencement of the action, the British flag had supplanted that of America, and the Chesapeake was a prize to the Shannon. While this contest was proceeding, the two ships had separated; and a small British blue ensign had been hoisted at the gaff-end of the Chesapeake. Lieutenant Watt, first of the Shannon, unfortunately wished to exchange this flag for a large white ensign which he had brought with him for that purpose. The people on board the Shannon perceiving that the firing still continued, and that the blue ensign was hauled down, concluded that the enemy had overpowered the small party of Englishmen then on board. Under this natural but fatal error, they directed their fire at the Chesapeake's quarter-deck, killed Lieutenant Watt, and three of the Shannon's men, and wounded some others; nor was it till the small blue ensign was re-hoisted, that the firing ceased. The crew of the Chesapeake being driven into the hold of their own ship, a marine sentinel was placed over the main hatchway: the Americans treacherously fired up from the hold and killed him. On this, our men poured down a heavy fire on them, until they again called for quarter, and promised to deliver up the offender. The prisoners were now secured and handcuffed on the orlop-deck. Many of them were drunk and riotous, but the others tranquil and well-behaved. At seven in the evening, the pleasure-boats and the privateer, which had accompanied the Chesapeake to the scene of action, returned to the afflicted town of Boston, where balls and suppers had been prematurely prepared for the anticipated victors, and their

British captives. The action was one of the most bloody and determined ever fought between two ships of their class, in so short a time. The loss on board the Shannon, out of three hundred and thirty men, was three officers, and twenty-three men killed; Captain Broke, two officers, and fifty-eight men wounded; eighty-seven total. On mustering the crew of the Chesapeake on the following day, they found she had begun the action with four hundred and forty men, of whom the second lieutenant, master, marine officer, some midshipmen, and ninety seamen and marines, were killed; Captain Lawrence and the first lieutenant, mortally wounded: the third lieutenant, some midshipmen, and one hundred and ten men were also wounded; making a total of killed and wounded, between the two ships, of nearly three hundred men, or twenty men for every minute the ships were in action.

The capture of the Chesapeake by a ship of the same number of guns, and weight of metal, but inferior in number of men by one hundred and ten, was proof sufficient that all our preceding losses had been solely caused by the encounter of ships unequally matched. Trusting that America and Great Britain will know their true interests too well to be again embroiled, let us conclude by observing, that both ships did their duty, though some fault was found with one or two of the officers on board the Chesapeake. The Shannon and her prize arrived at Halifax on the 6th. Captain Lawrence had died on the 4th, and was buried with the honours of war at that place: the body was taken up a month after, and conveyed, at the express request of the American government, to Boston, where it was again interred in grateful solemnity. Captain Broke shortly after returned to England in the Shannon. On his arrival he was created a baronet, and received with every mark of respect. The same valour, unsuccessful alongside of the Constitution, was received with coldness, and suffered unmerited neglect, from all those who were not perfectly acquainted with the disproportionate forces of the contending ships.

It was never the wish of the writer of these pages to perpetuate animosity between Great Britain and America; facts are only recorded for the instruction of our successors, and to guard them against a recurrence of similar evils.

The clock-machine and fire-vessels, I admit, were introduced by the English: I disapprove of them, and lament that they were ever used, as adding unnecessarily to the horrors of war. But even these machines were conducted by valour; and though the projector declined exposing his own person, Englishmen were found who could make the coffins fast to the cable, and lay a fire-ship on board the French flotilla before

Boulogne. So far the warfare was manly, because a risk was incurred by the assailants. America also, in her turn, used a clock-machine, which had very nearly destroyed the Plantagenet, of 74 guns.* This was no more than what we had a right to expect, and what was foretold by the Earl of St. Vincent on their first introduction. But these instances can never be pleaded in justification of the base and cowardly plot by which a gallant young officer, and 10 British seamen, belonging to the Ramillies, were blown into the air.

Captain Sir Thomas Hardy, of the Ramillies, was off New London, in June, 1813, when his boats captured a schooner, making for that harbour; the crew had left her. The vessel was brought close to the Ramillies: Sir Thomas Hardy ordered her to be placed alongside of another prize. Lieutenant Geddes, and 13 men, were in the execution of this order, when, about half-past two, the vessel blew up, and the lieutenant, with 10 of his men, perished; three men only escaped, but were dreadfully scorched. Such was the effect of a wicked and cruel artifice, planned by American merchants of New York, and sanctioned, we fear, by the government! It had been reported, that the Ramillies was short of provisions; they had therefore placed some articles of this description in the hatchway, in hopes the vessel might have been taken alongside. In the hold were stowed several barrels of gunpowder; trains were laid to explode at a given time, by means of clock-work.

* There is, I think, a very exaggerated statement of this fact in Bowen's "Naval Monuments," in which the writer speaks of a column of water 50 feet in diameter, and between 40 and 50 feet high, and the ship nearly upset by rolling into the chasm! I remember a very curious circumstance when I commanded the Spartan, lying in the Delaware in 1812. At that time the clock-machines were much spoken of as likely to be used against us. An American officer from one of the neighbouring forts had that day dined with me under a flag of truce, and had assured me that no such attack should be made on my ship, because I had shown kindness to their fishermen in the river; this intimation we knew was still to be received with caution. About one o'clock in the morning I was called by the officer of the watch, who informed me that the watch on deck were alarmed at a whizzing noise under the ship's bottom. I got up, and was sensible of it myself; it extended fore and aft, from stem to stern, and caused a constant vibration. It never occurred to me that this could have had any connexion with a clock-machine, though some of the officers supposed it had. The night was past in sleepless vigilance, and, in the morning, I sent a boat to the Statira, then in company, and informed Captain Stackpole of it. His answer was, that they had experienced the same noise and sensation, and a cutter, which was with us, had in like manner partaken of this mysterious alarm. Soon after this we had some intercourse with the fishermen, who accounted for the phenomenon, by telling us it was the Drumming-fish, which, at that season of the year, visit their waters in shoals, and that the action or vibration of their tails on the ships' bottoms occasioned the sensation which so alarmed us. I had no time to make myself more acquainted with the natural history of these fish, or to ascertain the correctness of the fishermen's account: I merely give it as an anecdote, which may hereafter lead to more inquiry, and end in more satisfactory results.

A quantity of arsenic among the food would have been so perfectly compatible with the rest of the contrivance, that we wonder it was not resorted to. Should actions like these receive the sanction of governments, the science of war, and the laws of nations, will degenerate into the barbarity of the Algerines; and murder and pillage will take place of kindness and humanity to our enemies. Every honourable mind in America will blush for his country, when he reads this account, and will detest the authors of such diabolical treachery.

The steam-vessel, called the Fulton (from the name of the inventor), appears to have been a very formidable floating-battery, with the power of loco-motion, at the rate of five miles an hour. Without the aid of masts or sails, she could preserve her position on the quarter of a ship, for any time, in calms or light winds. She had 30 32-pound guns on one deck, her sides were five feet thick, and, being covered over like a tortoise's back, bade defiance to the shot of an enemy. For the defence of rivers, and still waters, she answered every purpose; and could have been encountered only by a vessel of similar construction. As she was not produced till after the conclusion of the war, she never came into action; but experiments were made, and her powers appeared to be very surprising.

On the 5th of September, 1813, the Boxer, a gun-brig, commander Captain Samuel Blyth, was captured by an American schooner, of nearly double her force in number of men, and greatly superior in guns and in size. The action was fought off Portland, in the United States. The first broadside from the American killed Captain Blyth and two of his men; the main-topmast of the Boxer was shot away at the same time; and the enemy being by this means enabled to keep a raking position, the Boxer very soon became a wreck, and a prize to her adversary. The Americans chose to call this a wonderful achievement, and to insist, that the Boxer had 104 men at least. This was inferred, also, by Commodore Hull (who ought to have known better), because he counted 90 hammocks on board of her; each man in the British navy being allowed two, that he may have a clean one ready to put his bedding into. I have no wish to deprive the Americans of the honour they may claim by this victory; but they certainly on this, and every other occasion of the like nature, greatly overrated the force of their enemies.

In the gulf of Florida, Captain Hugh Pigott, of the Orpheus of 32 guns, captured the Frolic American sloop of war, of 22 guns, 20 32-pound carronades, and two long 18-pounders. This vessel, though manned with 172 men, struck to the Orpheus without a shadow of resistance.

The forces on the coast of North America had been augmented in the latter end of the year 1812: a marine battalion, of 2,000 men, raised from the ships of war, had been formed and disciplined by their own officers. Rear-admiral Cockburn sailed from Cadiz, in the Marlborough, of 74 guns, and arrived at Bermuda in January, 1813; he was shortly after joined by Sir John Warren, and the two admirals, with the forces under their orders, proceeded to the Chesapeake, which they reached on the 3d of March, up to which period nothing had been attempted against the Americans, beyond cruising off their ports. The manner of carrying on the war was now entirely changed. Surveys were made, and excellent charts procured from American vessels; by which means our officers soon became very expert pilots. The rear-admiral, having obtained the consent of the commander-in-chief, ran into Hampton roads, cleared the James river with his boats, and spread dismay throughout Virginia. The Constellation, an American frigate, lying at the mouth of the Elizabeth river, waiting an opportunity to get to sea, was forced to return to Norfolk; and the Americans sank a large ship in the channel, to obstruct the passage of our ships.

The rear-admiral, followed by the commander-in-chief, in the St. Domingo, next went up the northern branch of the Chesapeake, and took many vessels, some of them armed for war. Having reached nearly as high as Annapolis, he was detached by Sir John Warren, with two frigates, some brigs, and small craft. He carried the Marlborough as high as the depth of water would permit, then left her, and hoisted his flag on board the Maidstone, with Captain Burdett, and proceeded to the upper part of the Elk river, at the head of the Chesapeake: here he destroyed a battery, and a large depôt of military stores. At French Town, the inhabitants being perfectly inoffensive, and not assisting the soldiers in the defence of the works, no injury whatever was done to them; but it was not always in the power of the rear-admiral, thus to mitigate the horrors of war. The Americans are particularly skilful in the use of the rifle, with which the peasantry and inhabitants of the villages along the shores of the Chesapeake would frequently fire upon our boats; and many of our men being killed by this bush-fighting, the rear-admiral publicly declared, that whenever the inhabitants, not being military, should so conduct themselves, he should deliver up their towns, farms, and stores, to military execution, and consider the people, when in his power, as prisoners of war; but that, on the other hand, every kindness and indulgence should be shown to such as attended only to their own agricultural or mercantile pursuits. The

people of French Town, relying on these assurances, saved themselves, and their property. Cattle were purchased from the estates, regularly paid for, and sent down to the fleet; and the American farmer was as secure from our depredations, as if he had been a British subject. But the people of the town of Hâvre de Grace, at the entrance of the Susquehana, confiding too much in their own strength and valour, fired on our boats as they passed. The rear-admiral, true to his word, attacked the place in the morning of the 3d of May, with 200 seamen and marines; and, after a smart skirmish, took their battery, turned the guns against the town, drove the people into the woods, and gave up those houses to plunder, whose owners had taken up arms against us; at the same time, affording security and protection to such as had taken no part in these acts of hostility. The Americans had a large cannon-foundery about four miles from Hâvre, where they cast guns for their ships of war. This the rear-admiral destroyed, together with 51 new pieces of cannon, and many large depôts of government stores. After giving this memorable lesson to the Americans, and being on shore the whole of the day, on the high road between Baltimore and Philadelphia,, the rear-admiral re-embarked his men, and returned to his ship.

The Americans had collected a small but very mischievous force in the Rappahannock: it consisted of four schooners, of the most superior construction, either for sailing or fighting. They were the Arab, of seven guns and forty-five men; the Lynx, of six guns and forty men; Racer, of six guns and thirty-six men; and the Dolphin, of twelve guns and seventy-eight men. These vessels, all moored in a close line, for mutual support, were boarded and brought out by the boats of the squadron, under the orders of Lieutenant Puckinghorne, of the St. Domingo, supported by the Lieutenants Urmston and Scott, of the Marlborough, Bishop, of the Statira, and Lidden, of the Maidstone.

On the 6th of May, Rear-admiral Cockburn went with his boats to the Sassafras river, on which stand two places, called George Town and Frederick Town; and, having warned the people of what had happened at Hâvre de Grace, and invited them to be peaceable, he proceeded to attack the forts. The inhabitants joined with the militia in their defence; and, after a smart engagement, were beaten, and the places given up to plunder. These three examples sufficed to convince the Americans both of the power and the clemency of their enemies; and the rear-admiral had no farther occasion to resort to the cruel alternative. From that moment no country, having become the theatre of war, ever suffered so little from the presence

of a hostile army. On the 7th of May, the rear-admiral rejoined Sir John Warren, who carried the fleet down to Lynhaven bay, where he left Admiral Cockburn with a squadron to keep up the blockade, and went with the rest of the ships to Halifax.

Returning again on the 19th of June, Sir John Warren brought with him a land force, under the command of Colonel Sir Sydney Beckwith. This consisted of one regiment of infantry, some few marines and artillery, and some companies of Frenchmen, who had been permitted to enter into the British service. With this force, to which were added some seamen from the squadron trained to small arms, the rear-admiral and Colonel Beckwith made an attack on the town of Norfolk, in Elizabeth river, a well fortified place, containing a naval arsenal, and a government store. The rear-admiral hoisted his flag on board the Barrosa, Captain J. A. Gordon, and anchored off the mouth of Elizabeth river, with three other frigates, some gun-brigs, and smaller vessels. The troops landed on the 22d of June, in the morning, and moved towards Craney Island, a post which it was necessary to take, in order to secure the passage for the ships of war, and to enable them to reach the Constellation. The boats of the squadron, under the command of Captain Pechell, of the St. Domingo, endeavoured to reach and to storm this island; but, being unacquainted with the channel, they grounded on the mud, and became exposed to a heavy fire of grape, which sank three of the largest of the boats, and killed and wounded about 90 men. The rest retreated; and, Sir Sidney Beckwith declaring that the troops under his orders were inadequate to the undertaking, they were re-embarked, and returned to their ships.

After this unsuccessful attempt upon Norfolk, it was determined to attack Hampton, a fortified town, and military post, on the shore of Hampton roads, opposite to the mouth of Elizabeth river. This was undertaken on the 25th of June, by the rear-admiral, with the armed boats of the squadron, and Colonel Beckwith, with the troops. The place was taken by a joint attack, after a sharp action; but no great advantage seems to have arisen from it; and the French troops behaved so infamously, that Sir Sydney Beckwith declared, with great truth, that he should feel much stronger without them; accordingly, such as had not deserted to the enemy, were re-embarked, and sent to Bermuda. The colonel kept possession of Hampton till the 27th, when it was given up to the Americans.

On the 1st of July, Rear-admiral Cockburn shifted his flag to the Sceptre, of 74 guns, which had been sent out for him;

and, the enemy having collected a small naval force at Okrakoke, in South Carolina, he volunteered to go and attack it. Having obtained permission of the commander-in-chief, and received on board of his small squadron a detachment of the 102d regiment, under Colonel Napier, he sailed on the 3d, and anchored on the 11th of July off the port. There was not depth of water sufficient for a ship of the line, or even a frigate, to approach; the troops were therefore put into the boats the same evening, and by daylight they had got within the harbour, and so near the enemy's vessels, as to receive from them a hasty though ineffectual fire: they instantly boarded and carried them. One was called the Anaconda, a fine brig, of 20 guns; the other the Atlas, a schooner, of 12 guns. The chiefs having landed, and collected a supply of cattle and other necessaries from the surrounding country, and got their prizes over the bar, evacuated Okrakoke on the 16th of July, and returned to the Chesapeake, where nothing had taken place during their absence.

It was next decided to land and take possession of Kent Island, for the purpose of refreshing the troops. With this object the squadron moved from the entrance of the Potowmac, and ascended the Chesapeake. The Sceptre, gaining the lead, with the Barrosa, far outstripped the commander-in-chief; and at dawn of day on the 5th of August, the rear-admiral, with a party of the 102d regiment, the marines, and a few seamen from both these ships, had landed, and in a few hours they were in quiet possession of the island. The troops were put on shore, and procured a supply of all those refreshments so necessary to the preservation of their health. They remained here till the 22d, when they were re-embarked, and returned to Lynhaven bay. While we were in possession of this island, our boats made many excursions into the neighbouring creeks and inlets, always returning laden with spoil, or having destroyed some fort or store of the enemy.

On the 6th of September, Sir John Warren sailed with the principal part of the forces to Halifax, leaving Rear-admiral Cockburn in the command of the Chesapeake bay and anchorage.

In the mean time, some events had occurred on the lakes of Canada, which require to be noticed. Our naval force employed there was not equal, in some respects, to that of America. The command of the land forces, and the government of the Canadas, were intrusted to Lieutenant-general Sir George Prevost. The naval force was commanded by Captain Sir James Lucas Yeo, who had the temporary rank of commodore. The American army had received some severe checks

from ours, under the command of General Brock and Sir Roger Sheaffe. Commodore Yeo sailed from Kingston, on Lake Ontario, on the 3d of June, to assist the land forces, cut off the supplies of the Americans, and draw their squadron from their port. On the 8th of June, the hostile squadrons met at Forty Mile Creek, when an affair took place, which, though trifling, ended to our advantage. The next rencontre was at Sackets Harbour. Of this unfortunate affair no good and impartial account has yet appeared in print. It was at the end of May, or the beginning of June, that a small squadron of British vessels was equipped at Kingston, on Lake Ontario, and stood over to Sacket's Harbour, while the American squadron was gone to the head of the lake to attack York. The British troops were landed at day-light under cover of our gun-boats, and sustained severe loss from the American sharp-shooters, who lay concealed in the woods; still our gallant fellows made good their landing, and fought their way nearly two miles before they reached the block-houses and forts. The Americans, on seeing this determined valour, set fire to a ship they were building (afterwards named after General Pike, who fell in the attack on York), and retreated. At this moment Sir George Prevost, who, from some intelligence he had received, supposed that the enemy threatened and meant to attack his rear, retreated also, so that both armies from an eminence might have been seen retiring from each other. Our men, it is admitted, obeyed the orders with great reluctance; and the Americans, finding us disposed to retire, returned again, and very soon extinguished the fire which they had made on board the General Pike; and that vessel soon after appeared in action, and did us very serious injury. This was the first affair on Lake Ontario; that at Forty Mile Creek was trifling, in comparison. Commodore Chauncey, a smart active American officer, had now taken the command at Sacket's Harbour, where, after the unfortunate retreat above mentioned, he employed himself in launching and fitting that very ship which the Americans had so recently themselves consigned to the flames.

On the 8th of August, Commodore Yeo, in the Wolfe, discovered the enemy's squadron at anchor off Fort Niagara. They consisted of 13 sail; ours of only six, though they were much larger vessels. They weighed, and offered battle, which the commodore gladly accepted; but before they were well within gun-shot, the Americans fired their broadsides, and sought the protection of their batteries. A breeze of wind, towards the evening, enabled the British squadron to close; and at 11 o'clock at night, to engage that of the United States.

The Wolfe got alongside of the General Pike and the Madison, both which ran away, firing their stern-chase guns, and leaving two of their schooners in possession of the commodore: each of these mounted one long 32-pounder, and one long 12-pounder, with a crew of 40 men. The General Pike, which escaped with the Madison, mounted 28 long 24-pounders, and had a crew of 400 men. The enemy retreated after this affair to Sacket's Harbour. Our squadron received no other injury than a few shot through their sails, and some rigging cut away.

The success of the Americans by land was not so great as might have been expected, when the proximity of their resources, compared with ours, was duly considered. In that inclement season, the month of December, the armies kept the field; and the flotillas on Lakes Ontario and Erie cruised against the enemy.

The American Generals Hamilton and Wilkinson were obliged by the British forces to retreat with loss, both in Upper and Lower Canada.

The flotilla on Lake Erie was commanded by Captain R. H. Barclay, a young officer, whose courage led him to attempt more than prudence would have justified, under any other circumstances than those in which he found himself: his squadron was only half manned, and without stores; his men were on two-thirds allowance, and not a day's provisions in the port of Amherstberg, where he lay blockaded by an American squadron of superior force. Captain Barclay, guided by the wishes of Major-general Proctor, with whom he was directed to consult and co-operate, determined to attack the enemy, let the event be what it might. He had been led to expect a reinforcement of seamen from the fleet on the coast, but they did not arrive, and every hour's delay rendered the state of his squadron more desperate. On the morning of the 9th of September, the American flotilla appeared in Put-in Bay, and Captain Barclay bore up to engage them. A change of wind brought the American squadron to windward, and they came down upon him with a determination to fight. The name of Captain Barclay's ship was the Detroit. About noon he brought the American commodore to action; two American schooners, with very heavy long guns, engaged him at the same time. The Queen Charlotte and Lady Prevost were cut to pieces by the American schooners. Captain Finnis, of the Queen Charlotte, was killed early in the action. Captain Barclay, who, long before this action, had lost an arm, was again severely wounded; and every officer about him being either killed or wounded, it became necessary to surrender both the Detroit and the Queen

Charlotte to the United States ship St. Lawrence, commodore Parry. In number and weight of guns, the two squadrons were nearly equal; but the Americans had every advantage in the number and quality of their men.

Captain Barclay, and all the other officers, were honourably acquitted for the loss of the ships; and great care was taken to reinforce the squadrons of the lakes. On shore we were more fortunate. Fort George capitulated to General Drummond, who, on the 9th of December, took Fort Niagara by storm, with small loss on our side: the enemy had near 400 men killed, wounded, or taken. Major-general Riall took Black Rock and Buffalo, two strong posts belonging to the Americans, who, in the depth of a Canadian winter, must have deplored the madness of a government which had thus wantonly plunged them into the horrors of war.

The action on Lake Erie, from the best information I can obtain, appears to have been lost from one of those casualties to which naval warfare, in particular, is most liable. There was no want of British valour or patriotism, while, on the other hand, there was an abundance of *both* on the side of our enemies; for it must be admitted, that all the combatants were essentially English, with this difference only, that the force under the American flag was much superior to ours. The action was well begun on our side, and some advantage appeared to have been obtained; and, could the gallant Captain Barclay have had but a few British seamen to clear the wreck and prepare to renew the attack, it is most probable that the day would have been differently decided; but the Niagara, an American sloop of 22 guns, long 24-pounders, came gallantly into action with a fresh crew, and in good order, supported by the schooners with their heavy and well directed long guns. All our officers were, in a short time, either killed or wounded. The vessels fell on board of each other, and finally surrendered. The seamen sent to support Barclay did not exceed 50 men; the remainder of his crew were made up of Canadians and soldiers of the 41st regiment of infantry, all brave, no doubt, but unskilled in the art of naval war. Sir James Yeo has been blamed for not sending him better men, and others have censured him for not going up in person from Lake Ontario to take the command, and with him a large portion of his officers and men. Judging from the result (which people who fight battles over a comfortable fire-side are very apt to do), this might have answered; but Sir James Yeo had a very important trust confided to him, and was not to quit his post on the bare surmise of expediency. He had a powerful enemy on the lake to attend to, and, had he left Ontario to go to Lake Erie, he

might have sacrificed his own squadron without saving that of Captain Barclay. The loss of the action on Lake Erie gave the enemy the command of the country down to the forts of that lake, and, if they could have destroyed the squadron on Lake Ontario, they would have taken Kingston, and possessed themselves of all the country down to Montreal, and probably have taken that city also, the capital of Upper Canada; but, as a farther and more ample justification of Sir James Lucas Yeo, we shall find, on reference to dates, that, on the very day of Barclay's fatal action, the two hostile squadrons on Lake Ontario were in presence of each other, and Sir James actually engaged the enemy on the 12th, only two days after. Want of wind prevented his closing with the Americans, as he wished to do, while the latter, with their long 24-pounders, kept at a distance and greatly annoyed him. Under these circumstances, therefore, little was to have been gained, and much risk incurred, if not positive loss, by the absence of Sir James Yeo from his chief command. Barclay had done all on Lake Erie which skill and valour could have done, with his limited means; and had Mulcaster, the second in command on Lake Ontario, been left in charge of that post, there can be no doubt that he would have done equally well. This gallant and excellent officer very shortly after received a musket ball in the upper part of his thigh, which has, I fear, rendered him a cripple for life.

In the early part of this disastrous war, the Americans, it must be admitted, had much the advantage; but, had it continued one year longer, not only would their naval power have been destroyed, both on the lakes and the ocean, but it is highly probable there would have been a separation between the Southern and the Eastern States, an event which, by the peace of 1814, has been deferred for a few years longer.

That we were unfortunate in our warfare in this part of the world cannot be denied; but it must not be inferred that we had lost any of our naval energy: on the contrary, I have not, in a careful examination of our naval history from the earliest periods to the present day, found any thing more truly heroic than the conduct of our officers and men in this arduous struggle. The action of the 28th of September, 1813, in which Sir James Yeo, in the Wolfe, had his main and mizen-topmast shot away, and was obliged to put before the wind, gave Mulcaster an opportunity of displaying a trait of valour and seamanship, which elicited the admiration of friends and foes, when he gallantly placed himself between his disabled commodore and a superior enemy. In this action, the General Pike was more than a match for the whole British squadron,

having 28 long 24-pounders, and being well manned. With this engagement ended the naval campaign on the lakes, in the year 1813.

Early in the spring we had the Prince Regent and Psyche, two frigates, ready before Chauncey could equip the Superior and the Mohawk: we therefore had the command of the lake, took Fort Crurgo, and blockaded Sacket's Harbour.

In an attack on some vessels laden with stores for the American fleet, Captain Popham was led into an ambuscade. The officer from whom I derived this information was taken prisoner, and he had, therefore, the means of becoming better acquainted with the nature of the warfare in which we were engaged.

Sir James Yeo was an officer of very rare talent for war and deep-laid stratagems; in this last perhaps he was only exceeded by the Indians themselves, as the following little history will show.

Having collected together a number of small vessels which were slightly constructed, he retired *out of sight of land*, and, there with his own carpenters and such means as he possessed, he cut them down to row-galleys, putting from 15 to 20 oars of a side. Having prepared his officers and men by every possible mode of instruction, he armed them each with a cutlass in their right hand, and a bayonet in their left, both slung to their waist, and thus prepared he pulled in-shore in the night, and contrived to conceal his whole force under the bushes, in the neighbourhood of Sacket's Harbour, intending on the ensuing night, which he knew was to be one of rejoicing among the Americans, to make an attack on Chauncey's squadron, when it was probable most of the men would have been carousing ashore. Every thing had, till then, succeeded to his wishes, and he beheld from his concealment the Americans lulled into fatal security, when suddenly two of his men were reported to be missing. One was found soon after, but the other, a Canadian, had deserted to the enemy and disclosed the whole secret; the Americans were seen hurrying to their ships, and with an admirable degree of celerity soon surrounded them with spars, at an oar's distance, thus rendering surprise impossible. Yeo, with his very inferior number, now found it necessary to retreat with precipitation from his concealment, and had the mortification to learn afterwards from the American officers, that, but for the information of the deserter, they must have lost their whole squadron. Yeo's constitution at this time was worn out, and he had been seen in the heat of action, unable to stand, lying over the hammocks while he gave his orders. He died soon after the conclusion of hostilities.

A drawn battle, of an unusually desperate character, took place on the coast of Guinea, between the Amelia, of 44 guns, commanded by Captain the Honourable Frederick Paul Irby, and the French frigate Aréthuse, commanded by Commodore Bouvet: it was nearly calm as they lay close to each other, and when the Aréthuse sheered away, the Amelia was unable to follow; her three lieutenants lay dead upon her decks, with 47 of her men. Captain Irby was severely wounded, as were all his surviving officers and about 95 men; making a total of 145 killed and wounded. The carnage on board the Aréthuse was equally great; the report sent to the minister of the marine stated the number at 150 in killed and wounded.

Captain Dashwood, of the Snap brig of war of 16 guns, had a rencontre with five large French luggers, one of which he took: she was called Le Lion, had 16 guns and 65 men; the other four luggers made their escape. Privateers never support each other.

On the 9th of October, Captain Watkin Owen Pell, of the Thunder bomb, while on his passage from Spithead to the Downs, fell in with a French lugger, off the Owers light. The appearance of the Thunder being precisely that of a merchant-ship, the enemy supposed her to be one, and, to favour the deception, Captain Pell steered as if he intended to run on shore. The unfortunate Frenchman fell into the snare: running close upon the larboard quarter of the Thunder, he hailed, and desired her to strike; his decks being full of men, and prepared for boarding, he put his helm up for that purpose, and Captain Pell put his down, giving a broadside, and a volley of musketry; at the same moment the lugger fell on board of the Thunder, and was taken. She was called Le Neptune, pierced for 18 guns, had 14 mounted, and had on board 63 men, of whom 4 were killed.

CHAPTER XX.

1. Approaching termination of the war.—Disposition and views of the Allies on the frontiers of France, and in Spain—Actions in the Channel between the Niger and Ceres—the Eurotas and Clorinde—The Hannibal takes La Sultane—The Hebrus takes L'Etoile—The Avon sunk by the American sloop of war Wasp—Passage of the Adour—Rear-admiral Penrose follows the army to the eastward, and enters the Gironde—Bordeaux receives the British forces, and the Princes of Bourbon—The Allies enter Paris—Napoleon abdicates—Lord Wellington defeats Soult at Toulouse—Sortie from Bayonne—The Regulus, of 80 guns, burned in the Gironde—Lord Amelius Beauclerc and Rear-admiral Sir Harry Neale receive friendly communications from the French at Rochelle and Brest.
2. *Mediterranean.*—Affair of Toulon—Boyne and Romulus—Successes of Admiral Fremantle in the Adriatic—Capture of Genoa—Embarkation of Napoleon on board the Undaunted—His arrival at Elba, and establishment of his government—Treaty of peace between England and Denmark—between France and England and the Allies.
3. *South America.*—Capture of the Essex by the Phœbe.
4. *North America.*—Vice-admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane appointed Commander-in-chief—Sails from Bermuda with a body of troops—Arrives in the Chesapeake—Major-general Ross and Rear-admiral Cockburn land in North America—They take Tangier Island, and invite the slaves to join them—March on Washington—Enter it, and destroy the public buildings—Captain J. A. Gordon attacks Alexandria, which surrenders—Rear-admiral Cockburn and Major-general Ross march to attack Baltimore—Battle at the Meeting-house—Death of the Major-general—Retreat of the British forces—Expedition of Sir Thomas Hardy and Colonel Pilkington—of Sir J. C. Sherbroke and Rear-admiral Griffiths—Death of Sir Peter Parker—Affairs on the Lakes—Defeat of British flotilla before Platsburgh, and death of Captain Downie—Retreat of Sir George Prevost—Expedition of Rear-admiral Cockburn to Cumberland Island—Capture of St. Mary's.
5. *West Indies.*—Capture of the Alcmene and Iphigénie by Rear-admiral Durham.

It is a pleasing part of the duty of an historian, who has recorded the successes of the unprincipled conqueror, who manifested an equal disregard of truth and the well-being of mankind when either interfered with his ambitious projects, to trace him through his decline of fortune, to the period of retribution, which infallibly awaits crime.

The Rhine, no longer the boundary of France, was forced by hostile armies, from Basle to Dusseldorf; the immortal

Blucher passed at the fortress of Kaub. The Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the King of Prussia, met at Basle on the 14th of January, while the respective generals and armies of these monarchs pressed on, and overran the eastern provinces of France.

Hamburgh was not yet released from the cruel oppressor, Davoust; but the city of Dantzic was evacuated by the French on the 2nd of January; the garrison became prisoners of war, and the place was entered by Duke Alexander, of Wirtemburg, at the head of 16,000 Russians and Prussians.

The Crown Prince of Sweden commanded a powerful army of Russians, Prussians, Swedes, and Danes, this last power having joined the coalition; the forces of the prince occupied Cologne, Brussels, Mons, Namur, Avesnes, and Rheims. The British army, under Sir Thomas Graham, acting in conjunction with the Prussian general, Bulow, drove the French into Antwerp with loss. Bonaparte, therefore, thought it time to place himself once more at the head of his armies: he arrived at St. Dizier, on the Maine, on the 27th of January.

In Italy, the prospects of Napoleon were still darker. There is no true friendship among the wicked. Murat, a man of humble birth, who had been raised by his master to the high rank of king of Naples, had turned his arms against his benefactor, and joined the Emperor of Austria, with 40,000 or 50,000 men. In the month of January, the Austrian forces occupied both banks of the Mincio. Negotiations for peace had been begun between France and the Allies, but were broken off on the 18th of March.

On the 5th of January, Captain Rainier, in the Niger, of 38 guns, and Captain Pipon, in the Tagus, of the same force, captured off the island of St. Antonio, the French frigate La Ceres, of 44 guns, and 324 men, commanded by the Baron de Bougainville. The prize was lately from Brest, and bound on a cruise.

An action was fought in February, 1814, between the Eurotas, a British ship of 44 guns, and La Clorinde, of the same force. The two ships met on the 25th of the month, in lat. 47° 40′ N., and 9° 30′ W. Captain Phillimore, of the Eurotas, a newly fitted ship, instantly sought a close action with his adversary; and at five o'clock, passed under her stern, hailed, and gave his broadside. Luffing under her lee, and passing a-head of her, he received that of the Frenchman, which shot away his mizen-mast. Captain Phillimore ordered the helm to be put down, to lay the enemy on board: this manœuvre failed, the wreck of the mast impeding the action of the rudder. The fight continued, and once more the Eurotas raked the enemy,

after which the two ships lay broadside and broadside, until 20 minutes past six, when the main-mast of the Eurotas, and the mizen-mast of the French ship, both fell. At 50 minutes past six, the enemy's main-mast, and the fore-mast of the Eurotas, fell; and 10 minutes after seven, the French ship slackened her fire, and, with her fore-mast standing, succeeded in getting out of gun-shot of the Eurotas.

Captain Phillimore was severely wounded in the early part of the action, but kept the deck till the enemy had run away, when he suffered himself to be carried below, ordering his first lieutenant, Mr. Smith, to rig jurymasts, and to make sail after the enemy. The fore-mast and main-mast, then lying nearly fore and aft the decks, were quickly disengaged from the ship; and before 12 o'clock the next day, they had succeeded in rigging jury-courses, topsails, staysails, and spanker, and cleared the decks for action, and were going six knots and a half, and coming fast up with the enemy, who had not then cleared away any part of his wreck. Victory would probably have declared in favour of the Eurotas; but it was anticipated, by the appearance of the Dryad, of 36 guns, Captain Galway, and the Achates sloop of war, Captain Morrison. The French captain presented his sword to Captain Galway, who very honourably refused it, observing, that that mark of respect was due to Captain Phillimore. La Clorinde mounted 44 guns, though we should call her no more than an eight-and-thirty: she had 360 men, of whom 120 were killed or wounded; the Eurotas had 20 killed, and 40 wounded.

On the 26th of March, Captain Sir Michael Seymour, in the Hannibal, of 74 guns, with the Hebrus, commanded by the late Captain E. Palmer, and the Sparrow brig, of 10 guns, fell in with two French frigates, off the Isle of Bas. Both these ships appear to have been disabled: they separated on seeing our squadron. One was pursued and taken by the Hannibal; she was called La Sultane, mounted 44 guns, and had 300 men. The other, chased by the Hebrus, was brought to action the same night by that ship, and taken after a contest of two hours and 20 minutes. She was called L'Etoile, was of the same size as her consort; and had the same number of men, of whom 40 were killed, and 70 wounded. The Hebrus had 12 killed, and 10 severely wounded. The late Captain William Sargent served as a volunteer on board the Hebrus. Being then only a commander, he was promoted for his good conduct.

On the 1st of September an action was fought off Cape Clear, between the British brig sloop of war, Avon, and the American brig of war, Wasp, both large class vessels. The

American had, however, greatly the advantage in size, and number of men, and had two more guns. The action lasted two hours and 20 minutes. The Avon had 42 men killed and wounded, and was sinking, when the Castilian brig came in sight, and, after giving the Wasp a broadside, hastened to the relief of the Avon. The Honourable Captain Arbuthnot, her commander, was severely wounded; the first lieutenant, Mr. Prendergast, mortally; and the sloop sank as soon as the last officer had quitted her. The Wasp received comparatively little damage.

On the 20th of February, the Marquis of Wellington reached the banks of the Adour, where his progress was nearly arrested for want of boats to transport his army across the river. The mouth of the Adour is obstructed by a bar on which the surf breaks with much violence. Rear-admiral Penrose had his flag in the Porcupine, of 24 guns, and directed the operations of the boats and small craft that were attempting to enter the river. At a distance were seen the British troops passing over from the south to the north side, and indicating by the lengthened operation the extreme distress they were in for assistance from the ships of war. With all the energy that belongs to a Briton, Captain O'Reilly, in a Spanish boat, with a good pilot, made the first attempt to pass the bar: his boat was overset; but with his people he escaped to the shore. Lieutenant Debenham, in a six-oared cutter, succeeded in crossing the bar. He was followed by Lieutenant Cheyne, of the Woodlark, gun-brig, in a Spanish boat, manned with British seamen. After him came Lieutenant Chesshyre, who was the first officer that hoisted the British colours in the Adour. "Many other boats," says the excellent and gallant admiral, "followed in rapid succession; the zeal and science of the officers triumphing over all the difficulties of the navigation." Some lives were lost in this daring but necessary enterprise, more honourable than the best fought action at sea, inasmuch as their exertions were most essential to the success or preservation of the British army. Captain Elliott, of the Martial gun-brig, was drowned, with four of his seamen; Mr. Norman, his surgeon, killed. Mr. Henry Bloye, master's mate of the Lyra, with five of his men, was drowned; and four boats were lost, with all their crews.

Rear-admiral Penrose, in conjunction with the British land forces under Sir John Hope, crossed the Adour below Bayonne, on the 23d and 24th of February, and formed a complete bridge over that river, at the same time that they invested the city of Bayonne. Early in March, Marshal Beresford was ordered by Lord Wellington to move directly on Bor-

deaux, the first city which openly displayed its reconciliation with the ill-starred House of Bourbon. Marshal Beresford, having reached the city on the 12th, was met by the loyal inhabitants with every demonstration of joy. The Duke d'Angoulême accompanied the British general; the white cockade was displayed, and Louis XVIII. was proclaimed.

Rear-admiral Penrose followed the motions of this corps, and on the 21st of March, with his flag in the Egmont, of 74 guns, he let go his anchor in the Gironde.

Paris was now threatened in her turn with hostile arms as well as internal commotion. The great day of the 30th of March laid open her gates to the Allies; and Bonaparte beheld, as the result of his inordinate ambition, his bitter enemies mount guard at the Tuileries. On the 2d of April, the senate declared that Napoleon had forfeited his throne. To this decision he submitted, and chose the island of Elba as the place of his retirement: himself and the Empress Maria Louisa were to retain their title, and to be allowed an income of two millions and a half of francs, about £100,000. The provisional government of Paris offered the throne to Louis XVIII. which he gladly accepted. Thus, after the storms of the revolution; after destroying the altar, the throne, and many an ancient and honourable institution, did France again submit, with, at least, apparent satisfaction, to the government of her ancient race of sovereigns.

While these things were passing at Paris, Lord Wellington pursued Marshal Soult to Toulouse, where the French general shut himself up, ignorant of what had been done at Paris. Round the walls of this romantic city, a bloody and a useless battle was fought on the 10th of April, in which victory, dearly bought, remained with the Allies. This battle is the more to be lamented, since, by a little diligence in forwarding the despatches, the whole might have been prevented. On the 12th, his lordship entered Toulouse. How it happened that neither the Marquis of Wellington, nor Marshal Soult, the only generals in France at that time opposed to each other, should not have been made acquainted with the events which had taken place in the capital between the 31st of March and the 9th of April, is a question upon which I decline entering. That a courier with common speed might have gone from Paris to Toulouse in three days, with ease, and to Bayonne in about the same time, is certain; yet two murderous battles were fought at these places on the 10th and 14th of April. This, however, I am bound to add, that if the intelligence did reach this part of France, it certainly was not communicated in time to the British commander.

On the 9th of April, Rear-admiral Penrose acquainted Lord Keith, the commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet, that the Gironde and the Garonne, as high as Blaye, were quite cleared of the enemy's force, the batteries on both sides being either taken or destroyed. When the rear-admiral entered the Gironde, he drove before him the Regulus, a French ship of 80 guns, and three brigs of war.

The Centaur, of 74 guns, arriving soon after to reinforce him, the rear-admiral prepared to attack the enemy, who had anchored under the protection of the batteries at Blaye. At midnight on the 6th of April, the French ships appeared in flames, and were burnt to the water's edge. Captain Coode, of the Porcupine, reached as high up the Garonne as Pouillac, where his boats, under the orders of Lieutenant Delap, captured and destroyed the enemy's flotilla.

Rear-admiral Lord Amelius Beauclerc, in the Royal Oak, of 74 guns, lying in Basque Roads, received a letter from the general of division, Baron de Raffinière, commander-in-chief at Rochelle, stating that, in the name of his division, he had acknowledged his Majesty Louis XVIII. and had hoisted the white flag; and he proposed to the rear-admiral a suspension of hostilities, until farther orders should be received from their respective governments. To this proposal his lordship immediately assented, as far on the coast as the authority of Louis XVIII. should be acknowledged. Declarations and proposals to the same effect were sent off to Rear-admiral Sir Harry Neale, who lay at anchor with his squadron in Douarinez bay. On the 14th of April, the white flag was displayed at Brest, and a universal declaration in favour of the Bourbons was made throughout France. Sir Harry Neale, under these pleasing assurances, consented to a general suspension of hostilities.

In the month of February 1814, Sir Edward Pellew commanded the British fleet before Toulon, and on the 13th, three sail of the line, and three frigates, were seen standing to the southward. Captain George Burlton, in the Boyne of 98 guns, brought them to action, by running alongside of the Romulus, their sternmost ship, mounting 80 guns. A very severe action ensued, and so near the rocks was the enemy driven, that the British commander, who was close up, saw that it would be impracticable to cut her off, or arrest her progress, without running the Boyne and Caledonia on shore; he therefore discontinued the chase. The Boyne had two killed and 40 wounded. The loss on board the Romulus I never could learn, but she was shown to me in the arsenal at Toulon, in 1818, as "the celebrated ship which engaged the British squadron."

The Urania, a French frigate, having been chased into Brindisi by the Cerberus; Captain Taylor, of the Apollo, sent a message to the municipality, to know in what situation he was to consider the port, as he had learned that the Neapolitan government had joined the Allies; he could not, therefore, understand why protection was afforded by it to this frigate. The French captain, supposing the Apollo was coming into the harbour to attack him, landed his powder, and set fire to his ship; she was entirely consumed. The town of Cattaro surrendered to Captain Hoste, of the Bacchante, on the 5th of January, after 10 days cannonading from the batteries erected by that officer, and Captain Harper, of the Saracen; and the Bocca de Cattaro was perfectly cleared of the French intruders.

Captain Taylor, as the last act of his valuable life, took the little island of Paxo; in this he was assisted by Lieutenant-colonel Church, with a small body of troops. Paxo is situated close to Corfu, and was occupied with a view to an attack on that island. Captain Hoste took Ragusa, a very strong place to the northward of Cattaro, which gave the Allies the complete possession of every place in Dalmatia, Croatia, Istria, and the Friuli, with all the islands in the Adriatic. After this conquest, Rear-admiral Fremantle returned to England, and gave the following brief summary of his captures and other services in the Adriatic:—

Names of Places.	*No. of Guns.*	*No. of Men in Garrison.*	*By what Ships taken.*
Agosta and Curzola	124	70	Apollo, Imogen, and a detachment of troops.
Zussana	..	39	The boats of the Saracen.
Fiume and Porto Ré	67	..	90 vessels, 500 stand of arms, besides military stores, by the Milford, Elizabeth, Eagle, Bacchante, and Haughty.
Farrazina	5	...	Eagle.
Isle of Mezzo	6	59	Weazel and Saracen.
Ragosnizza	8	66	Boats of Milford and Weazel.
Città Nova	4	...	Elizabeth and Bacchante.
Rovigno	4	..	Tremendous.
Pola	50	..	Wizard, party of Milford's marines, and 50 Austrians.
Stagno	12	52	And military stores, by Saracen, and party of Austrians.
Lessena and Brassa	24	..	Bacchante.
Trieste	80	800	Milford, Eagle, Tremendous, Mermaid, Wizard, and Weazel, with 1500 Austrians.

(*continued.*)

Names of Places.	No. of Guns.	No. of Men in Garrison.	By what Ships taken.
Cortellazo and Cavalino	8	90	Elizabeth, and a party of Austrians.
Four forts at the mouth of the Po, containing	24	100	And 45 brass guns dismounted, by the Eagle, Tremendous, and Wizard, with 500 English, and 2,000 Austrian troops.
Zara	110	350	100 guns dismounted, 12 gunboats, by the Havannah and Weazel, with 1,500 Austrians.
18 howitzers			
Cattaro	130	900	Bacchante and Saracen.
Carlobago	12	150	Bacchante and Saracen.
Ragusa	153	500	Bacchante, and Austrians under General Mulitinovitch.
Paxo	3	122	Apollo.
Total	824		
Howitzers	18		
	842	3298	

Captain Sir Josias Rowley, who, for his services in India, had been recently created a baronet, was ordered by the commander-in-chief to assist in the reduction of Genoa. He received on board his ships Lord William Bentinck, and the forces under his command. On their arrival, they found that Captain the Honourable G. H. L. Dundas, in the Edinburgh, with the Rainbow, and a flotilla, had co-operated with the advance of the British army, joined by a strong detachment of our forces from Sicily. On the 13th, the small vessels drew near the town; and on the 17th, the whole of them opened their fire, and landed the seamen and marines previously to the storming; the enemy fled from their batteries, and deserted the whole of the sea line, without the walls, which was instantly taken, and the guns turned upon the place. Sir Edward Pellew, with five sail of the line, came to an anchor before the town, and Genoa was again in possession of the British forces. Captain Edward Brace, of the Berwick, of seventy-four guns, and Captain Hamilton, of the Havannah, with Captain Rea, of the marines, and many other officers, were distinguished on this occasion.

The ships and vessels of war taken here were important; the Brilliant, of seventy-four guns, ready for launching, another of seventy-four guns, not named, in frame, with two brigs of war, of eighteen guns, and two of sixteen. On the 22d of

March, Captain Hoste, in the Bacchante, took possession of Parga, at the request of the inhabitants, who struck the French flag.

On the 12th of April, Captain Brisbane, of the Pembroke, of seventy-four guns, with the Aigle and Alcmene frigates, chased on shore under the guns of Port Maurizio, in the gulf of Genoa, a French convoy of twenty sail of vessels, four of which, with the cargoes of fifteen others, they brought off. The vessels had been scuttled by the crews, and were destroyed by our people.

The few remaining troops and garrisons of France serving in Spain capitulated. On the 24th of March, Ferdinand VII. arrived at Gerona, and on the 6th of April entered Saragossa. About the same time the Pope returned to his dominions.

The unhappy Napoleon, after embracing his eagles, and some few of his military companions, set out from Fontainbleau for the place of his exile, and took the road to Marseilles. Off this port was stationed Captain Thomas Usher, in the Undaunted, of thirty-eight guns, with the Euryalus, Captain Napier, who so lately distinguished himself in the Portuguese struggle, and took the squadron of Dom Miguel.

Captain Usher had been prepared some days before for a change in the south of France. On the night of the 21st of April, when off Marseilles, the illuminated horizon in the N.E. indicated some joyful event. The two frigates approached the batteries, but perfectly prepared for action; the British colours displayed in their usual situations, and the royal standard of France at the main-top-gallant-mast head. Coming within range, a shot was fired by the French, which struck the Undaunted, but hurt no one. Captain Usher wore, and stood out, hauling down the French flag only: a second shot struck the ship under her counter. The Undaunted was immediately brought within point-blank shot of the battery, which stood on an island, and after a few broadsides, the enemy quitted their guns. A boat was seen rowing out of the harbour, with a flag of truce. The mayor and municipality had come to inform Captain Usher of the happy change which had taken place, by the appointment of a provisional government, in the absence of the Bourbons; they also apologized for the conduct of the officer in the battery; but this Captain Usher assured them was unnecessary, as he had already done justice to his insulted flag; and, to prove that he had the most perfect confidence in the loyalty of the people, he anchored the two frigates under the walls of the town. The captains went on shore in their barges: when they approached, the people plunged into the water, and, taking them on their shoulders, carried them to the

Hôtel de Ville, while the air resounded with "Vivent les Anglois!" In the midst of this affecting scene, Colonel Campbell arrived with the intelligence, that Napoleon was on his way to the island of Elba, and requesting the assistance of Captain Usher to convey him thither, in pursuance of instructions from Lord Castlereagh. Frejus was fixed upon as the place of embarkation, and there the Undaunted arrived on the 23d of April. About two o'clock, Captain Usher met Colonel Campbell, who conducted him to Napoleon. The emperor was dressed in a frock uniform: he wore a star, and had a book in his hand: he asked the captain many questions, as to the anchorage, and other points of nautical information.

While preparing to embark, the Dryad, a French frigate, arrived. Captain Moncabret waited on Napoleon, supposing the emperor would prefer his ship for the voyage; but Napoleon informed him that he chose to go in the Undaunted. The French captain immediately put to sea; and it was arranged, that Napoleon should embark on the following day; but being indisposed in the forenoon, he ordered his carriage at seven o'clock, at which hour he quitted his hotel, accompanied by Captain Usher, Count Bertrand, and Baron Koëler. The Russian and Prussian Envoys, and Colonel Campbell, followed in their own carriages. It was a bright moonlight night; the scene was grand and affecting: a regiment of cavalry was drawn up on the beach. When the carriage stopped, the bugles sounded, and Napoleon, stepping out, embraced his friends, then took the arm of Captain Usher, and entered the barge of the Undaunted. On coming alongside, Napoleon walked up with ease, bowed to the officers on the quarter-deck, and instantly went forward to the forecastle among the seamen, minutely examining every thing, and making many observations, which could not fail to be interesting from a person so remarkable. We must not omit to say that this was ever the custom with Napoleon, who never missed an opportunity of courting popularity with the lower orders.

During the voyage, Napoleon spent the greater part of the day on deck, and was not the least sea-sick; he looked at the coast of Corsica with intense interest through a telescope, and related many anecdotes of his former days. He wished Captain Usher to go into Calvi, for which port he appeared to be a pilot: he was even playful in his remarks, proposing to Baron Koëler to take a walk with him on the cliffs. The baron whispered to Captain Usher, that he knew the emperor too well to trust himself in his company alone.

Passing the island of Capraja, famous for its anchovy fishery, a deputation came off, requesting the captain would take pos-

session of the island, which he did. Napoleon talked with the deputies, who were greatly surprised to find him on board an English ship of war.

Elba appearing in sight, the emperor inquired what colours were flying on the batteries. When within four or five miles of the harbour of Porto Ferrajo, Colonel Campbell, and Lieutenant Hastings, first of the Undaunted, with the foreign ministers, went on shore as commissioners to take possession of the island, and make the proper arrangements for receiving its future sovereign.

On the 30th of April, about eight o'clock in the evening, the frigate anchored at the harbour's mouth. A deputation of the inhabitants waited on their emperor: he was on deck, at his usual hour, and indefatigably inquisitive. At seven, A. M., the Undaunted weighed, and ran into the harbour, anchoring abreast of the town. After breakfast, Napoleon requested Captain Usher to cause two flags to be made by the ship's tailors: they were to be white, with a horizontal red stripe; on the stripe three bees, as the arms of the emperor. One of the flags was hoisted at one P. M., and saluted by the Undaunted, and a French corvette lying in the harbour. At two, on the 3d of May, Napoleon landed, and took upon himself the government of the island. He particularly requested, that two officers of the Undaunted, two officers of marines, and two sergeants, might accompany him, and remain on shore. One of the sergeants, selected by himself, slept at the door of his bedchamber. Four hundred men, of his vieille garde, were, by the treaty of abdication, permitted to accompany him in his exile. Not arriving so soon as was expected, he expressed his suspicions that they would not be permitted to leave France; but, when he learned that English transports were provided for their reception, his mind was at ease,—a high compliment to the national honour. The transports arrived early in May. Napoleon was delighted, sent out pilots to meet them, and prepared barracks for the men, and stables for his horses. At seven in the morning, the vessels were secured in the harbour, and the troops landed, under the command of General Cambrone, and were paraded by Napoleon. One half of the Undaunted's crew were sent on board the transports; and at four o'clock, all the horses, carriages, and baggage, were landed, and the transports reported ready for sea. When Napoleon was informed of this, he seemed much surprised, and, pointing to some of his own subjects, said, "These fellows would not have done in eight days, what you have done in eight hours; moreover, they would have broken my horses' legs, which, by the expertness of your sailors, have not received even a

scratch." Bonaparte dined at seven; after which, he usually walked in his garden with Captain Usher till eleven: "his conversation," says the Captain, "was most interesting, and he was in high spirits." Having completed his arrangements, Captain Usher demanded an audience of leave. The emperor was grieved at the thought of losing the Undaunted and her captain, and used every argument to induce him to prolong his stay, but in vain. When he took leave, the emperor was visibly affected; the attentions and kindness which he had received from that officer, had evidently wrought a change in the sentiments of Napoleon in favour of England. Captain Usher rightly conceived, that the duties of hospitality demanded of him every soothing act which could tend to alleviate the afflictions of a conquered enemy, and of fallen grandeur.

On the 14th of January, a treaty of peace was signed between Great Britain and Denmark, after a war of six years and three months. All the foreign settlements of Denmark were to be restored to her; but the island of Heligoland, at the mouth of the Elbe and Weser, was reserved to the King of England in full sovereignty. The island of Anholt was restored to Denmark. His Danish Majesty consented at the same time to make peace with Russia, Sweden, and Prussia, as the allies of Great Britain, and to furnish 10,000 men towards the common cause; the King of Great Britain paying a subsidy of £400,000 sterling, for the maintenance of them. The King of Denmark bound himself to abolish the slave trade; he was to receive a compensation for Norway; and all former treaties between Great Britain and Denmark were to be renewed.

The definitive treaty between England and France was signed on the 14th of May, in the same year. France was to return to her limits in 1792, with some modifications. The course of the Rhine, from the point where it becomes navigable, into the sea, was to be free. Holland was to be placed under the sovereignty of the house of Orange, with an increase of territory. The States of Germany to be independent, and united by a federative bond. Switzerland to govern herself. Italy, beyond the limits of the house of Austria, to be composed of sovereign states. Malta, and its dependencies, to belong to his Britannic Majesty.

By the eighth article of this treaty, all the colonies taken by us from France were to be restored, as they stood in January, 1792, with the exception of Tobago, St. Lucie, the Isle of France, Roderigue, and the Sechelles. The Spanish part of St. Domingo, ceded to France by the treaty of Basle, was to be restored to his Most Catholic Majesty. Sweden restored

Guadaloupe, and Portugal French Guyana, to France. France engaged to erect no fortifications in India, and only to place in her establishments such a number of troops as would secure the maintenance of the police. France to have the right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland.

The fifteenth article particularly refers to the division of the ships and naval stores, found in the arsenals of such maritime places as should be restored by the second article of the convention of Paris. By this article, the ships of war and naval stores were to be divided between France and the country in which the said places are situated; two-thirds to France, and one-third to the power entitled; but this article was not to extend to such places as were in the power of the Allies before the 23d of April; and the vessels and arsenals belonging to Holland, particularly the fleet in the Texel, were not included in this article. Antwerp was to be thenceforward solely a commercial port. The King of France, by one of the additional articles of the treaty of Paris, engaged to use his utmost endeavours at the then approaching Congress, to procure the abolition of the slave trade. The reader is here only offered an outline of this celebrated treaty, as far as it relates to maritime and commercial rights; but the whole is worthy of perusal, as being conceived in terms more congenial to the love of peace, and the genuine spirit of Christianity, than any on record. We will not claim exclusive merit for our beloved England; but we will venture to say, that since the records of time, no nation has ever shone with greater lustre than Great Britain at the treaty of Paris. Peace was proclaimed in London on the 17th day of June, 1814. The Allies concurred in the general pacification. In the mean time accounts of actions fought in distant climes reached home with every breeze, long after the governments of Europe had sheathed the sword, and joined to assuage the miseries caused by their dissensions. The quarrel between England and America had not yet been brought to a termination.

Captain David Porter, in the Essex, American frigate, who had been very successful in his depredations on our trade in the northern hemisphere, had gone round Cape Horn, in 1813; and Captain Hillyar, in the Phœbe, of 36 guns, with Captain Tucker, in the Cherub sloop of war, of 18 guns, had long been in search of him off Valparaiso, a Spanish port, and open roadstead, where the most rigid neutrality was enforced by the government; and, as Captain Porter was sensible of the superiority of his enemies, he kept his ship very close to the batteries.

Captain Hillyar had nearly five months of anxious search

for the Essex. At length he got sight of her in the road of Valparaiso, and six weeks more were passed in watching her movements. On the 28th of March, the American frigate got under way, with the hope of escaping from a long and tedious confinement. The Phœbe and Cherub chased; the Essex, endeavouring to weather them, carried away her main-topmast, and anchored very close to the shore, beyond the limits of neutrality. Strong and baffling winds for some time prevented the Phœbe coming to close action. Having got springs on his cables, Captain Hillyar made the signal to Captain Tucker to keep under way, expressing at the same time his own intention of anchoring alongside of the enemy. At thirty-five minutes past five in the evening, the action began, and lasted until twenty-five minutes past six, when the American, being disabled, struck her colours. Captain Porter's conduct was perfectly honourable: he defended himself against a very superior force; his ship was twice on fire, and many of his crew in this extremity jumped overboard. Captain Porter stated that his crew amounted to two hundred and sixty. Captain Hillyar received on board one hundred and sixty-one prisoners, of whom forty-two were wounded: twenty-three were found dead on the decks: the others escaped to the shore, or were drowned in the attempt. The Phœbe had her first lieutenant, Mr. Ingram, and three men killed, and seven wounded: the Cherub had one killed and three wounded, among them Captain Tucker. The Essex arrived safe in England, under the command of Lieutenant Pearson, second of the Phœbe, who was promoted to the rank of Commander.

Rear-admiral Cockburn returned to the coast of North America. The Sceptre being found defective, he shifted his flag to the Albion, of seventy-four guns, and went to the Chesapeake, where he learned that Vice-admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane had been appointed to succeed Sir John Warren as commander-in-chief in North America. Sir John was recalled; and the Newfoundland and West India stations were restored to their former arrangements.

Sir Alexander Cochrane, in notifying his appointment to Rear-admiral Cockburn, directed him to get possession of some island in the Chesapeake, which might serve at once as a place of arms and refreshment for the troops, and where our ships of war, and their prizes, might ride in safety, and obtain fresh water.

When the British army under the Duke of Wellington had marched in triumph from the banks of the Adour to the Garonne, he was enabled to spare a detachment, consisting of the 4th, 44th, and 85th regiments of infantry, with some pieces of

artillery. These were embarked from Bordeaux, and received on board a squadron lying at the mouth of the Gironde ready for their reception. The ships were, the Royal Oak, of seventy-four guns (on board of which the flag of Rear-admiral Pulteney Malcolm was flying); the Dictator and Diadem, of sixty-four guns each, but armed *en flûte;*—the frigates Pomone, Menelaus, Franchise, Weser, and Thames; the Meteor and Devastation, bomb-vessels, and one or two gun-brigs, with several store-ships and transports. The military were under the command of Major-general Ross: they left the Gironde on the 2d of June, and on the 24th, arrived at Bermuda, where they joined Sir Alexander Cochrane in the Tonnant, of eighty guns, who was waiting to collect the fleet. On the 30th, they were augmented by the arrival of a battalion of the Fusileers nine hundred strong. A squadron of six frigates, from the Mediterranean, arrived on the same day, with the 21st, 27th, and 62d regiments: the two latter destined for Canada; the former for a reinforcement to General Ross, who now had about three thousand five hundred men. The fleet sailed from Bermuda on the 3d of August, and reached Cape Charles on the 14th. On the following morning they came to an anchor within the bay of the Chesapeake.

This was one of the most eventful periods of that impolitic war into which the Americans had so blindly and so rashly plunged. The slave population of the Southern States amounted to between two and three millions, and a proclamation, issued and circulated by the commander-in-chief of the naval forces invited them to join the British forces at Tangier Island, the spot in the Chesapeake selected for their rendezvous. The Albion, of 74 guns, was anchored within pistol-shot of the shore, the rear-admiral took possession of the island, erected fortifications, built storehouses, and hoisted the British flag, to which the negroes and people of colour flocked in considerable numbers; about 1,700 were collected, and instructed in their duty by the officers of marines, and soon became very useful to us. These services, however, proved not to be gratuitous. At the treaty of Ghent, their emancipation was one of the most serious grievances complained of, and it was agreed that the question should be referred to the Emperor of Russia, who awarded £250,000 as a proper remuneration to the proprietors.*

This was a momentous crisis for America. Heaven grant that she may never see an insurrection among her black popu-

* See the speech of the Right Honourable Frederic Robinson, in the House of Commons, on the 28th February, 1825.

lation! The negroes in the south have grown up and multiplied in fearful numbers, and are not the more tractable from the gross ignorance in which they have been purposely suffered, nay, even compelled, to exist. Let America look to it: the question is one far more threatening in its results to her, than the national debt is to Britain; and, in the event of another war between England and North America, the negroes, and the discontented in the Southern States, may raise a political hurricane fatal to the existence of the state.

The activity and enterprise of Rear-admiral Cockburn kept the shores of the Chesapeake and its tributary streams in a constant state of alarm. The Captains Barrie, of the Dragon, J. A. Gordon, of the Barrosa, and George Burdett, of the Maidstone, pursued the American flotilla under Commodore Barney up the Patuxent, and forced the Americans to burn them all. On the 15th July, the Asia, of seventy-four guns, arrived with some troop-ships, and a battalion of royal marines. This enabled the rear-admiral to vary his attacks, to prevent the enemy from combining on any given point, and finally to defeat, wherever he met with them. At the same time he conducted himself with the greatest kindness towards the peaceable inhabitants, gained their good-will, and had not one man on his missing list,—a fact almost incredible, and without example in an enemy's country. The forces under Major-general Ross, not amounting to 4,000 men, were considered unequal to any farther operations; but Rear-admiral Cockburn having shown what he had done with 500 marines and seamen, through an extensive portion of the countries of Virginia and Maryland, it was agreed that the army should land on the shores of the Patuxent, and that the rear-admiral should accompany the major-general. Having ascended the river as high as Benedict, beyond which there was not water for ships of war, General Ross landed on the right bank; while the rear-admiral, with his boats and small craft, followed up the stream.

The rear-admiral and the major-general agreed to march directly to Washington. Reaching Bladensberg on the 24th, the enemy was discovered, drawn up on a hill on the opposite side of a river which runs by the lower part of the town. Our men crossed the stream, against a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, and steadily advanced towards the top of the hill, on the centre and flank of the Americans, who fled, leaving on the field most of their cannon and wounded men. After giving their people a short time for refreshment, the chiefs again put them in motion, and entered Washington the same evening, where their arrival was so unexpected, that the dinner table

was laid at the president's house for the entertainment of a large party. A little musketry from one of the houses in the town, which killed the general's horse, was all the resistance they met with. This was quickly silenced; the house burnt; and the people within it put to death; and highly to the honour of the victors, this was the only instance of severity, or injury to private property. The troops were withdrawn from the scene of temptation; detachments were immediately sent to destroy all the public works and stores. These were, the arsenal, with two hundred pieces of cannon, and an immense quantity of small arms and ammunition; a frigate of the largest class, ready for launching; a sloop of war; a stock of timber, for the construction of ships of the line; the president's house, the barracks, and the dock-yard. These were all consigned to the flames, or rendered useless, on the nights of the 24th and 25th of August; and it was calculated that the American government sustained a loss of near four millions sterling.

While these transactions occupied the attention of Mr. Madison in the capital, Captain Gordon, in the Seahorse, of thirty-eight guns, with Captain Napier, in the Euryalus, of thirty-eight guns, and three bomb-vessels, ascended the Potowmac, a distance of fifty miles: after the most incredible labour, the bombs reached the town of Alexandria, into which they threw their shells. The garrison retreated. Captain Gordon proposed the terms on which he was willing to spare the town from the fate of Washington. They were thankfully accepted. The forts were destroyed, with all their artillery; the shipping, with all the merchandise, brought away; and the squadron retreated with twenty-two prizes deeply laden.

When passing the flats and intricate navigation of the Potowmac, the squadron met with many obstructions, which were surmounted, and served only to display the professional characters of Captains Sir Alexander Gordon, Napier, H. L. Baker, Alexander, Bartholomew, Keenah, and Roberts, who commanded the frigates and bomb-vessels.

The terms dictated by Captain Gordon, to the town of Alexandria, and enforced to the very letter, are here offered as a model for future negotiators.

1. All naval and ordnance stores, public or private, must be immediately given up.

2. Possession will be immediately taken of all shipping, and their furniture must be sent on board by the owners without delay.

3. The vessels which have been sunk must be delivered up in the state they were in on the 19th of August, the day the British squadron passed the "Kettle Bottoms."

4. Merchandise of all descriptions must be immediately delivered up; and, to prevent any irregularities, the merchants have the option of loading the vessels generally employed for that purpose, and they will be towed off by us.

5. All merchandise which has been removed from Alexandria since the 19th instant, to be included in the above article.

6. Refreshments of every description to be supplied to the ships, and paid for at the market price, by bills on the British government.

7. Officers will be employed to see that Articles 2, 3, 4, and 5, be strictly complied with; and any deviation, or non-compliance, on the part of the inhabitants of Alexandria, will render this treaty null and void.

(Signed) J. A. GORDON, Captain, &c.

At a meeting of the Common Council of Alexandria, on the 29th day of August, 1814, it was resolved, that these terms should be accepted.

While Captain Gordon was advancing up the Potowmac, our army was retreating from the flames of Washington. On rejoining the commander-in-chief, Rear-admiral Cockburn expressed an opinion that the forces should proceed without loss of time to Baltimore. This proposal was at first rejected, but afterwards, on receiving certain information, it was agreed to, and the fleet, led by the rear-admiral, reached the mouth of the Patapsco on the 11th of September. The ships and vessels of light draught of water anchored near the point of attack. On the morning of the 12th the troops were landed, and marched directly to Baltimore. No opposition was experienced for the first five or six miles, though it became evident that the enemy was in a state of activity and alarm, as intrenchments were found newly made, and abandoned.

The major-general and the rear-admiral, with some officers well mounted, and the advanced guard of about 60 men, had left the army at some considerable distance, when the rear-admiral observed, that this was not at all conformable to the practice of their former enterprises, which had been crowned with complete success: in Maryland and Virginia, they had always kept the troops collected, leaving only the flank companies to spread into the woods. Feeling the force of this observation, the major-general halted, to give the columns time to close. At this moment the enemy, concealed in the woods, opened a brisk fire of musketry on the advanced party. Nothing now remained but to push on without hesitation, and return the fire: this was done, and so nobly, that the Americans fled in all directions; but one of their last shot mortally wounded the gallant General Ross, who died soon after on the field of battle. The rear-admiral instantly sent notice of this

event to Colonel Brock, who succeeded to the command of the troops, and joined the advance, which still retained its position. The little army again proceeded, until they discovered the enemy drawn up behind a large range of thick palings, about breast high. While dispositions were making to attack them, they opened a fire upon the English with field-guns. This discharge produced no effect on our men, who formed into line, while a division of light troops, detached from their right, took a circuitous route to fall upon the left flank and rear of the enemy. The British forces, composed of soldiers, sailors, marines, and armed negroes, and led on by an admiral and colonel, advanced gallantly to the attack. The Americans kept up a heavy fire until our men reached the palings and began to break through. At this juncture the flank company had found their way to the left and rear of the enemy, who made no farther resistance, but threw down their arms and ran, leaving their artillery, and many men killed and wounded. This, which was called the battle of the Meeting-house, was a decided victory; and, had our army consisted of ten thousand men, it would have ended in the capture and destruction of Baltimore. To this place our little army advanced: they found it strongly defended and fortified; but, notwithstanding these obstructions, it was determined to attack it. In the evening, however, a despatch from Sir Alexander Cochrane discountenanced the attempt, and without commanding, very prudently recommended, the retreat of the forces. The commander-in-chief, it soon appeared, had other and more extensive views.

Captain Coote, of the Boxer gun-brig, conducted the boats of La Hogue, of 74 guns, the Endymion and Maidstone frigates, up the river of Connecticut, on the 7th of April, destroyed 5,000 tons of shipping, three large privateers, ready for sea, a number of boats, and a quantity of naval stores.

Sir Thomas Hardy, in the Ramillies, with Lieutenant-colonel Pilkington, captured Moose Island, and all the other islands in Passmaquady Bay.

Captain the Honourable Charles Paget, of the Superb, of 74 guns, having learned that a ship and brig were lying at a place called Wareham, in Buzzard's Bay, sent his boats, under the orders of Mr. James Garland, his first lieutenant, supported by the Nimrod, sloop of war, as far as the depth of water would admit. Lieutenant Garland burnt 2,520 tons of shipping, chiefly new, and a cotton manufactory, valued at half a million of dollars.

In the month of September, Major-general Sir John Cope Sherbroke, the Governor of Halifax, and Rear-admiral Griffith, attacked the enemy's settlements on the Penobscot; they blew

up the fort of Castine, destroyed the batteries, burned the John Adams, a ship of war of 20 guns, took some prizes, and returned without loss to Halifax.

Vice-admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane, in September, sent Captain Sir Peter Parker, Bart., in the Menelaus frigate up the Chesapeake, to make a diversion above Baltimore. In the zealous performance of his duty, that gallant young officer landed, to attack a force much superior to his own, and, in the moment of victory, received a musket-ball in the femoral artery, which caused his death in a few minutes. He was the grandson of the late Admiral Sir Peter Parker, so long and so justly beloved in the naval service.

The fort of Machias, with 24 pieces of cannon, was taken by Captain Hyde Parker, in the Tenedos frigate, assisted by Lieutenant-colonel Pilkington.

In the month of September, our flotilla on Lake Champlain received a severe defeat from that of America, under their strong batteries of Platsburg. The British vessels employed on this service were, the Confiance, of 36 guns, Captain Downie; the Linnet, of 18 guns, Captain Pring; the Broke, of 10; the Shannon, of 10; and 12 gun-boats. As the army under Sir George Prevost advanced to the attack of the fort, he requested the co-operation of the navy, which, as usual, was most readily granted. Captain Downie, a very distinguished young officer, had fitted his ship with an expedition truly surprising. On the day of the action she had only been 16 days off the stocks. Not only his ship, but every other of the British vessels, were only half manned, and by people who, in many instances, had not been more than one or two days on board. Stores of every description were wanting. Captain Downie conceived it his duty to commence an attack on a superior force lying at anchor, and bore up for that purpose. At seven o'clock in the morning of the 11th of September, the action began, by the Americans firing on our vessels as they approached. Captain Downie reserved his fire. Calms and baffling winds prevented his gaining the position he intended: and, after two of his anchors were shot away from his bows, he was compelled to let go a third, at an inconvenient distance from his opponent. The action was fought out of gun-shot from the shore, and Captain Downie was killed.

Captain Pring, in the Linnet, who succeeded to the command, when Captain Downie fell, performed his part admirably; he continued the action until his first lieutenant and the greater part of his men were killed or wounded, and the Confiance had surrendered; when, finding it impossible to escape,

and useless to contend, he gave up his ship to the United States' ship Saratoga.

The force of the Americans consisted of the ship Saratoga, mounting eight long twenty-four pounders, twelve thirty-two pounders, and six forty-two pounders; brig, Eagle, eight long eighteens, twelve thirty-two pound carronades; schooner Ticonderago, four long eighteen, ten, twelve, and three thirty-tw pounders; cutter Preble, seven long nine pounders; six gunboats, one long twenty-four, one eighteen-pound carronade; four gun-boats, one long twelve, one eighteen-pound carronade, each.

The Confiance had her captain, two officers, and thirty-eight men killed; one officer and thirty-nine men wounded.

The Linnet had two officers and eight men killed; one officer and thirteen men wounded.

The Chub, six men killed, sixteen wounded.

The Finch, two wounded. Total, one hundred and twenty-nine killed and wounded.

Sir George Prevost, seeing the fall of the little squadron, retreated with his army from before Platsburg. Commodore Yeo, in his letter to the Admiralty, reflected on the general, for having pressed the squadron prematurely and unnecessarily into action. Sir George, wishing to defend himself from this charge, resigned the command in Canada, and returned to England in the most inclement season. On his arrival, he demanded a court-martial, which was ordered at Winchester; but his death put an end to any further investigation; and Sir James Yeo did not long survive him. It is, however, but justice to the memory of Sir George, to say, that he did not press the squadron to go into action; and that, as soon as he saw the battle decided against us, a result which he had not the means of preventing, he considered that storming the fort, and entering the enemy's country, would only have weakened his army by desertion, without the hope of doing any injury to the Americans.*

In retreating from before Baltimore, as we have observed, the commander-in-chief had other views, in addition to those con-

* I was personally acquainted with Sir George Prevost during a part of the time that he held the government of Lower Canada, where he was universally beloved; and I have always regretted that he took the field, for, although he was an officer of tried valour and approved courage, still he felt the heavy responsibility of civil governor, and commander-in-chief of the troops; and, beset as he was with spies, false intelligence and desertion, to an alarming degree, he took these retrograde steps, for which he was about to account when death put a period to all his sorrows. He died in Baker Street, in 1815. I attended his remains to East Barnet. His unhappy widow did not long survive him.

nected with the safety of the army. The admiral had received directions from home, to undertake an expedition against the American settlement of New Orleans, on the Mississippi. This attack had been suggested by Sir Alexander Cochrane, at the time, it would appear, when his Majesty's ministers had thoughts of a similar nature. The object was to form a powerful diversion in the south, to relieve the Canadas in the north. Rear-admiral Cockburn was at the same time to attack Cumberland Island and St. Mary's, on the eastern shore of the Floridas, so as to draw the American army from the Mississippi to the sea-coast on the Atlantic. The combination was ably planned; but partly failed in the execution, from causes which could not have been foreseen by the commanders-in-chief.

Sir Alexander Cochrane sailed from the Chesapeake on the 19th of September, 1814; and the rear-admiral went to Bermuda to re-victual and refit his ships: here he arrived on the 26th of October. On the 26th of November he had completed all his repairs, when he sailed again in the Albion for the Chesapeake. On his arrival, he collected all the force he could spare from the duty of the blockade to attack the town of St. Mary's, the southernmost settlement of the Americans in South Georgia. On the 18th of December, the squadron left the Chesapeake. The rendezvous given out was Cumberland Island. Captain Barrie, of the Dragon, had charge of the troop-ships and transports, on board of which were embarked the marine battalion, the regiment of refugee American negroes, and a corps of marine artillery. In their course to the southward, the rear-admiral chased and examined every thing he saw, with the view to gain intelligence. This delayed him; and the Dragon, with the convoy, reached the point of destination before the Albion. On his arrival off Cumberland Island, he found the Dragon, and learnt that the marines and black troops had already landed, under the authority of Captain Somerville, of the Rota frigate, who had been ordered to join the expedition with two companies of the 2d West India regiment.

Rear-admiral Cockburn instantly landed, and found the British troops already in possession of St. Mary's, which they had taken after a smart action near Point Peter. The whole force did not exceed nine hundred bayonets: the guns of the ships of war were useless, from the shoalness of the water. With this force, the rear-admiral continued to keep the American army in check, while he completely cleared the great commercial town of St. Mary's of all its merchandise and military stores, which he shipped on board the vessels he had

taken in the port. When this work was finished, he received an official communication from Sir Alexander Cochrane, stating the entire failure of the New Orleans expedition. Deeming, therefore, St. Mary's no longer an object of any importance, he blew up the works, and evacuated the place, repairing with his prizes to Cumberland Island, of which he took possession; as also of St. Simon's, and other fertile islands, which border this part of the coast.

Towards the latter end of the year 1813, Rear-admiral (now Sir P. C. H.) Durham sailed for Barbadoes, in the Venerable, of seventy-four guns, to take upon him the chief command on that station. He had the Cyane, of twenty-four guns, with him; and, with the good fortune peculiar to him, he captured, on the 1st of December, the Junon, a French letter of marque, of two hundred and twenty tons, and fourteen guns, with a valuable cargo of silks, wines, and other articles. Proceeding with this vessel on his voyage, on the 16th of January, the Cyane discovered two frigates, to which the Venerable gave chase, and at sunset, having left the Cyane far astern, the rear-admiral was so near one of the frigates, as to hail, and command her to strike. This the Frenchman declined doing, but, putting his helm up, ran with all sail set, on board of the Venerable. She was instantly boarded by Captain Worth, and one hundred men, who struck the French colours, killing thirty-two, and wounding fifty, of the crew. She proved to be the Alcmene, of forty-four guns, and three hundred and fifty men. Her consort escaped but for a few hours. Captain Forrest, of the Cyane, pursued and led the chase, until the Venerable had taken out the prisoners, and repaired her damages. The rear-admiral then made every possible sail to the W.N.W.; and having run one hundred and fifty miles, he again got sight of the enemy, whom, after a chase of nineteen hours more, he came up with, and captured. She was called L'Iphigénie; and was of the same class and force as the Alcmene. Both ships were perfectly new; they had sailed together from Cherbourg, in October; and were victualled for a six months' cruise.

The two French captains, it appeared, had agreed to lay the English line-of-battle ship on board at the same moment. One of them only had the resolution to execute this bold manœuvre, but gained nothing by it. A British ship of the line is at all times difficult to get into; but when her men are at their quarters, and her marines on the poop, it must be a great act of temerity in any two frigates to make the attempt.

CHAPTER XXI.

North America.—Feelings towards Great Britain on the peace with France—Expedition to New Orleans—Plans, and causes of failure—Arrival of Sir Alexander Cochrane at the Chandeleur Islands—Gallant exploit of Captain Lockyer—Storming of the American fort on the Mississippi, by Lieutenant-colonel Thornton and Captain Money—Strength and position of the American army—Death of Generals Pakenham and Gibbs—Retreat of the British army—Capture of the President, American frigate, by the Endymion—Proceedings of Rear-admiral Cockburn at Cumberland Island—He receives accounts of the peace between Great Britain and America—Returns to Bermuda and to England—Observations on the war—Remarks on impressment—Outline of the treaty of peace—Public entry of Louis XVIII. into London—Embarkation at Dover—Honours paid to him—Visit of the crowned heads to the Naval Arsenal at Portsmouth—Naval promotion.

WHAT were the feelings of grief, disappointment, and dismay, experienced by the councils and senate of North America, when they learnt the defeat of Bonaparte and his armies at Leipsic, it is unnecessary to inquire. The effect produced was, however, favourable to Great Britain and to peace; but while our ministers showed a readiness to treat, they were also equally prepared to carry on the war with vigour. We had, by the recent events on the Continent, a very large disposable force,—ships in high efficient order; troops and sailors more than enough to have destroyed every seaport in North America. With every means of annoyance, we had also many motives to wish for a peace; and while our armies fought on the banks of the Mississippi, our ministers had put an end to hostilities by the treaty of Ghent.

The expedition to New Orleans appears to have been simultaneously proposed by his Majesty's ministers at home, and Admiral Cochrane abroad. The plans were written out and digested under the eye of, and in concurrence with, the admiral, on his return from America; after which, he again took his departure for the coast, to await the arrival of the forces.

It was the earnest wish of the admiral, founded on the wisest motives, that the expedition, previously to the attack, should not approach nearer to the mouth of the Mississippi than the Bermudas or Barbadoes. Such a rendezvous would have con-

cealed from the enemy the place of our intended landing. Unfortunately, neither of these plans was adopted, and the fleet assembled at Negril Bay, in the island of Jamaica; the point most contiguous to the proposed scene of action. This was not the worst. The despatches, being forwarded to Vice-admiral Browne, the commander-in-chief at Jamaica, did not reach Port Royal till after the death of that gallant officer. They were, therefore, opened by the senior officer in command, and, by means well known to the author of this work, their contents reached the ears of an American merchant resident at Kingston. This man instantly sailed in a schooner for Pensacola, and communicated the important information to General Jackson, who commanded the southern army of the United States, and who, at that moment, in consequence of a well-combined manœuvre of Sir Alexander Cochrane, was marching to the relief of St. Mary's, which, it will be remembered, was attacked by Rear-admiral Cockburn, as related in the last chapter.

General Jackson, on hearing that New Orleans was threatened, turned from the defence of St. Mary's, and marched to the westward, for the banks of the Mississippi, assembling about 12,000 men in and about New Orleans, and throwing up strong intrenchments on either side of the river, below the town.

Another point of great importance to the success of the enterprise was a large supply of flat boats, and vessels of light draught of water. These Sir Alexander Cochrane had earnestly begged for, and mentioned the Dutch schuyts as the fittest for the navigation of the shoals at the mouth of the Mississippi. These vessels, it was proposed, should at the same time convey a suitable supply of provisions. The inattention to these demands occasioned delay, and led to the farther detection of our plans. By the hiring of small vessels at Port Royal, and the eagerness to collect provisions, the prices for the one and the other were advanced according to the emergency. The whole were in the hands of merchants, who, having obtained the secret, had forestalled the market. The great draught of water of the Port Royal boats, which, being calculated for the navigation of the coasts of that island, were totally unfit for the shoals on the flat coast of the Gulf of Mexico, was a consideration which had escaped the notice of all but the admiral. The number of troops originally promised was not equal to the undertaking, and this number had been greatly reduced; warm clothing for the black regiments had been urgently requested by Sir Alexander Cochrane, but none was sent; and these poor natives of the torrid zone perished

with cold on the shores of North America, where, on their arrival, they found the oranges frozen on the trees. The diversion of the enemy's force was very judiciously planned by Sir Alexander Cochrane, who depended on the simultaneous attack of the forces under Sir George Cockburn at St. Mary's, while he landed on the banks of the Mississippi, with the main body of the expedition; but the unfortunate disclosure at Port Royal, while it favoured the projects of Admiral Cockburn, blasted the hopes of the commander-in-chief.

The British fleet, under the command of Vice-admiral the Honourable Sir Alexander Cochrane arrived, on the 8th of December, off the Chandeleur Islands, lying off the mouth of the Mississippi. Here is an extensive bay of shoal water, interspersed with numerous islands. The fleet came to an anchor; and the enemy's gun-boats, having been prepared for the event, were ready to attack our boats as they advanced. Captain Gordon, in the Seahorse, with the Armide frigate, Captain Sir Thomas Trowbridge, and La Sophie, sloop of war, Captain N. Lockyer, had been previously despatched by the admiral to the anchorage, near Ile aux Vaisseaux. Running along the coast, the Armide was fired on by these gun-boats, which were heavy vessels, carrying a light draught of water; and as they occupied Lac Borgne, through which our boats must pass on their way to the Bayou Catalan, it became necessary to capture or dislodge them. To this service Captain Lockyer was appointed, having under his orders strong detachments of boats, with marines and small-arm men from each ship of the fleet, which had recently been augmented by the junction of Rear-admiral Malcolm, with his division, and a number of transports with troops.

Captain Lockyer, supported by Captain Montresor, of the Manly, and Captain Roberts of the Meteor, proceeded into Lac Borgne, in search of the enemy; while the frigates and smaller vessels followed as far as the depth of water would admit, and anchored below the Iles aux Malheureux, where every vessel took the ground.

After a row of 36 hours, Captain Lockyer found the enemy's flotilla at an anchor, and, having given his exhausted crew a short time to refresh themselves, he advanced to the attack, boarding one vessel, and, in spite of the most obstinate resistance, taking her, and turning her guns on the others. Every officer and man exerted himself to the utmost; and in a few minutes the whole flotilla became prizes. They were six in number, carrying each one long 24 or 32 pounder, and having in the whole 238 men, or about 39 each.

The loss sustained by our boats was very great. Seventeen

officers and men were killed; and Captain Lockyer, with 76 men, wounded. Captain Lockyer, for this eminent and highly acceptable service, was made a post-captain. The navigation of the lake being thus rendered clear, for our army to land, the disembarkation was begun with all the means possessed by the admiral. It has already been shown under what difficulties he laboured, both as to the number of boats, and the distance which they had to row.

The Honourable Captain Spencer, of the Carron, Major Forrest, the assistant quarter-master-general, and Lieutenant Peddie, ascertained, on the night of the 18th of December, that the boats could reach the head of the Bayou Catalan, whence a communication might be made to the high road on the left bank of the Mississippi, leading to New Orleans.

On the 16th, the advance under Colonel Thornton was placed in the boats, and, led by Captain Gordon, of the Seahorse, took post on the Ile aux Poix, at the mouth of the Pearl river, where they established themselves on a swampy island; and the boats, including the American gun-vessels recently taken, all returned to the fleet, 30 miles distant, for another division of troops, stores, and artillery. The labour of the navy, and of the boats' crews in particular, now became excessive. The weather was bad, the gales strong, and the cold intense. This last fact is singular, and almost incredible, considering the latitude (29° N.)—the soldiers, and particularly the blacks, suffered excessively; nor was it till the 21st that a sufficient number of troops could be collected to attempt a landing on the main with any prospect of success. Two black regiments and the dragoons were left on board, for want of conveyance. Although 2,400 men left the fleet at one time, only 1,200 could be transported together from the Ile aux Poix to the Bayou Catalan, owing to the want of small craft, the larger vessels which left the fleet grounding long before they reached as far as the Ile aux Poix; and, leaving this last place to cross the lake on their way to Bayou Catalan, many more vessels grounded, some soon after leaving, others midway. They succeeded, however, through all their difficulties; and 1,200 men reached the mouth of the Bayou. Major-general Keene and Rear-admiral Malcolm, who had the charge of conducting the army, moved up that stream, and at daylight effected a landing at a place where the rivulet, being choked with mud, is no longer navigable for boats. In the course of the day this division took up a position between that spot and the left bank of the Mississippi, across the main road to New Orleans. In this situation the exhausted soldiers encamped for the night, while the seamen returned to the Ile

aux Poix, for another division of troops, when, about seven in the evening, a schooner dropped down the river from New Orleans, and commenced a brisk fire on our troops in flank, the American army making a simultaneous attack on their front. These were immediately beaten back with considerable loss; and Major-general Keene advanced still more towards the American lines, keeping the river on his left and the swamp on his right.

Such was the position of the British army on the 25th of December, when Major-general Sir Edward Pakenham and Major-general Gibbs arrived at head-quarters: the former took the command of the troops. The schooner, which had annoyed our army on its first encampment, was set on fire by the red-hot shot of our artillery, on the 27th, and blew up; and a ship which had come to her assistance was forced to cut and run up the river.

The American General had thrown up intrenchments from the Mississippi, on his right, to the impassable swamp on his left, a distance of about 1,000 yards: this he had fortified with cotton bags, three deep ditches, parallel to each other, and strong palisades, with heavy guns on the ramparts, and his infantry securely posted behind. The redoubts were on a level plain, though the guns were raised by the earth thrown out of the ditches, commanding a perfect range of our gallant army, as it advanced to the attack. Great guns from our ships were brought up by the naval officers, whose indefatigable exertions had achieved the third trip to the fleet, conveying another division of troops, all the artillery, and stores. A battery of sixteen 18-pounders was prepared to oppose that of the enemy; but the attack was deferred until the arrival of Major-general Lambert with the reinforcements, then hourly expected. This officer arrived at the outer anchorage on the 1st of January, 1814, in the Vengeur, of 74 guns, commanded by Captain T. R. Ricketts, who had under his convoy a fleet of transports, with the 7th and 47th regiments. These were brought up by the boats of the fleet on the 8th; and it was now decided to attack a fort on the right bank of the river, which the American general had very wisely placed to protect his flank. This operation was carried into effect by a wonderful union of labour, science, and bravery. The canal, which had enabled them to bring up the troops to within a mile and a half of the river, was widened and deepened, its course having long been impeded by an accumulation of mud and weeds. About 50 gunboats, barges, pinnaces, and cutters, having been brought close to the bank, were tracked up unperceived by the enemy, and at night the whole were launched into the Mississippi under the

command of Captain Roberts, of the Meteor bomb. In these boats were placed the 85th regiment, a division of seamen under Captain Money, and a division of marines under Major Adair. The whole force, amounting to no more than 600 men, was under the command of Colonel Thornton, of the 85th, who, just after daybreak on the 8th, landed on the right bank of the river without opposition, while the armed boats moved up to support him. For about 20 minutes the enemy fought with great bravery; but when Captain Money, with the seamen, charged over the bridge, and the 85th, coming through the wood, took them in flank, the Americans fled, leaving behind them 17 pieces of cannon, which were found in the battery. Here, then, our army had gained an incalculable advantage. The fort on which the enemy so much relied for the support of his right was taken, and, by carrying these guns 1,000 yards higher up the river, the whole of their line might have been enfiladed. At the same time, our gun-boats, having the entire command of the river, had it also in their power to attack the enemy, whose guns, then just taken, were ready to be turned against them, at the distance of no more than 800 yards, the breadth of the river at that place. It was intended that an attack should be made on the enemy's lines in front, at the moment when Colonel Thornton attacked the fort. It has been shown that this fort *was* gained at daylight, yet Major-general Lambert says in his letter, "The *ensemble* of the general movement was lost, owing to Colonel Thornton and his division not getting across the river in time. This was not owing to any neglect of the colonel, or the naval officers, whose exertions were too apparent." The simple fact seems to have been, that the attack on the enemy's lines in front of our army failed from causes not explained in the official letters. The officer whose duty it was to have had fascines prepared for filling the ditch, had most shamefully abandoned his post, and was found in the rear, not one fascine being in readiness, though promised by 2 A. M. A general officer rode up to him with an intention of passing a sword through his body, but was withheld by an aide-de-camp. The lieutenant-colonel was dismissed the service. Major-general Pakenham, an officer of the most exalted bravery, had been accustomed to carry every thing by the bayonet: his valour and success in this species of warfare have aleady been spoken of in the affairs of St. Lucia and Martinique. He unfortunately supposed that the American camp was to be stormed in the same manner as he had taken Morne Fortuné, and he had determined to make the attempt before daylight, as soon as the firing on the opposite side of the river should con-

vince him that the flanking redoubt had been attacked by Colonel Thornton. The delay in the advance of the 44th with the fascines prevented the attack of the main army until after daylight, when our troops advanced within 200 yards of the enemy's works. Here, and not sooner, the want of the fascines seems to have been felt: but to retreat was now thought impossible. The gallant Pakenham rode up in front of his men, cheering them, with his hat in his hand, when a fire was opened from every part of the American line,—but not from the battery on the right bank, which had been by this time attacked and carried, as we have stated.

The action in front, and on the left bank, was nevertheless continued with great fury, the Americans keeping up a heavy and well-directed discharge of grape and musketry. The British soldiers fell in heaps, and the brave general among the first of them. Major-general Gibbs, the second in command, was borne off the ground, mortally wounded; and the whole of the British line was thrown into confusion.* At this moment Major-general Lambert came up with the reserve, and when within 250 yards of the enemy's lines, met our troops retreating. Many of our brave fellows had been shot, or drowned, in the first ditch, which, for want of fascines, they were unable to cross.

About eight o'clock an officer reported to General Lambert the capture of 17 pieces of artillery in the redoubt on the right bank, by the division under Colonel Thornton, and requested to know what should be done with them. "Let them be spiked," said the major-general; "for I have not the means of keeping them: we have now 2,000 men killed or wounded." This was as nearly true as could be ascertained at the time; but it turned out afterwards that about 800 of the wounded, being only touched with buck-shot, were in the ranks on the following day. It was also unfortunate that the gun-boats, after the glorious success of Colonel Thornton and Captain Money, had not pushed up to the right flank of the American army; and if to this had been added the advance of the American guns, taken in the redoubt, about 1,000 yards higher up the river, the capture of New Orleans might have been

* The reader would smile to see the monuments erected to the memory of these lamented officers in St. Paul's Cathedral. They are standing side by side at the right hand of the north door. The positions and countenances are too ridiculous to be described. While on this subject, I may venture to mention the absurd monument to Captain Westcot; and that to Lord Rodney, little better. Lord St. Vincent is not much honoured by his; the likeness is ill preserved and the figure tame. Lord Duncan, as a fellow to it, is beneath criticism; and the unhappy attempt to describe the bow of a ship in the clumsy pile erected to Lord Collingwood, makes us think the artist must have meant to represent Diogenes in his tub.

achieved; or at least General Jackson would have been defeated: though a very experienced officer, who was present, doubts whether these objects could have been effected by such movements.*

Such, however, was the disastrous appearance of things, that Major-general Lambert halted the reserve, until he had ascertained the extent of our loss and of our remaining resources: having so done, it was decided to retreat from the shores of the Mississippi.

It must here be observed, in justice to Sir Alexander Cochrane, that he had no control over the movements of the army. It was his duty to attend to the wishes of the major-general. Had our troops passed the first intrenchment, they had a second and a third to encounter, all fortified in the same manner, and in fact impregnable, unless attacked in flank. The position of our army was therefore such as to warrant the steps that were taken. The last resource of the Americans would have been to cut the bank of the Mississippi, and inundate the ground occupied by the British. The state of our commissariat was also most alarming; scarcely a week's provisions remaining in store.

This unfortunate expedition was disastrous, but not disgraceful, to those employed. Its failure was not owing to a want of those military virtues by which the empire has been supported, but to the neglect of proper precautions in the outset, the indispensable accompaniments of all enterprise. Among the causes of defeat may be enumerated, first, the deviation of the government at home, from the arrangement agreed on between it and the admiral, by changing the place of rendezvous from Bermuda to Negril Bay: secondly, the divulging of the secret at Jamaica: thirdly, the want of boats to land all the troops at one time: and the want of provisions was the fourth. There was one circumstance, however, connected with this expedition, which should not be overlooked: it certainly relieved the Canadas from the pressure of war. The attacks on Washington, Alexandria, St. Mary's, and New Orleans, drew all the American forces to the southward, and left Sir George Prevost more leisure and means to protect the provinces under his immediate care.

Let us hope that North America will find her true interests in preserving peace with her parent state. She becomes the more vulnerable as her territory extends. With her, education

* The late Sir Alexander Cochrane did not think this could have done any good. To that gallant officer, Sir Pulteney Malcolm, and Captain Charles Cochrane of the Royal Navy, I am indebted for much of my information on this subject: they were all on the ground.

and refinement do not keep pace with increased population: an empire so extended and so uninformed cannot long act in unison. The blacks of the southern states are her most dangerous enemies; and Great Britain has it in her power, while she commands the seas, to convulse the continent of America, by exciting and assisting her discontented subjects. Had 20,000 men been sent from England, as was originally intended, the rising of the slaves in Virginia would have been most probably fatal to the southern states of America.

Having abandoned New Orleans, and embarked all the forces at the Bayou Catalan, the vice-admiral and Major-general Lambert agreed to attack the American settlement of Mobile, a little to the eastward of the entrance to Lake Borgne. Captain (now Sir) T. R. Ricketts, of the Vengeur, with a small squadron under his orders, approached Fort Boyer, at the entrance of the bay, and effected a landing with a body of troops, seamen, and marines. In the course of 48 hours, he came within pistol-shot of the enemy's works; and the officer commanding the fort agreed to surrender, the troops in garrison becoming prisoners of war. Three hundred and sixty infantry and artillery-men were carried on board the fleet. The fort was found in a very complete state of defence, having 22 heavy guns mounted, and a plentiful supply of provisions. The possession of this place was of little importance, and more than counterbalanced by the expenses of the force employed against it. It was given up at the peace with America.

The public discontent was loudly expressed against the admiral and general, on the failure of this expedition. Had the wisdom of parliament been employed in the investigation of the facts, some discoveries might have been made which would have turned the national indignation to the proper objects; and the admiral and general would have been most amply indemnified for the short and unmerited loss of popularity.

After the preliminaries of peace had been signed at Ghent, the American frigate, the President, was captured by a British squadron off New York, on the 15th of January. Rear-admiral Henry Hotham lay off that place as senior officer in the Chesapeake, and Captain Hayes, of the Majestic, had with him off Sandy Hook, the frigates Tenedos 44, Captain Hyde Parker; Endymion, 44, Captain Henry Hope; and Pomone, 44, Captain R. Lumley.

Captain Hayes had been stationed off New York, and had contrived to keep his station during the heavy gales and snow-storms, so common to that coast in the winter season. On the morning of the 14th of January, Sandy Hook bearing N. W. 15 leagues, one hour before daylight, the President and a brig

were discovered, and chase was given. The wind failing, the Endymion soon took the lead, and was so fortunate as to get alongside of the President at half-past five in the evening. These two ships, so well matched as to their main-decks, having both long 24-pounders, fought for two hours and a half, when, the sails of the Endymion being cut from the yards, the President got a-head. While the Endymion was repairing her damages, the Pomone came up, at half-past 11, and on firing a few shot, the enemy hailed to say they had surrendered. It would be unfair to the memory of that excellent man, Commodore Decatur, to say that this was an equal action. It might, perhaps, have ended in a drawn battle, had not the Pomone decided the contest; but no one will contend that the Endymion had not supported the honour of the British flag; nor that she would not, very probably, have achieved the conquest without assistance, if we may judge from the carnage on the decks of the enemy, and the damage sustained by him in the action.

The President was the largest frigate at that time in the world; her establishment of guns was—

Main-deck . . .	30 long 24-pounders.	
Quarter-deck . . .	14 42-pound carronades.	
Forecastle . . .	6 ditto ditto,	one long 24-pounder.
Fore-top	2 brass 6-pounders	These, we presume, were light howitzers, or co-horns.
Main-top	2 ditto	
Mizen-top	2 smaller guns	

The Endymion had 11 killed, and 14 wounded: the President 35 killed, and 70 wounded.

Rear-admiral Cockburn was in the meanwhile employed at St. Mary's, and, having no idea that a peace could be speedily concluded between Great Britain and America, had fortified Cumberland Island as a place to hold during the continuance of hostilities, and where it would have been in his power to have done great injury to the enemy.

On the 25th of February, he received a flag of truce from General Pinckney, who commanded the American forces opposed to him, intimating that a treaty of peace had been signed and ratified in England, and waited only the approval of the President of the United States.

The rear-admiral, in consequence of this communication, rested on his arms until the 2d of March, when official intelligence reached him of the signing of the definitive treaty. He then embarked all his military stores, and the prize goods which he had taken; to this last step General Pinckney objected, and remonstrated, as being contrary to the treaty; but the objec-

tions were overruled, and, on the 18th of March, the rear-admiral sailed for Bermuda, and shortly after arrived in England, where he was soon called upon to execute a very important mission.

Peace between Great Britain and America was signed at Ghent, on the 24th of December, 1814. The plenipotentiaries were Admiral Lord Gambier, Henry Goulburn, Esq., and William Adams, Esq., on the part of Great Britain. Those of America were John Quincey Adams, J. A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russel, and Albert Gallatin, Esqrs.

Although generally unfriendly to war, and deprecating its horrors, I saw with regret this termination of such a contest, provoked as it had been by America, and at a time when Great Britain was struggling not only for her own liberty, but that of the world. Mr. Madison meanly supposed that, by adding his hostility to that of France, he should ingratiate himself with Napoleon. In this he was mistaken: his representatives met with the same indifference at the Tuileries as they had ever done. The losses sustained by America from this line of policy were great. In addition to the burning of the public works at Washington and Alexandria, and the depredations committed on her coasts, the *London Gazette* recounts the capture or destruction of 1,400 sail of American vessels. This we believe to be much under the actual number. On the other hand, our losses were equally great as to numbers of shipping, which were, probably, of more intrinsic value. To the vessels of war taken by the Americans, already stated, we must add the capture of the Levant and the Cyane, two 20-gun ships, by the Constitution, after a very honourable defence made by their captains, Douglas and Falcon. This was a mortifying fact, and the more so, as the whole were soon after fallen in with off the Cape de Verd Islands by a British squadron of superior force; and would, undoubtedly, have been taken as the Levant was, but for some unfortunate and unaccountable misconception on the part of Captain Sir George Collier, who, on being reminded of the circumstance, 10 years after, died by his own hand. The Penguin, a British brig of 18 guns, was also taken by the Hornet. The British captain, Dickenson, fell in the discharge of his duty, and Lieutenant James M'Donald, who succeeded to the command, surrendered when no longer able to contend against a more powerful vessel.

The conduct of the four officers, in the defence of their ships, was highly commendable. Our enemies were elated without any real cause; these captures being nothing more than the mere casualties of war, and adding no merit to the conqueror.

In the rising navy of America the facts were magnified, to give spirits to their sailors and confidence to their officers.

It is now long since the war has been terminated: it were therefore idle and impolitic to load our quondam antagonists with censure, and useless to convict a few individuals in their navy of partiality and misrepresentation. But we may inquire what advantages America gained by the war? Did she set at rest the question of impressment? or did she define the extent of the right of a belligerent to blockade an enemy's port? or to carry on his coasting and colonial trade? These were the ostensible objects for which she went to war, (the secret motives are hidden in the breast of Mr. Madison;) and they were left as undefined in 1814 as they were in 1794.

Of the number of American citizens forcibly taken to serve in our ships, I have already spoken, and have proved shameful exaggerations. The wretched fabrications, promulgated by the basest party-writers in both countries, as to the cruelties exercised upon American seamen by British naval officers, are unworthy of notice; but still the evil consisted in the insult to their flag, and we who suffer no insult should offer none. Oaths may be taken by men who have no sense of religion, and received by magistrates whose credulity is equal to their ignorance; but truth, like the waters of the ocean, will ever find its level.

On the subject of impressment I will, however, venture to say, as one well entitled to speak from experience, that Great Britain *must*, as she values her own welfare, be the first to abandon this unjust practice. Let us not be compelled to abandon it by America. Let us relinquish it as a willing and cheerful sacrifice to the just and indisputable rights of men; a better and a more certain means of manning our fleet will be shortly laid before the public.

Of the terms of the peace we shall merely give an outline: they are to be found at large in the "Naval Chronicle" for the year 1815, vol. i.

All discussions on our maritime rights were to be waved on both sides. American vessels captured by us in retaliation of the Berlin and Milan decrees were not to be restored. We gave up the province of Maine, but retained the islands in Passmaquady Bay. All the disputed questions were to be determined by commissioners.

Unwilling to interrupt the narrative of naval events, I have purposely delayed to notice the public entry of Louis XVIII. into London, his embarkation at Dover, and the visit of the crowned heads to our naval arsenal at Portsmouth. The

compressed nature of this work will not permit me to enlarge upon these interesting topics; but it will be admitted, that they form an appropriate finish to the most glorious war recorded in the annals of Britain—

"Finis coronat opus."

On the 20th of April, 1814, Louis XVIII. made his public entry into London, and, on the following day, proceeded to Dover, where Vice-admiral Foley, who commanded in the Downs, was ordered to be in readiness to do him honour. His Royal Highness the Prince Regent followed, to attend the embarkation; and his present Majesty, then Duke of Clarence, hoisted the union at the main on board the Jason of 32 guns, Captain the Honourable W. King; to escort the royal yacht to the opposite coast: a squadron of frigates and sloops of war was placed under his Royal Highness's directions. Some Russian ships of war also composed part of this memorable and triumphant escort. The Board of Admiralty repaired to Dover, and hoisted their flag on board the Royal Sovereign yacht, which was prepared for the reception of the King of France.

On Sunday morning the King held a levee, at which his Majesty conferred the order of the Saint Esprit on his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, his present most gracious Majesty.

At one, P. M., the tide serving, the yacht got under way, and his Royal Highness the Prince Regent took a most affectionate leave of his Majesty, the Duchess of Angoulême, and the princes of the blood royal, and landed at the pier-head.

As soon as the Prince Regent had quitted the yacht, the royal standard of England, and the flag of the Admiralty, which had been flying, were struck. The royal standard of France, surmounted by a British pendant, was hoisted at the main, and saluted with 21 guns, by the castle, the batteries, and every ship of the squadron. The Royal Sovereign proceeded to sea, followed by the other yachts, in which the royal family and suite were embarked. As the Royal Sovereign passed the outward pier head, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, who stood at the extremity, gave the signal for three cheers, which was obeyed with enthusiasm by his subjects, who thronged every part of the shore. This last mark of affection was received by the royal family of France with unutterable feelings of gratitude and attachment to the prince and the nation.

In two hours and 15 minutes the royal yacht entered the harbour of Calais, and France received from the British navy

the descendant of the Capets, Louis le Désiré. Such was the termination of the great struggle between France and England, which had continued, with the exception of the truce of Amiens, for 21 years.

The state of Europe at this important moment is not to be described. England was the pillar of safety to which, under Providence, all eyes were turned. Her noble struggles in the cause of freedom; her disinterested love of justice; the sacrifices which she had made, and was still preparing to make, for the repose of the world; the valour of her soldiers and sailors; their skill in the art of war, and the generosity with which they exposed themselves to save a sinking enemy, elicited the admiration of the civilized world. The Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia expressed a desire to see a country so renowned. The royal yachts were prepared, and his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, as admiral of the fleet, sailed for Calais, to conduct the illustrious visitors to England.

One of the first wishes expressed by their Majesties, after having seen His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, was to be present at a naval review, and to visit the celebrated dockyard at Portsmouth. Their request was immediately complied with. On Sunday the 19th of June, His Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, as admiral of the fleet, again hoisted the union at the main, on board the Jason frigate, at Spithead, and on the following day the flag of the Lord High Admiral was hoisted on board the Ville de Paris. The flag of the Admiral of the fleet was then shifted to the Impregnable; and on the 21st, that of the Admiralty was removed to the Bombay Castle, of 74 guns.

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, with all the great officers of state; his Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, with their respective suites, reached Portsmouth about the same time.

On Thursday, the 23d, the whole of these royal and illustrious visitors embarked at the king's stairs, in the dockyard, in a barge prepared for them. In the bow of the barge the royal standard of Great Britain was displayed, and the whole proceeded to Spithead. On the starboard, or right-hand side, of the royal boat, a barge bore the imperial standard of Russia: another, on the left, bore the royal standard of Prussia. These boats were filled with the suites of their respective sovereigns. His Royal Highness, the admiral of the fleet, in his own barge, and carrying the union flag, led the starboard line of boats. His Royal Highness was accompanied by the Dukes of York and Cambridge, and the Duke of Saxe-Weimar. The

larboard line of boats was led by the port admiral: the rest of the officers of the fleet followed according to seniority. As the Prince Regent passed the garrison, he was saluted with 21 guns from the platform; and the same salute was fired by the ships at Spithead. The admiral of the fleet, the Board of Admiralty, with the Ambassadors of Austria and Prussia, preceded the royal barge, and reached the Impregnable, to be ready to receive their Majesties and the Prince Regent. The yards were manned, and the whole appearance was such as to gratify the most refined taste. Portsmouth was crowded to excess; and Spithead exhibited a scene of gala unknown to former times.

Reaching the Impregnable, the sides were manned by lieutenants; Sir Harry Neale, as captain of the fleet, received the Prince Regent at the gangway, and, after passing the guard of marines, his Royal Highness was met by the royal Admiral of the fleet. The union at the main was then struck, and re-hoisted on board the Chatham, of 74 guns, and the royal standard hoisted at the main-topgallant-mast of the Impregnable, the Admiralty flag at the fore, and the union at the mizen. The whole fleet at this moment fired a royal salute; and the batteries on shore returned an equal number of guns. The royal visitors went through every part of the ship, and, after partaking of refreshments prepared for them, the imperial and royal visitors quitted with the same order and ceremony, and returned to their respective residences on shore. In the evening, the Prince Regent entertained the whole of his illustrious guests at dinner, at the government-house, to which naval and military officers of the rank of post-captain and colonel were invited. Their Majesties and the Prince Regent gratified the people, by exhibiting themselves at the balcony.

On the 24th, their Majesties visited the dockyard, and then crossed over to Haslar Hospital. On both these great objects the highest encomiums were justly bestowed; after which, the Emperor returned to his residence, and his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and the King of Prussia, went on board the royal yacht, where his Royal Highness commanded the signal to be made for the fleet to weigh, which was immediately executed, and the whole stood to sea. When as far as St. Helen's, the royal party, with the exception of his Imperial Majesty, went on board the Impregnable. The fleet went through several manœuvres, and returned to Spithead at seven o'clock. In the evening of the 27th, the royal visitors quitted Portsmouth, his Royal Highness the Prince Regent having first commanded a very liberal naval promotion.

CHAPTER XXII.

Landing of Bonaparte from Elba—War renewed—Heroism of the Duchess of Angoulême—She embarks in the British ship "Wanderer" at Bordeaux, and arrives at Plymouth—The Author's interview with her—Battle of Waterloo—Bonaparte retires to Rochelle—Delivers himself up to Captain Maitland of the Bellerophon—Arrives at Plymouth—He is not permitted to land—Is to be received as a general officer only—Is ordered to be sent to St. Helena—Sir George Cockburn appointed to that service—Attempt to take Bonaparte out of the Bellerophon as a witness on a civil trial—Lord Keith sails in the Tonnant, with the Bellerophon, to Torbay—Protest of Bonaparte—Sir George Cockburn joins the squadron under Lord Keith off the Berryhead—Bonaparte is removed to the Northumberland—Sails for St. Helena—Arrives there—Return of Sir G. Cockburn to England.

Mediterranean, &c.—Defeat of Murat, King of Naples—He flies to Corsica—Returns to Calabria—Attempts to excite rebellion—Is taken and shot.

Canadian affairs—Rebellion in Guadaloupe—Squadron of Rear-admiral Durham—Restoration of Guadaloupe to France, after a third invasion and reduction of it.

After the victorious Allies had seated Louis XVIII. on the throne of his ancestors, and compelled the Emperor Napoleon to retire to the island of Elba, the statesmen who directed the affairs of Europe, more generously than prudently, confided in the promises of the man who, unless it was to do evil that he had sworn, seldom kept his word. The little island of Elba, on the coast of Tuscany, had been fixed on for his future abode. There, with the title of emperor, and a revenue equal to his utmost wishes, had these wishes been governed by virtue and religion, he might have ended his days in peace; but the lust of ambition was irrepressible in his character. He again rushed madly into the tempest of war; his heart, like that of Pharaoh, seemed to have been judicially hardened, and tempted Heaven to crush him for ever; nor was it long before this criminal attempt to disturb the dearly bought peace of Europe drew down upon him the penalty he so richly merited.

The King of France, the patient and amiable Louis XVIII., had been left by the Allies in the government of his kingdom. Their armies were withdrawn from his capital, and

occupied only the cautionary posts on the frontier. France, under her own charter, began rapidly to recover from the effects of her revolutionary convulsion, which for 22 years had spread desolation from the German Ocean to the Bosphorus.

In the course of this calamitous war, France had given birth to an army, which, eventually, after all its victories, became a monster too terrible for her civil power to control, and threatened every hour to destroy its parent. Accustomed to revel in the fruitful country of their neighbours, these men became impatient of restraint. The false love of glory, and the rapacious appetite for plunder, were not to be awed by the mild and equitable laws of a senate. The soldiers sighed for their favourite general to lead them once more to conquest, and they flattered themselves that under his banners France would be permanently established as the mistress of Europe. While I am writing these pages (1836), the threatening volcano of military insubordination appears ready to burst forth, and once more to convulse France with the hated watchword of imperial despotism.

Napoleon from his rock heard the complaint of his soldiers, and meditated once more putting himself at their head. The moment he chose for this treacherous enterprise was that of all others in which it was most to his interest to remain tranquil. The sword was not yet sheathed; the ships were not all paid off; nor were the armies disbanded. The allies were, therefore, not yet left unprepared. Murat, the creature of Napoleon, governed the kingdom of Naples; and on this man the emperor partly relied for support: but the premature movements of the vassal rendered abortive all the plans of his daring lord.

The whole army of France, with a part of the population, had beheld the departure of their idol as a violation of their rights, and secretly resolved to bring him back. His return towards the end of the year 1814 was openly talked of in France, as an event that would certainly take place when the violets were in bloom. Drawings of that little flower were sold in Paris, as the symbol of revolt; the profile of Napoleon was ingeniously contrived, and easily discerned in the vivid colours of its petals.

Reposing under the assurances of his courtiers, Louis XVIII. was unconscious of his danger, until the conspirators had closed up every channel of escape except the road to Ghent. The postmaster-general was sold to the cause of the tyrant, and the body-guard, which he had so easily obtained from the good faith of England, was one great instrument of his flight. Napoleon, under a pretext that his revenue had not been paid, that

the treaty of Fontainbleau had been violated, and that the allied sovereigns never intended to fulfil their engagements towards him, secretly prepared to gratify his own ambition, and once more to drench the "sacred soil" in the blood of the infatuated people whom he called his subjects.

The court of Elba, during the short reign of the emperor, had been the resort of numerous English travellers, many of them his professed admirers; for it is remarkable that Bonaparte, who overthrew liberty in Europe, and was the greatest and bitterest enemy to this country, found his chief support and advocates among that party who styled themselves "*the friends of the people.*" So completely had he cajoled them, that he began to be considered a martyr; his crimes were forgotten in his humiliation; and he became an object of interest and compassion, because his subjection was the effect of the Pitt system.

The squadron of British ships of war stationed in the neighbourhood of Elba had no particular charge to obstruct the escape of its monarch, who took care to prevent the intrusion of strangers as long as his designs were in preparation. On the 26th of February, he embarked on board a brig of war, followed by four or five small vessels, into which he had crowded 1,000 soldiers, including his body-guard and a collection of needy adventurers. With these he landed on the 1st of March, at Cannes, in Provence, and with his followers instantly set out for Grenoble. No resistance was made to the rapid and daring march of the adventurer. The walls of fortified towns seemed to sink into the earth at his approach; the Government declared him a traitor, and at the same time prepared to fly before him; Lyons opened her gates; and the princes of the house of Bourbon were rejected with scorn. Marshal Ney, who had equivocatingly sworn to his deluded monarch to bring Napoleon to Paris, "kept the word of promise to the ear, and broke it to the hope." The traitor threw himself into the arms of his former patron, the moment he met him. His example was followed by others; and Napoleon, at the head of an army, once more declared himself "By the grace of God, Emperor of the French." Dreadful period! The same sufferings which Europe had undergone, were about to be renewed. The Allies flew to arms. No treaties, no vows, could bind their enemy; and a war of extermination was begun against the person and power of Napoleon. The navy of England was roused from its short repose, though it had little share in this last struggle. Ships were commissioned, and prepared for sea, but, before they quitted their ports, the power of Napoleon was at an end. He entered Paris on

the 28th of March. The king had left for Ghent the preceding day. France was almost (at least apparently) unanimous in favour of the conqueror. The legions assembled, and marched to the northern frontier as the most assailable, and the most likely to be attacked by the allies, who never before had acted with so much unanimity and effect. Their declaration, published at Vienna on the 13th of March, convinced Napoleon and the French nation that an awful contest was to decide their fate. The empress Maria Louisa and her son were withheld from the presence of their husband and father, who was proscribed as a rebel and a traitor. The declaration of the Allies was signed by the ministers of every European power, except Turkey and Naples. In vain did the flattering addresses of the ministers of Napoleon deprecate foreign war —in vain declare that they would only draw the sword in self-defence: fixed and determined in their purpose to have no peace or compact with the man who had no principle, the Allies crowded to their posts. Belgium was the theatre of the last great scene. The Rhine was crossed in every department. The Duke of Wellington, with a large army, was sent to the Netherlands. The Bourbon princes were not tame spectators of the passing events. The Duke of Angoulême repaired to Nismes, in hopes of exciting the people of the south in favour of his cause; but fear, or disaffection, had taken possession of their minds. The Duchess of Angoulême tried the fidelity of the Girondistes. This heroic lady, the daughter of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette, supported her character and dignity in this last ordeal of her fortitude. She addressed the officers in the garrison of Château Trompette, who still wore the white cockade: she appealed in vain to their honour and their generosity. "I see," said she, "that you are cowards, and I absolve you from your oaths:" and, turning her horse, she rode away, and embarked on board the Wanderer—a name, alas! how appropriate to the forlorn and friendless condition of the unhappy princess! This ship mounted 20 guns, and was commanded by my late respected and gallant friend, Captain Dowers. In this ship her Royal Highness sailed from the Gironde for Plymouth, where she arrived shortly after, and held a drawing-room at the admiral's house. She appeared dejected, but not in despair. There was a firmness of purpose in her eye—a disregard of the world, and a patient resignation, which would have commanded esteem, even had she not been known to be the most unfortunate and the most enduring princess on earth. It was here, as captain of the Royal Sovereign, under the flag of Sir Benjamin Hallowel, that I had the honour of being presented to her Royal Highness, and con-

versed with her on the subject of her misfortunes. There was not a heart at Plymouth, nor I believe in Britain, that did not sympathize with this unhappy lady. But for the present we must quit the transactions at Plymouth-dock, to which, however, we shall speedily be recalled, to relate facts of no common interest or importance.

The courts of Great Britain, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, not only refused to hold any communication with Napoleon, or his ministers, but bound themselves by the most formal engagements to defend the restored order of things in Europe, and particularly the treaty of Paris, signed in May, 1814, and also those of the congress of Vienna. They agreed to bring into the field 150,000 men each, and not to lay down their arms until Bonaparte should be deprived of the power of exciting disturbances. The mockery of the Champ de Mai produced no good effect towards the cause of the usurper. The call to arms resounded once more from Otranto to the Baltic: rage on the side of the Allies—despair on that of France—stimulated the minds of the combatants, and prepared the bloodiest day that Europe had ever witnessed. The line of fortresses extending from the German Ocean to the Rhine, had, at the peace of Paris, been garrisoned by the British and allied troops. The moment the landing and progress of Bonaparte were known in England, large reinforcements were sent over to the Scheldt. The Duke of Wellington had his head-quarters at Brussels: the veteran Blucher, with a large army of Prussians, was at Namur, on the Maese. Bonaparte had his head-quarters at Avesnes, in French Flanders. He left Paris on the 12th of June, determined to give battle to the Prussians and English, before the Russians and Austrians could come to their assistance. The Prussians, notwithstanding their valour and hatred of the French, suffered some severe checks in the neighbourhood of Charleroi and Ligny. The Duke of Wellington, on the evening of the 15th of June, having received information of the near approach of the French army towards the plain between Nivelle and the wood of Soignies, directed the whole of his force upon Quatre Bras. On the 17th of June, the hostile armies came in presence of each other, on the celebrated field of Waterloo, or Mont St. Jean; and at the dawn of day on the 18th, Napoleon is said to have uttered the exclamation, "*Enfin je les tiens, ces Anglois*"—"at last I have caught these English." The battle and its consequences are recorded in the page of military history. Heaven fought on the side of truth and justice: the tyrant and his legions were defeated. England sustained the field against the whole power of France, from morning until the evening, when Blu-

cher, with his victorious legions, passing between Grouchy's corps and the left of the British army, came upon the right flank of the French, and completed their overthrow. The prodigies of valour performed by our gallant soldiers on that day are not to be described but by the most eloquent pen. The numbers of the killed and wounded on both sides have been variously stated: the best accounts are not exact; but 70,000, at least, may be said to have found their graves on the field of Waterloo,—human sacrifices to the modern Moloch!

Napoleon, after his defeat, hastened to Paris; a ruined gamester, he had staked his crown and lost it. "Unfit to live, and unprepared to die," he became, like another Cain, a fugitive and a vagabond on the face of the earth. He visited and quitted his capital: he sought to gain the sea-shore, on the Atlantic, that he might escape to America. This project would have succeeded, but for the unceasing vigilance of the British squadron stationed in the Bay of Biscay. Reaching Rochelle, Napoleon embarked on board a French frigate, called La Saale; and a fair wind, on the 13th of July, would have taken him from the shores of Europe, but the exit was denied by the Bellerophon, a British 74, commanded by Captain (now Sir Frederick Lewis) Maitland. Supposing that he might elude discovery in a smaller vessel, he quitted the frigate, and went into a brig of war called the Epervier, with all his suite and baggage: still the watchful Bellerophon prevented his flight. Learning, at length, from his brother Joseph, with whom he was in close correspondence, that the Chambers of Peers and Deputies were dissolved, he hoisted a flag of truce, and on the 15th of July made sail towards the Bellerophon, then lying at anchor in Basque Roads. Captain Maitland received him as became an officer and a gentleman: having no orders to the contrary, he treated him as a monarch, but offered him no terms. Captain (the late Sir Henry) Hotham, who commanded the Defiance, of 74 guns, and who was the senior officer of the squadron, invited him to breakfast on board his ship, and he was there also received with all the ceremony usually shown to a crowned head. The conduct of these gallant officers was much criticised, for doing that which they could not, in justice to their own character and feelings, have avoided. It was for their superiors to decide how he should be received in England.

The Bellerophon, after landing an officer at Torbay, arrived in Plymouth Sound on the 24th of July, and here commenced a very interesting episode in the history of this extraordinary person.

That the conqueror of nations should be the guest or the

prisoner of a captain in the British navy, appeared to many a kind of illusion or dream which only fancy could present Plymouth, and its environs, were crowded with company, eager to behold the person of one whom they had so long dreaded. Boats lay round the Bellerophon so closely compacted together, that they might be said to form a stage of some acres in extent. Napoleon often appeared at the starboard gangway, resting his left arm on the hammocks; in his right hand he held an opera glass, with which he attentively surveyed every object near him.*

During the first four days of his stay in Plymouth Sound, the time passed away in conversation, in looking at the diversity and richness of the surrounding scenery, and in speculations on his future destiny. The hope of Napoleon was, to be allowed to pass the remainder of his days in England with his wife and son. To this he no doubt fondly referred, when, on making the land, he exclaimed, "*Enfin, voilà ce beau pays!*" A return of post from London dispelled the flattering dream. His fate was sealed; by his escape from Elba he was considered to have violated his faith, and as no longer to be depended on: it was decided that he was thenceforth to be addressed merely as General Bonaparte; and the place of his future residence, to the end of his life, was decreed to be the island of St. Helena. The disappointment and rage of Napoleon and his followers were vented in abuse of the British Government and the Allied Sovereigns. Napoleon spoke of escaping from persecution by suicide, but was dissuaded by his friends. One of the ladies of his suite, Madame Bertrand, attempted to throw herself overboard, and was prevented at the very moment. The time of departure drew near. The Northumberland, of 74 guns, commanded by Captain C. B. H. Ross, and bearing the flag of Rear-admiral Sir George Cockburn, was appointed to convey Napoleon to his last earthly residence. One more effort was made to rescue the idol from his impending fate: some of his impotent friends contrived to obtain a *habeas corpus ad respondendum* from the Lord Chancellor, to bring Napoleon as a witness on a pending trial. To serve this legal instrument in due form, a deputation came to Plymouth; but their secret had preceded them. Lord Keith, as commander-in-chief of the Channel fleet, instantly hoisted his flag on board the Tonnant, (which I at that time commanded, having quitted the Royal

* It was at this time that his portrait was taken by Mr. Eastlake: it was afterwards engraved by Mr. Charles Turner. It is by far the best likeness ever presented to the public; and I think it impossible to produce a more faithful representation.

Sovereign,) and ordered the Bellerophon to sea; and, to prevent any unpleasant interview with the agents of the law, took a fast-rowing boat (it being perfectly calm) and pulled out into the offing, where he got on board a sloop of war. The Tonnant could not get out for some hours after the attorney appeared alongside. The centinels had orders to keep all boats at a distance. The agent demanded to see Lord Keith. I informed him that his lordship was not on board. He next requested that the captain would appear. I informed him that I was the captain: an explanation of the object of the visit was demanded, and given. I have quite forgotten under what impression I acted; but I certainly took the agent for a Frenchman, and in the French language addressed him; nor would I make use of any other. The man went away exceedingly dissatisfied; and, a breeze springing up, I weighed, and proceeded to join Lord Keith, off the Berry Head. His lordship came on board on the evening of the 3d of August. The Bellerophon was in company with a frigate, and one or two sloops of war and cutters. On the 4th, while the squadron was cruising off the Berry Head, waiting for the Northumberland, Captain Maitland came on board, and presented the following letter from General Bonaparte to Lord Keith:

Protest of Bonaparte, sent to Lord Keith, 4th August, 1815.

Je proteste solennellement ici, à la face du ciel et des hommes, contre la violation de mes droits les plus sacrés, en disposant par la force de ma personne et de ma liberté. Je suis venu librement à bord du Bellerophon; je ne suis pas prisonnier, je suis l'hôte de l'Angleterre.

Aussitôt assis à bord du Bellerophon, je fus sur le foyer du peuple Britannique; si le gouvernement, en donnant des ordres au capitaine du Bellerophon de me recevoir ainsi que ma suite, n'a voulu que tendre une embûche, il a forfait à l'honneur et flétri son pavillon.

Si cette acte se consommoit, ce seroit en vain que les Anglois voudroient parler à l'Europe de leur loyauté, de leurs loix, de leur liberté: la foi Britannique se trouvera perdue dans l'hospitalité du Bellerophon. J'en appelle à l'histoire. Elle dira qu'un ennemi qui fit 20 ans la guerre au peuple Anglois, vint, librement, dans son infortune chercher une asile sous ses loix; quelle plus éclatante preuve pouvoit-il donner de son estime et de sa confiance? mais comment repondoit-on en Angleterre à tant de magnanimité? On feignoit d'étendre une main hospitalière à cet ennemi, et quand il se fut livré de bonne foi, on l'immola.

A bord du Bellerophon, à la mer, le 4ème Août, 1815.

NAPOLEON.

The authenticity of this document having been doubted, and suspicion expressed in many periodical works of the day, the

writer of this work has it in his power to declare, that it is the genuine production of Bonaparte; that as such it was delivered by him to Captain Maitland; and that the ink was scarcely dry when the captain of the Tonnant was called in, to give an opinion on the meaning of a word contained in it.

Translation.

I protest solemnly, in the face of heaven, and before men, against the violation of my most sacred rights, in disposing, by force, of my person and liberty. I came freely on board the Bellerophon: I am not the prisoner, but the guest, of England.

No sooner was I seated on board the Bellerophon, than I was on the hearth of the British people. If the Government, in giving orders to the captain of the Bellerophon to receive me, meant only to ensnare me (*tendre une embûche*), it has forfeited its honour, and tarnished its flag.

If this act is consummated, in vain will the people of England boast of their fidelity, their laws, and their liberty: British faith will be buried in the hospitality of the Bellerophon. I appeal to history. She will say, that an enemy, who for 20 years had made war against the English people, came freely in his adversity to seek an asylum under your laws. What more striking proof could he give of his esteem and his confidence? But how did England reply to so much magnanimity? By pretending to hold out the hand of hospitality to that enemy; and, when he had in good faith surrendered, they sacrificed him.

Dated on board the Bellerophon, the 4th of August, 1815.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

It is no part of my duty to offer any remark on this document; but I think it can scarcely pass unnoticed by the most cursory reader, that Bonaparte, by his escape from Elba, had forfeited every claim to honourable treatment: after the blood and treasure we had expended in conquering him at Waterloo, he was fairly our property; and the unconditional terms on which he surrendered to Captain Maitland left the British Government free to act towards him as it should judge most conducive to the future tranquillity of Europe.

On the 6th, the Northumberland joined: Sir G. Cockburn waited on Lord Keith, and arranged for the removal of General Bonaparte on the following day. For this purpose the squadron came to an anchor; the Berry Head bearing N.E. by E.$\frac{1}{2}$E.; the Start point W.S.W.$\frac{1}{2}$W. one mile and a half distant. On the 7th, a numerous fleet of pleasure-boats and other vessels surrounded the squadron. At eight o'clock, Count Bertrand came on board the Tonnant, and was informed that the baggage of General Bonaparte must be searched, and that the general must prepare himself to be removed to the

Northumberland immediately. As soon as the examination of the trunks was finished, the barge of the Tonnant was sent with a lieutenant, to receive the general. Lord Keith,* I believe, went also in the boat; but neither his lordship nor Sir George Cockburn was on the quarter-deck of the Northumberland, to receive their prisoner. Bonaparte came up the side, clad in his usual green undress, with white facings, breeches, and silk stockings. He wore no powder; had very little hair on the crown of his head; and held his well-known peculiarly cocked hat in his hand. A captain's guard received him. The drum beat a march, the appropriate and established compliment to a full general. This was a novelty to Napoleon. He seemed at first a little surprised, but instantly recovered himself, bowed to the guard, and then entered into conversation with the officers near him. Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn came on board while this was going on, and conducted Napoleon to his apartment. The ship was crowded to excess. There were near 900 people on board, with provisions, stores, and baggage in immense quantities. Very few strangers were admitted. The commissioner came from Plymouth, and paid the seamen their wages; and in the evening the Northumberland stood to the westward, accompanied by the Havannah and Bucephalus, frigates, Ceylon, transport, Zenobia, Zephyr, Ferret, Redpole, and Icarus, sloops of war. It was not till the evening of the 9th that the squadron was ready to make sail. The rear-admiral had many wants for a voyage to St. Helena; and the demands of the suite of Napoleon were not easily satisfied. On the 10th of August the squadron took its departure from the Lizard. They had a very favourable passage to Madeira, which they reached on the 23d. The frigates anchored, and took a supply of refreshments, while the Northumberland kept under sail in the offing. On the 25th they made sail again for St. Helena. All the occurrences of the voyage, and residence of Napoleon at St. Helena, have been related by two medical gentlemen, who accompanied him in his exile. These works I have read, but shall not copy from them. I am guided by the plain and manly journal of Cap-

* Of this fact I am not certain, having no written memorandum: I write from memory. It was the wish of Sir George Cockburn that I should go in the boat; but this Lord Keith refused. Sir George then very kindly desired me, as soon as my admiral had left the Tonnant, to go on board the Northumberland, that I might see and converse with Napoleon. This invitation I took care to accept, and was in time to see the general come up the side. I was introduced by Count Bertrand. Napoleon conversed with apparent good humour; asked some questions in French, to which I replied; but our conversation was interrupted by Lord Keith and Sir George Cockburn, who came up at that moment, and led him to his apartment.

tain Ross, of the Northumberland, which that gallant officer kindly lent for the purpose.

The Northumberland arrived at St. Helena on the 15th of October, and General Bonaparte landed on the 17th. On the 19th of June, 1817, Sir George Cockburn quitted the island, to return to England, having been relieved in the command by Rear-admiral Sir P. Malcolm, and arrived at Spithead on the 1st of August.

Sir George Cockburn immediately set off for London, to give an account of his mission, and received from his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and Earl Bathurst, the highest commendation for the able, steady, and judicious manner in which he had executed the delicate charge intrusted to him.

Gaeta, in the kingdom of Naples, held out in favour of Napoleon, long after the battle of Waterloo. The Austrians by land, and the English by sea, blockaded and bombarded the place with great severity. Captain Fahie, in the Malta, of 80 guns, and Captain Brace, in the Berwick, of 74 guns, were chiefly instrumental in its reduction. On the 8th of August, the Governor being informed by Captain Fahie of the surrender of Napoleon to Captain Maitland, thought proper to capitulate.

Joachim Murat, the new King of Naples, anxious at once to secure the tottering crown on his own head, and to make a peace with the Allies, had, however, been in 1814 playing a sort of double game between the Congress of Vienna and the Court of Elba. That he would espouse the strongest side was foreseen, and pointed out to Lord Castlereagh by Lord William Bentinck. Murat, after the battle of Leipsic, and the peace of Fontainbleau, negotiated with the Allies; and was, consequently, acknowledged by them; but no sooner had Bonaparte landed in France, and reached Lyons, than he declared himself the firm supporter of his former patron; and, setting his armies in motion, demanded a passage for his troops through the papal dominions. He shortly after attacked the Austrians at Cerina, and obliged them to fall back. The Emperor of Austria declared war against him, and the incursions of the Neapolitan army were very soon terminated. Murat saw his impotence, offered excuses, begged for peace of the Allies, and was rejected with merited scorn. A British squadron, under the command of Captain Campbell, of the Tremendous, of 74 guns, was ordered by Sir Edward Pellew to the Bay of Naples, where the captain demanded and obtained the immediate surrender of all the ships of war, the arsenal, and naval stores, to be held at the disposal of the British Government, and Ferdinand, King of Naples. The miserable Nea-

politan army, crushed and defeated by the Austrians, disbanded and dispersed, leaving Murat to make the best terms he could with his conquerors. The allies entered Naples, and spread themselves over the whole kingdom. The Tremendous received Madame Murat and her family on board; and the contemptible Ferdinand IV. was once more seated on the throne of his ancestors. Sir Edward Pellew, the late Lord Exmouth, anchored with his fleet in the Bay of Naples, and contributed by his presence to the restoration of tranquillity in that disturbed and corrupt capital. Murat fled from the Continent, and took refuge in Corsica, whence he again departed in October, and landed in Calabria, calling on the people to acknowledge him as their king. Imitating the example of Napoleon, he concluded he should, like him, have reached his capital. The folly of his enterprise seems to deserve the name of insanity. Napoleon was at that time a prisoner at St. Helena, and the whole of the allies ready to crush any insurrection against the Bourbons, wherever it should appear. The result might have been foreseen by the most inexperienced politician. Murat and his followers were attacked, beaten, and dispersed into the mountains, where their leader and his generals were taken, after a fruitless endeavour to regain the sea-coast and embark in their vessels. A military commission tried him and his followers, and they were shot on the 15th of October, just one week after their landing.

In Canada our affairs had taken an unfavourable turn. On Lake Erie, Captain Dobbs, of the navy, had very gallantly boarded two American schooners, and captured them. Two days after this success, the army under Major-general Gordon Drummond attempted to take Fort Erie by storm; but although our soldiers had entered the fort, and would in a few minutes have been masters of it, an explosion nearly destroyed the whole column under Lieutenant-colonel Drummond and Captain Dobbs. The troops, on this, fell back, and their retreat was covered by the 1st battalion of the Royals. The attack on Snake-hill, led by Colonel Fischer, was made at the same time, and was equally unfortunate in its result. The total loss sustained by the British forces in these attacks, amounted to 900 officers and men, killed and wounded. Of the latter there were no less than 536, the greater part of whom are supposed to have fallen in the darkness of the night, by the grape and musketry of the enemy.

While the important events which I have just related had been passing in Europe, the expectation of the re-landing of Napoleon from Elba had reached the French colonies in the West Indies, and produced much excitement. Some inde-

cision seems to have prevailed in the councils of our Government with regard to the measures to be adopted in that quarter.

Rear-admiral Durham, who commanded the British squadron, was on habits of intimacy with the Count de Vaugiraud, governor of the island of Martinique, and with Admiral Linois, the governor of Guadaloupe: the former was as decidedly loyal and attached to his king as the latter was to the fortunes of Napoleon. In this state of things, Rear-admiral Durham received a private letter in the spring of 1815 from Lord Melville, written immediately on the return of Bonaparte to Paris, most explicitly directing him, whatever flag might be seen to fly on the French islands, or whatever course the French governors might pursue against us, to abstain from all offensive measures against them.

It is not a little remarkable, that Lieutenant-general Sir James Leith, who was then commander of the forces in the Leeward Islands, alleged that he had received, about the same time, orders from Lord Bathurst of a contrary nature, in which, as he asserted, he was enjoined to attack the French: it is difficult to conceive that Lord Bathurst could have meant that his orders should have gone to such an extent, nor is it probable that two ministers sitting in the same cabinet should have given at the same moment such opposite instructions.

When the intelligence of the landing of Bonaparte reached the French islands, insurrections were hourly expected to take place in his favour. The Count de Vaugiraud applied to the rear-admiral and lieutenant-general for some British troops to assist in keeping down the rising spirit of insubordination that had extended from Guadaloupe to Martinique. Some troops were instantly embarked at Barbadoes, on board the ships of war and transports, which conveyed them to Gros Islet bay, in St. Lucia, immediately opposite to Fort Royal. The promptitude of this measure seemed to have a paralyzing effect on the count, who, after having claimed their assistance, began to hesitate whether he should admit them: he opened a kind of negotiation on the subject with the rear-admiral, but the latter brought the question to a speedy conclusion, by informing the governor, that, unless the men were permitted to land, he must immediately send them back to Barbadoes. This message produced decision in the mind of the count; the necessary permission was sent; and the rear-admiral, having run over in the night, landed at daylight 1,500 troops on the island of Martinique. This force, being accompanied by Sir James Leith, was found fully equal to preserve the tranquillity of the island.

The same assistance which had been extended to Martinique was craved at Guadaloupe, but not with equal zeal and earnestness. The rear-admiral some time after fell in with a French national schooner, bearing the tri-coloured flag. She had been dispatched from Rochefort, by Decrés, the minister of the marine, to give information to the colonies, and her commander acknowledged to the rear-admiral that he bore the commission of Napoleon, had landed his despatches at Guadaloupe, and was then on his way to Martinique.

Notwithstanding this confession, and contrary to the earnest entreaties of Sir James Leith, the rear-admiral felt it his duty still to adhere to the letter of Lord Melville, and declined either detaining the vessel, or taking any active part in the invasion of the island of Guadaloupe, although he consented to carry the forces thither to assist Admiral Linois in supporting his authority as the governor appointed by Louis XVIII.

For this purpose he proceeded with a body of troops to Basse-terre Roads, but at the dawn of day perceived the tri-coloured flag flying on the forts. Suspecting the course which had been pursued by Linois, yet affecting to disbelieve that he would have acted a part so unbecoming, the rear-admiral sent Lieutenant (afterwards Captain) Wemys to him, with a kind message, assuring his excellency that he might rely on every support from the British forces, and, as the rear-admiral saw the flag of Napoleon flying, he was quite sure that the person of his excellency must be under restraint; he, therefore, offered the cabin of the Venerable for himself and family, to convey them to a place of safety.

Captain Wemys delivered this message to the governor, in presence of a large assembly of the inhabitants. Monsieur Linois replied, that, having adopted the cockade of Napoleon, which he pointed to in his hat, he was determined to stand or fall by it! This answer being delivered to the rear-admiral, he returned to Barbadoes, where he shortly after received orders from home to proceed and attack the French islands which had thrown off the authority of their king.

On the return of the squadron to Barbadoes, a correspondence took place between the commanders-in-chief, upon the subject of a hostile attack upon Guadaloupe; Sir James Leith urging, and the rear-admiral declining it, assigning as his reason the directions he had received from the first lord of the Admiralty, and the responsibility that would rest upon him, or any officer so situated, if he should, of his own authority, presume to originate hostile operations between the two greatest nations on the earth. The admiral's reasons were afterwards fully approved of by his superiors at home. On the

arrival of instructions from the Admiralty, the rear-admiral proceeded with the land and sea forces to the attack of the island.

The squadron of Rear-admiral Durham consisted of the

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Venerable	74	Captain Worth.
Dasher	18	——— William Henderson.
Fairy	16	——— Baker.
Espiègle.	16	——— Charles Mitchell.
Columbia	16	——— H. D. Chads.
Barbadoes	18	——— Fleming.
Muros	18	——— J. S. Griffinhoofe.
Chanticleer . . .	10	Lieutenant G. Tupman.
Fox and Nimble, cutters.		

They sailed from Barbadoes, and landed on the 8th of August, under cover of the Fairy, Columbia, and Barbadoes. The Count de Vaugiraud, the governor of Martinique, detesting the treason of Linois, gave all the assistance in his power to the British enterprise. Two French corvettes and a schooner, commanded by officers of rank, joined the squadron, and were present at the reduction of the island. The British general, having defeated Linois, compelled him to capitulate. Himself, and his adjutant-general, were sent home to France, to be tried for their crimes. The loss of British troops, in this third invasion of the island of Guadaloupe, amounted to about 16 killed, and 50 wounded. The island was, of course, restored to the crown of France, after the final expulsion of Bonaparte.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Mediterranean.—State of the Barbary powers—Discussions with Lord Exmouth—Treachery of the Dey of Algiers—Murder of the Christians at Bona—Retrospect of the different attacks made on the Algerines by the European monarchs—Attack on the city of Algiers by the British fleet under the command of Admiral Lord Exmouth, and the Dutch squadron under Rear-admiral Van Capellan—Defeat of the Algerines—Release of all the slaves, and submission of the Dey—Letter of Lord Exmouth to the Secretary of the Admiralty, &c. Lord Amherst's embassy to China—Captain Maxwell in the Alceste—His contest with the Chinese forts—Subsequent loss of the Alceste—Remarks on the exemplary conduct of Captain Maxwell—The Alceste fired by the Malays—Defence of the island of Pulo Leat against those savages—Termination of the embassy.

The states of Barbary, which, to the disgrace of the European powers, had been so long permitted to carry on their piratical depredations against the commerce of the Mediterranean, received this year a severe chastisement from the just vengeance of Britain, which they had long provoked, presuming that our forbearance proceeded from fear or impotency. It was not to be endured that England should tolerate what America had resented and punished: and, independently of other considerations, the abolition of Christian slavery among the Barbary States was an object well worthy of our attention. This, and the acknowledgment of the flag of the Ionian Islands, became a subject of discussion between Lord Exmouth and the Beys of Tripoli and Tunis. The Dey of Algiers came readily into every proposal, except that of the abolition of slavery. The Beys of Tunis and Tripoli agreed entirely with Lord Exmouth, and promised to act towards their prisoners of war according to the usages of civilized nations. The Dey of Algiers was not so easily convinced of the expediency of the measure, and requested time to refer to the Grand Signior, whose subject he was. This request was granted: an Algerine minister embarked on board the Tagus frigate, to proceed to Constantinople for that purpose; and three months were allowed for the negotiation.

Lord Exmouth in the mean while returned to England, to receive fresh instructions, and soon departed again, with such

a squadron as could not fail to command compliance where remonstrances had proved unavailing. In the course of the negotiations, his lordship stipulated for the security of the Neapolitan and Sardinian flags, which, under the promise of the payment of the price of the slaves then in bondage, was agreed to. But the Moors are never to be trusted, as the tragical event which followed soon proved.

The coral fishery at Bona is resorted to in the month of May by the Neapolitan and Corsican fishermen, for the purpose of carrying on their occupation. On the 23d of May, the festival of Ascension, when these poor unsuspecting people were going to their devotions at one o'clock in the morning, they were surprised by a body of infantry and cavalry, and butchered in the most barbarous manner. Neither the Christians who were in the country, nor those in the town, nor those employed in boats, were spared: almost the whole were massacred; and the British flag, taken from the Consular office, was torn in pieces and trampled under foot. It is not supposed that these acts were authorized by the Government; but the popular mind had, no doubt, been stimulated by the imprudence, if not the connivance, of the Dey of Algiers; and from that moment negotiation was ended, and it was resolved to attack his capital.

By way of placing the merit of this action in its true light, it is proper to observe, that, although the other nations of Europe had often attempted to reduce these savages to reason, none but England succeeded in completely humbling their power.*

The Emperor Charles V.† totally failed, and lost a great part both of his fleet and army. The Spaniards more recently, in 1601, and the English in the following year, also ailed. The French fleet, under the Admiral Duquesne, bombarded the city of Algiers, and set it on fire, 1632, and in 1633 repeated the attack. In 1775 the Spaniards went against Algiers, with a powerful armament, but retreated with loss. The results of their third and fourth expeditions against these maritime banditti, in 1783 and 1784, have been related in the early part of this work.

During the war of the Revolution, we have seen these people rise in their tone of insolence and exaction according to the

* Mr. Osler, in his Life of Lord Exmouth, has given us not only the full and complete details of the memorable and well-merited chastisement inflicted on those savages, but he has at the same time presented us with an admirable character of his hero, who offers the finest model for a naval officer that I have ever read or heard of; and I earnestly recommend to my young naval readers to make it their study and their example.

† See Dr. Robertson's History.

ADMIRAL [illegible]

ENGRAVED FOR COLBURN'S NAVAL HISTORY

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difficulties in which we were placed: the firmness of Lords St. Vincent and Nelson kept them, however, from any acts of open hostility. In 1816, the measure of their crimes was full, and the massacre at Bona demanded that vengeance which the navy of England, in the name of insulted Europe, had the honour of inflicting.

The accompanying plan, drawn by Mr. Alexander Lumsdale, master of the Queen Charlotte on that occasion, was most kindly lent to me, for the purpose of laying it before the public; and it is presumed that this drawing, and the elaborate letter of the noble viscount, will convey a complete description of the action and its effects.

When Lord Exmouth was at Gibraltar, each ship of the line was directed to take charge of a gun-boat, and tow her over to Algiers. The ships' launches were also fitted for howitzers, and the flat-bottomed boats for Congreve rockets.

It was about this time that Lieutenant George Crichton, of the Rhin frigate, introduced, with the approbation of his captain, the present Sir Charles Malcolm, the system of training the seamen to fire at a target with their great guns, a plan which has been since pursued, but I fear without due credit being given to this gallant young officer.

The Dutch squadron under Rear-admiral Van Capellan joined the English; and we rejoiced to see the flags united for the protection of real liberty against lawless depredators. The letter from Lord Exmouth to the Secretary of the Admiralty is as follows:—

Queen Charlotte, Algiers Bay,
August 12, 1816.

Sir,

In all the vicissitudes of a long life of public service, no circumstance has ever produced on my mind such impressions of gratitude and joy as the event of yesterday. To have been one of the humble instruments, in the hands of Divine Providence, for bringing to reason a ferocious government, and destroying for ever the insufferable and horrid system of Christian slavery, can never cease to be a source of delight and heartfelt comfort to every individual happy enough to be employed in it. I may, I hope, be permitted, under such impressions, to offer my sincere congratulations to their lordships on the complete success which attended the gallant efforts of his Majesty's fleet in their attack upon Algiers of yesterday, and the happy result produced from it on this day by the signature of peace.

Thus has a provoked war of two days' existence been attended by a complete victory, and closed by a renewed peace for England and her ally, the King of the Netherlands, on conditions dictated by the firmness and wisdom of his Majesty's government, and commanded by the vigour of their measures.

My thanks are justly due for the honour and confidence his

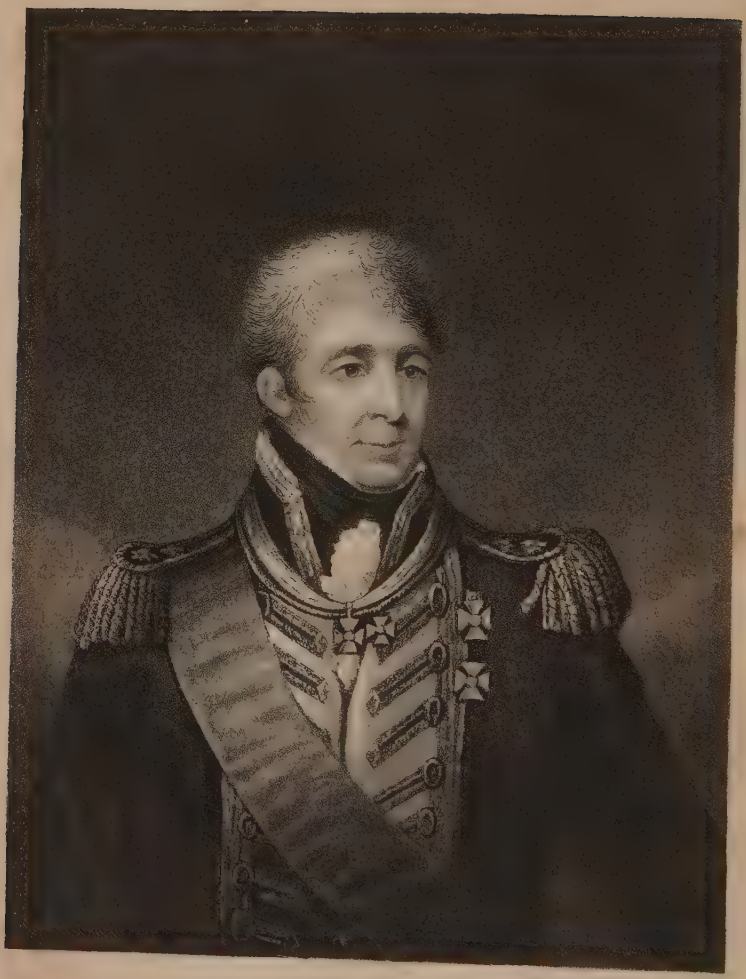
Majesty's ministers have been pleased to repose in my zeal on this highly important occasion. The means were by them made adequate to my own wishes, and the rapidity of their measures speaks for itself. Not more than 100 days since, I left Algiers with the British fleet, unsuspicious and ignorant of the atrocities which had been committed at Bona; that fleet, on its arrival in England, was necessarily disbanded, and another, with proportionate resources, created and equipped; and, although impeded in its progress by calms and adverse winds, has poured the vengeance of an insulted nation, in chastising the cruelties of a ferocious government, with a promptitude beyond example, and highly honourable to the national character, eager to resent oppression or cruelty, whenever practised upon those under their protection.

Would to God that, in the attainment of this object, I had not deeply to lament the severe loss of so many gallant officers and men! they have profusely bled in a contest which has been peculiarly marked by proofs of such devoted heroism as would rouse every noble feeling, did I dare indulge in relating them.

Their lordships will already have been informed, by his Majesty's sloop Jasper, of my proceedings up to the 14th instant, on which day I broke ground from Gibraltar, after a vexatious detention, by a foul wind, of four days.

The fleet, complete in all its points, with the addition of five gun-boats fitted at Gibraltar, departed in the highest spirits, and with the most favourable prospect of reaching the port of their destination in three days; but an adverse wind destroyed the expectation of an early arrival, which was the more anxiously looked for by myself, in consequence of hearing, the day I sailed from Gibraltar, that a large army had been assembled, and that very considerable additional works were throwing up, not only on both flanks of the city, but also immediately about the entrance of the mole. From this I was apprehensive that my intention of making that point my principal object of attack had been discovered to the Dey by the same means he had heard of the expedition. This intelligence was, on the following night, greatly confirmed by the Prometheus, which I had despatched to Algiers some time before, to endeavour to get away the consul. Captain Dashwood had with difficulty succeeded in bringing away, disguised in midshipman's uniform, his wife and daughter, leaving a boat to bring off their infant child, coming down in a basket with the surgeon, who thought he had composed it, but it unhappily cried in the gateway, and, in consequence, the surgeon, three midshipmen, in all 18 persons, were seized and confined as slaves in the usual dungeons. The child was sent off the next morning by the Dey, and, as a solitary instance of his humanity, it ought to be recorded by me.

Captain Dashwood further confirmed, that about 40,000 had been brought down from the interior, and all the Janissaries called in from distant garrisons, and that they were indefatigably employed in their batteries, gun-boats, &c., and everywhere strengthening the sea-defences.



THE MARQUESS SERJEANTSON WELLESLEY K.C.B.

The Dey informed Captain Dashwood, he knew perfectly well the armament was destined for Algiers, and asked him if it was true; he replied, if he had such information, he knew as much as he did, and probably from the same source—the public prints.

The ships were all in port, and between 40 and 50 gun and mortar-boats ready, with several more in forward repair. The Dey had closely confined the consul, and refused either to give him up or promise his personal safety: nor would he hear a word respecting the officers and men seized in the boats of the Prometheus.

From the continuance of adverse winds and calms, the land to the westward of Algiers was not made before the 26th, and the next morning at daybreak the fleet was advanced in sight of the city, though not so near as I had intended. As the ships were becalmed, I embraced this opportunity of despatching a boat under cover of the Severn, with a flag of truce, and the demands I had to make, in the name of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on the Dey of Algiers (of which the accompanying are copies), directing the officer to wait two or three hours for the Dey's answer, at which time, if no reply was sent, he was to return to the flag-ship. He was met near the mole by the captain of the port, who, on being told the answer was expected in one hour, replied, that it was impossible: the officer then said he would wait two or three hours; he then observed two hours was quite sufficient.

The fleet at this time, by the springing up of the sea-breeze, had reached the bay, and were preparing the boats and flotilla for service until near two o'clock; when, observing my officer was returning with the signal flying that no answer had been received, after a delay of upwards of three hours, I instantly made the signal to know if the ships were all ready, which being answered in the affirmative, the Queen Charlotte bore up, followed by the fleet, for their appointed stations; the flag, led in the prescribed order, was anchored in the entrance of the mole, at about 50 yards' distance. At this moment not a gun had been fired, and I began to suspect a full compliance with the terms which had been so many hours in their hands. At this period of profound silence, a shot was fired at us from the mole, and two at the ships to the northward then following; this was promptly returned by the Queen Charlotte, who was then lashing-to the main-mast of a brig fast to the shore in the mouth of the mole, and which we had steered for as the guide to our position.

Thus commenced a fire as animated and well supported as, I believe, was ever witnessed, from a quarter before three until nine, without intermission, and which did not cease altogether until half-past 11.

The ships immediately following me were admirably and coolly taking their stations, with a precision even beyond my most sanguine hope; and never did the British flag receive, on any occasion, more zealous and honourable support. To look further on the line than immediately around me was perfectly impossible, but so well grounded was my confidence in the gallant officers I had the honour to command, that my mind was left perfectly free to attend to other

objects, and I knew them in their stations only by the destructive effect of their fire upon the walls and batteries to which they were opposed.

I had about this time the satisfaction of seeing Vice-admiral Van Capellan's flag in the station I had assigned to him, and soon after, at intervals, the remainder of his frigates keeping up a well supported fire on the flanking batteries he had offered to cover us from, as it had not been in my power, for want of room, to bring him in front of the mole.

About sunset I received a message from Rear-admiral Milne, conveying to me the severe loss the Impregnable was sustaining, having then 150 killed and wounded, and requesting I would, if possible, send him a frigate to divert some of the fire he was under.

The Glasgow, near me, immediately weighed, but the wind had been driven away by the cannonade, and she was obliged to anchor again, having obtained rather a better position than before.

I had, at this time, sent orders to the explosion-vessel, under the charge of Lieutenant Fleming and Mr. Parker, by Captain Reade, of the engineers, to bring her into the mole; but the rear-admiral having thought she would do him essential service, if exploded under the battery in his front, I sent orders to this vessel to that effect, which were executed. I desired, also, the rear-admiral might be informed, that many of the ships being now in flames, and certain of the destruction of the whole, I considered I had executed the most important part of my instructions, and should make every preparation for withdrawing the ships, and desired he would do so as soon as possible with his division.

There were awful moments during the conflict which I cannot now attempt to describe, occasioned by firing the ships so near us, and I had long resisted the eager entreaties of several around me, to make the attempt upon the outer frigate, distant about 100 yards, which at length I gave into; and Major Gossett, by my side, who had been eager to land his corps of miners, pressed me most anxiously for permission to accompany Lieutenant Richards in this ship's barge. The frigate was instantly boarded, and in 10 minutes in a perfect blaze; a gallant young midshipman, in rocket-boat No. 8, although forbidden, was led by his ardent spirit to follow in support of the barge, in which he was desperately wounded, his brother officer killed, and nine of his crew. The barge, by rowing more rapidly, had suffered less, and lost but two.

The enemy's batteries around my division were about 10 o'clock silenced, and in a state of perfect ruin and dilapidation, and the fire of the ships was reserved as much as possible, to save powder, and reply to a few guns now and then bearing upon us, although a fort on the upper angle of the city, on which our guns could not be brought to bear, continued to annoy the ships by shot and shells during the whole time.

Providence at this interval gave to my anxious wishes the usual land wind, common in this bay, and my expectations were completed. We were all hands employed, warping and towing off, and

by the help of the light air the whole were under sail, and came to anchor out of reach of shells, about two in the morning, after 12 hours' incessant labour.

The flotilla of mortar, gun, and rocket-boats, under the direction of their respective artillery officers, shared, to the full extent of their power, in the honours of this day, and performed good service; it was by their fire all the ships in the port (with the exception of the outer frigate) were in flames, which extended rapidly over the whole arsenal, store-houses, and gun-boats, exhibiting a spectacle of awful grandeur and interest no pen can describe.

His lordship concludes his letter by a handsome eulogium on the conduct of the rear-admiral, captains, officers, and men under his command. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was said by his lordship to have amounted to between 6,000 and 7,000 men.

This action was remarkable for the effective support afforded by a Dutch squadron under Vice-admiral Capellan to that of Great Britain, and never were the two flags more cordially united, or engaged in a more glorious cause. The manner in which the Dutch admiral took up his position was gallant and seamanlike in the extreme. Captain Frederick Thomas Mitchell, then a lieutenant with Lord Exmouth, was sent on board the Melampus with a message to Admiral Van Capellan from his lordship, and was a witness of his gallant conduct at the moment of severe conflict with the batteries.

On the following morning Captain Thomas was sent by Lord Exmouth to thank the wounded Captain (now Rear-admiral Sir Charles) Ekins, for the noble support he had given his flag in the action of the preceding day.

A general Abstract of the Killed and Wounded in the Squadron under Admiral Lord Exmouth's command, in the Attack of Algiers, the 27th of August, 1816.

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Killed.*	*Wounded.*	*Commanders.*
Queen Charlotte	110	8	131	Adm. Lord Exmouth, G.C.B. Captain J. Brisbane, C.B.
Impregnable	98	50	160	Rear-admiral Milne. Captain Edw. Brace, C.B.
Superb	74	8	84	Captain Charles Ekins.
Minden	74	7	37	William Paterson.
Albion	74	3	15	John Coode.
Leander	50	17	118	Edward Cheetham, C.B.
Severn	44	3	34	Hon. T. W. Aylmer.
Glasgow	44	10	37	Hon. A. Maitland.
Granicus	36	16	42	W. F. Wise.

Ships.	Guns.	Killed.	Wounded.	Commanders.
Hebrus	36	4	15	Edward Palmer, C.B.
Heron	16	—	—	George Bentham.
Mutine	18	—	—	James Mould.
Prometheus . . .	16	—	—	W. B. Dashwood.
Cordelia.	10	—	—	W. Sargent.
Britomart	19	—	—	R. Riddell.
Belzebub . . .	bomb	—	—	William Kempthorne.
Infernal. . . .	do.	2	17	Hon. G. J. Perceval.
Hecla	do.	—	—	W. Popham.
Fury	do.	—	—	C. R. Moorsom.
Total . .	128	690		

Dutch Squadron.

Ships.	Killed.	Wounded.	Commanders.
Melampus	3	15	Vice-admiral Baron Van Capellan, Captain De Muir.
Frederica	—	5	——— Vander Straten.
Dageraad	—	4	——— Polders.
Diana.	6	22	——— Zervogel.
Amstel	4	6	——— Vander Hart.
Eendracht	—	—	——— Wardenburgh.
Total . . .	13	52	
British squadron	128	690	
	141	742	Grand Total, 883.

Flotilla.

5 gun-boats.
10 mortar-boats, launches.
8 rocket-boats, flats.
32 gun-boats, barges, and yawls.

55

The whole commanded by Captain F. T. Mitchell, assisted by Lieutenant John Davies, of the Queen Charlotte, and Lieutenant Thomas Revans, flag-lieutenant to Rear-admiral Milne.

Memorandum of the Destruction in the Mole of Algiers, in the Attack of the 27th of August, 1816.

4 large frigates, of 44 guns.
5 large corvettes, from 34 to 30 guns.
All the gun and mortar-boats, except seven; 30 destroyed.
Several merchant-ships and schooners.
A great number of small vessels of various descriptions.

All the pontoons, lighters, &c.

Store-houses and arsenal, with all the timber and various marine articles, destroyed in part.

A great many gun-carriages, mortar-beds, casks, and ship stores of all descriptions.

LETTER TO THE DEY OF ALGIERS.

H. B. M. Ship Queen Charlotte, Algiers Bay,
August 28, 1816.

SIR,

For your atrocities at Bona on defenceless Christians, and your unbecoming disregard to the demands I made yesterday, in the name of the Prince Regent of England, the fleet under my orders has given you a signal chastisement, by the total destruction of your navy, storehouses, and arsenal, with half your batteries.

As England does not war for the destruction of cities, I am unwilling to visit your personal cruelties upon the inoffensive inhabitants of the country, and I therefore offer you the same terms of peace which I conveyed to you yesterday in my sovereign's name: without the acceptance of these terms you can have no peace with England.

If you receive this offer as you ought, you will fire three guns, and I shall consider your not making this signal as a refusal, and shall renew my operations at my own convenience.

I offer you the above terms, provided neither the British consul, nor the officers and men so wickedly seized by you from the boats of a British ship of war, have met with any cruel treatment, or any of the Christian slaves in your power; and I repeat my demand, that the consul, and officers, and men, may be sent off to me, conformably to ancient treaties. I have, &c.,

EXMOUTH.

To his Highness the Dey of Algiers.

Queen Charlotte, Algiers Bay, Aug. 30, 1816.

GENERAL MEMORANDUM.

The commander-in-chief is happy to inform the fleet of the final termination of their strenuous exertions, by the signature of peace, confirmed under a salute of 21 guns, on the following conditions, dictated by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of England:—

I. The abolition, for ever, of Christian slavery.

II. The delivery, to my flag, of all slaves in the dominions of the Dey, to whatever nation they may belong, at noon to-morrow.

III. To deliver, also, to my flag, all money received by him for the redemption of slaves since the commencement of this year, at noon, also, to-morrow.

IV. Reparation has been made to the British consul for all losses he may have sustained in consequence of his confinement.

V. The Dey has made a public apology, in presence of his ministers and officers, and begged pardon of the consul, in terms dictated by the captain of the Queen Charlotte.

The commander-in-chief takes this opportunity of again returning his public thanks to the admirals, captains, officers, seamen, marines, royal marine artillery, royal sappers and miners, and the royal rocket corps, for the noble support he has received from them throughout the whole of this arduous service, and he is pleased to direct, that on Sunday next a public thanksgiving be offered up to Almighty God for the signal interposition of his Divine Providence, during the conflict which took place on the 27th, between his Majesty's fleet and the ferocious enemies of mankind.

It is requested that this memorandum may be read to the ships' companies.

To the Admirals, Captains, Officers, Seamen, Marines, Royal Sappers and Miners, Royal Marine Artillery, and the Royal Rocket Corps.

Queen Charlotte, Algiers Bay, Sept. 1, 1816.

SIR,

I have the honour to acquaint you, for their lordships' information, that I have sent Captain Brisbane, with my duplicate dispatches, as I am afraid that Admiral Milne, in the Leander, who has charge of the originals, may experience a long voyage, the wind having set in to the westward a few hours after he sailed.

Captain Brisbane, to whom I feel greatly indebted for his exertions and the able assistance I have received from him throughout the whole of this service, will be able to inform their Lordships upon all points that I may have omitted.

Admiral Sir Charles Penrose arrived too late to take his share in the attack upon Algiers, which I lament as much on his account as my own; his services would have been desirable in every respect.

I have the satisfaction to state, that all the slaves in the city of Algiers, and immediately in its vicinity, are embarked; as also 357,000 dollars for Naples, and 25,500 for Sardinia. The treaties will be signed to-morrow, and I hope to be able to sail in a day or two.

The Minden has sailed for Gibraltar to be refitted, and will proceed from thence to her ultimate destination (the East Indies).

The Albion will be refitted at Gibraltar for the reception of Sir Charles Penrose's flag. The Glasgow I shall be obliged to bring home with me. I have the honour, &c.,

EXMOUTH.

To John Wilson Croker, &c. &c. &c. Admiralty.

His Majesty's Government having, in 1816, determined to send an embassy to China, Lord Amherst sailed in the Alceste on the 9th of February of that year, accompanied by the Lyra. On the 11th of August his lordship landed at the mouth of the Pei-ho river, in the Yellow Sea, and, while he was employed on the duties assigned to him, Captain Maxwell pro-

ceeded to survey the adjacent coast and neighbouring islands, which had not been accurately laid down by geographers, nor described by circumnavigators. The history of the discoveries made in this short excursion has been given to the public by Captain Basil Hall, in a very able and interesting quarto volume, with maps and drawings executed in a very superior style, and published by Mr. Murray in 1818.

I shall refer my readers to that work for information, having spoken of it in a former edition more fully than my space will admit of doing here; but, as the voyage of the Alceste led to a very peculiar and noble display of British character, both in the contention with the Chinese and the defence of an island against the savages, when the frigate was unfortunately lost, I shall confine myself strictly to these two points.

On the 2d of November, as soon as the Alceste had anchored off the island of Lintin, the mandarins came on board and informed Captain Maxwell that the British Ambassador had been dismissed from the court of Pekin in disgrace: the Viceroy, it appears, was aware that the object of the embassy was directed, in a great measure, against the extortions and the oppression which our commerce laboured under, from the fraudulent practices of his subordinate officers. The General Hewit, an Indiaman, which had brought out the valuable presents from the King of England to the Emperor of China, was not permitted to load a cargo of teas, under the absurd pretence, that the space on board of her would be entirely occupied with the same presents, which, having been indignantly rejected, were to be conveyed back in her to England. The Alceste was refused permission to proceed higher up the river for the purpose of procuring refreshments, and it was insolently added, that a British merchant-ship must be held by the Chinese as a security for the good behaviour of the crew of the Alceste. Captain Maxwell desired them very quietly "not to repeat this part of their conversation, unless they wished to be thrown overboard," observing, that he would wait a reasonable time for a pass to proceed up the river, first, because his ship required repairs, and secondly, because the Lion, in 1791, with Lord Macartney on board, had been admitted to a place of security; and, as Captain Maxwell knew that the emperor had expressed his pleasure that the Alceste should be received in the same manner, he was determined to have his right, and, if a pass was not sent down in 48 hours, he should consider that leave was given.

The period expired, and no answer was received. The pilot who had been procured to conduct the ship up the river secretly absconded, observing, before his departure, that it was

dangerous to have any communication with the ship. The situation of Captain Maxwell was, at this time, one of the most difficult and delicate that could be conceived: the British Ambassador was in the power of these insolent and unbending people; the British frigate was kept by them in an open and exposed roadstead, in the winter season; the flag was insulted, and the common offices of hospitality were denied. Tame submission, he knew, would only increase their presumption —open violence would have endangered the life of Lord Amherst.

On the 12th of November, Captain Maxwell came to a determination to weigh and run up the river, which he did, as high as Mr. Mayne, the master of the Alceste, could carry him, anchoring off Lankleet flat for the night, and the next day, with the flood tide, he reached as high as the Bocca Tigris, or Tiger's Mouth (so the principal branch of the river of Canton is called). Dr. M'Leod says, it is about as wide as the Thames at London, but the banks are high, and were, at that time, guarded by fortifications supposed to be of immense strength, mounting 110 pieces of cannon, of different calibre, including those on the island of Wangtong, the whole within half gun-shot of each other, and garrisoned by 1,200 men.

As the Alceste silently advanced, with every thing prepared for a fight, the Chinese war-junks, to the number of 17 or 18, formed a line off Chumpee. These poor representatives of "battle ships" carry from four to eight guns, with a complement of from 60 to 80 men. It was five o'clock in the evening when an interpreter came on board from the mandarins, and desired that Captain Maxwell would anchor his ship, on pain of being sunk. The captain calmly observed, that he would first pass the batteries and then hang him (the messenger) at the yard-arm, for daring to bring so insolent a message to a British ship of war: his boat was then cut adrift, and himself handed down below to a place of security. The junks now began to fire blank cartridges, which the Alceste returned with three guns unshotted, affecting to consider it as a salute.

On the following day the frigate weighed and passed the junks. These got under weigh, and, when the Alceste had advanced as far as Chumpee, they, and the forts, began to fire on her with shot. Light and baffling airs at this moment compelled the Alceste to come to anchor; but, determined to convince them that he was not intimidated, the captain fired one gun shotted at the admiral. This gun he very honourably and considerately fired with his own hand, that, in the event of the Chinese Government demanding, as was their custom, the man that fired, *he* might place himself in the situation of re-

sponsibility, instead of letting the weight of their revenge fall on an innocent person, as had been done on a former occasion.

The scene that now ensued, considering with whom the British frigate had to contend, was one of unusual interest. Whether the shot from the Alceste silenced the junks and the forts, or whether they ceased firing from her having anchored, is uncertain. She lay quietly and unannoyed till eight o'clock at night, when, the wind permitting her to lay the course, she weighed, and ran still higher up the river: the junks observing this, beat their gongs, fired guns, and threw up rockets to give the alarm. "The batteries were instantly illuminated (says Doctor M'Leod) with lanterns as large as balloons," offering a fine mark for the great guns of the Alceste, which, as she passed along, was exposed to a heavy but ill-directed fire from both sides of the river. This she returned in a cool and deliberate manner, as fast as her guns could be brought to bear, with a light breeze majestically keeping on her steady and undeviating course. Coming at last within half pistol-shot of the angle of the heaviest battery, and just before they could get their guns to bear on the ship, the Alceste gave them a broadside from her long eighteens and her 32-pound carronades, which was heard to produce a very considerable dilapidation on the batteries. The lights disappeared as if by magic; the fort was silenced on one side, while the fire from the other, directed at the ship, missed its aim, and did execution on its opposite neighbour. After an hour's contest in this narrow channel, and for the first time that any European vessel had dared to direct a shot against the shore, the Alceste was permitted to ascend the river, and take up her anchorage, without having a man hurt, only two shot in her hull, and her rigging a little damaged. The confined space in which this action was fought, the high banks of the river, the calm surface of the water, the brilliancy of the fire, and the rapidity of its effect, produced a scene amounting to something sublime. The poor astonished Chinaman who had been sent below under a threat of execution, as soon as the frigate had passed the batteries, came trembling on deck, and, falling prostrate, kissed the feet of the captain, and begged for mercy, considering, very justly, that the execution of himself was a matter of very little importance, compared to the decisive step taken by Captain Maxwell. Tiger Island was passed in silence; not a gun was fired from thence; and the Alceste, at daylight, was at an anchor in a good berth, with the British colours flying, surrounded, though at a very respectful distance, by "the grand fleet of China." The number of natives

who lost their lives on this occasion was carefully concealed, though it was presumed that many suffered. Whether the transaction was communicated to the emperor, or not, is uncertain; no further insult was offered to the British flag. The news, at first, excited considerable alarm among the merchants at Canton, but their fears were relieved by the arrival of several tea-junks alongside the General Hewit, with permission for her to load her cargo immediately. It must be evident, from these facts, that the Chinese are by no means indifferent to the profits of their trade with England; and, it was subsequently proved, when our factory took their departure and struck the British flag, that the Chinese authorities became alarmed, and, entreating them to return, granted all their demands. We cannot, therefore, sufficiently execrate the cowardice of those captains, who gave up, on two occasions, innocent men to be murdered in cold blood by these people, because they had accidentally been the cause of the death of two of the natives.

The remonstrance of Captain Maxwell to the government of Canton, on the gross insult offered to our flag, produced nothing more than the usual subterfuges of falsehood and evasion: they said it was all a mistake; that the pass had been delayed or not received by the mandarins at the forts, and that these had therefore acted according to orders; but their gazette letter, in the course of a few days, made it a Chinese puzzle, by stating it to have been a "Chinchinning," or salute between the two flags! It was long after dark when the affair took place, and British ships never salute after sunset. Forty-seven men were reported to have been killed, and several others wounded, but the truth could never be ascertained, as a public edict forbade any man to talk on the subject: this the Chinese call "making face." The seasonable chastisement inflicted by Captain Maxwell, whether considered as a salute or an attack, answered every purpose of a decided victory, and the Viceroy, when the frigate advanced to Whampoa, congratulated the captain on his safe arrival, after having vainly used every means in his power to obstruct his passage.

The interview between Lord Amherst and the Viceroy having terminated in mutual distrust and coldness, his excellency re-embarked, and, proceeding down the river to Whampoa, was saluted by the Chinese junks in the most respectful manner. The same ceremony was repeated when the Alceste, having his lordship on board, passed the batteries of Chumpee.

The Alceste sailed from Macao on the 9th of January, 1817, on her homeward voyage. On the 9th of February she

weighed, and unfortunately parted company with her consort, the Lyra, which was sent with despatches to India. Passing through the Straits of Gaspar, and near the island of Pulo Leat, with the lead going on each side, and a vigilant look-out from the mast-head, the ship, at half-past seven in the morning of the 18th, "struck on a sunken reef of rocks, with a horrid crash, and remained immovable." From that moment it became evident that she was lost: the pumps were useless; she filled to the orlop-deck, and nothing remained to be done but to hoist out the boats and save the people, with as much provision as could be procured. The ambassador and suite were landed on the nearest part of the island, then about three miles and a half distant, while Captain Maxwell, with his officers and crew, remained on board to secure such supplies from the wreck as were necessary for their subsistence.

If Captain Maxwell was unfortunate in losing his ship, he acquired great honour by the fortitude, judgment, and good conduct displayed in the preservation of the lives of those intrusted to his care. The first consideration was to save the ambassador, with his suite. It was judged that a boat, with the assistance of the current, would reach Batavia in three days; and, as it was impossible for all the crew to be conveyed at one time in the ship's boats, it was thought advisable to send away a small part, with the hope of receiving more speedy and effectual assistance. Having performed this indispensable part of his duty, Captain Maxwell remained with his crew, to provide for their safety, and to share their misfortunes.

Lord Amherst was placed in the barge and attended by the cutter. The boats were commanded by Lieutenant Hoppner; Mr. Ellis, the secretary, with some other officers of the ship, and a strong guard of marines, accompanied his lordship: they had a very slender stock of provisions, and were particularly ill supplied with water, so much so, that the people were nearly exhausted with thirst and fatigue, when approaching the island of Java; but, at a considerable distance from the land, they accidentally discovered a stream of fresh water, running out between the two headlands which form the bay of Batavia. Mr. M'Leod, in speaking of this circumstance, which so providentially relieved the thirst of the sufferers in the boat, mentions the same discovery off the Rhone, as already referred to in this work. He adds, with great justice and propriety, that streams of fresh water are in like manner to be found in the neighbourhood of all great rivers. This very natural effect, produced by the most obvious causes, has never been sufficiently attended to by navigators: ships being short

of fresh water, might frequently get into a stream when they could not approach the land. Care should always be had to take it up from the surface, and at a short distance from the ship's side, to avoid the effects of the copper, or the dirt which might be thrown overboard. Since making the above remarks, I have heard of the abundance of fresh water flung out of the Bight of Benin, and now known to come from the Niger. Ships may water there at some distance from the land. I do not recollect the author from whom I quote this; but it was certainly a well-founded judgment, and verified afterwards by the intrepid and unfortunate Lander.

The honourable and seaman-like conduct of Captain Maxwell has been forcibly contrasted with that of the captain of the Méduse, placed under similar circumstances. It has ever been contrary to my plan to cast reflections, even on our enemies, unless some great proposition is to be established, or some useful lesson inculcated, likely to be conducive to the future benefit of the human race. The example set by Captain Maxwell is precisely that which should be followed by every British officer under similar circumstances. It was that conduct which, pursued by the immortal Riou, saved the crew of the Guardian, and it is that conduct which, I trust, will ever be pursued by all future commanders. The captain (unless an example is wanted to induce the men to quit the wreck) should be the last man on board, and he should preserve the discipline of his ship in the same manner as if she were at Spithead. By exposing his own person to greater risk and privation than those of his men, he will animate and cheer them to the performance of their labour, and be the means of preserving them from destruction. The want of attending to this duty, in the captain of the Méduse, produced a scene of horror from which we turn away with pain and disgust: the crew of the Méduse were sacrificed, not to the want of courage, but to the want of conduct, in their officers: not a man needed to have been lost, had they been kept on board the ship, and their efforts combined for the general good. Had the ship been commanded by Riou, Rowley, or Maxwell, the dreadful picture of the raft had never existed. Had these three officers sought their own safety, the fate of the crews of the Guardian, the Laurel, and the Alceste, would have been nearly the same as that of La Méduse.* The history of the exertions, the sufferings, and the persevering ingenuity of the captain and crew of the Alceste, are recommended to the young naval reader as well

* A French frigate, lost on the coast of Guinea, in the year 1817.

worthy of his serious attention. Few are at a loss to know how to act in presence of an enemy: that kind of courage is so common as to be almost negative; the want of it subjects the offender to shame or death: in cases of shipwreck, presence of mind, firmness, and a ready adoption of such resources as may be at hand, show the value of an officer, and often produce the most beneficial results. The history of the wreck of the Alceste and the defence of Pulo Leat is the realization of De Foe's fable of Robinson Crusoe: the preparation to receive the savages, husbanding the stores, digging wells, and raising fortifications, under the most trying privations, fill us with admiration, and show the true character of British seamen, in a light in which, through the course of this work, we have not had so good an opportunity of contemplating it. The burning of the Alceste by the Malays, on Saturday, the 22d of February, is an incident which deserves to be recorded.

"Two of the largest proas (says Mr. M'Leod) were now at work on the ship; but, on observing their comrades abandon the wreck, and the advance of our boats, they made sail away, having previously set fire to the ship, which they did so effectually, that the flames burst from every port, and she was soon enveloped in a cloud of smoke: the boats were unable to board her, and therefore returned.

"The ship continued burning during the whole of the night, and the flames, which could be seen through the openings of the trees, shed a melancholy glare around, and excited the most mournful ideas." But this conflagration, which the men had seen with so much despondency, turned out to be an interposition of Providence in their favour. The crew had been assembled on Sunday morning to Divine service, while the boats were sent in hopes of obtaining some articles of provision liberated from the hold of the ship by the burning of the decks and topsides. They returned just as the morning service was completed, and the officer announced that they had procured some flour, a few cases of wine, and a cask of beer: of this last article the captain ordered a pint to be issued to each man. The decree was answered with three hearty cheers: the poor fellows, perhaps, meant to express as much gratitude to Heaven as could be conveyed by any words of their own; and it was good-naturedly observed by the chaplain, that those who might be fastidious would please to recollect that they had never seen a congregation suffering the agony of thirst dismissed from the church-door in England with such a donation.

The contention between the barge and a Malay proa, and

the desperate conduct of the savages, are also very remarkable. On Wednesday, the 26th, at daylight, two of the pirate boats, with each a canoe astern, were discovered close in with the cove where the boats were moored. Lieutenant Hay, who had the guard that night, and of course slept in the boats, immediately dashed at them with the barge, cutter, and gig: the savages cut their canoes adrift and made all sail; they rather distanced the cutter and gig, but the barge gained on them. On closing, the Malays evinced every sign of defiance, placing themselves in the most threatening attitudes, and firing their swivels at the barge: this was returned by Mr. Hay with the only musket in the boat, and, as they closed nearer, the Malays commenced throwing their javelins and darts: several fell into the barge, but without doing any injury. Soon after they were grappled by our brave fellows. Three of the savages had been shot, a fourth was knocked down with the butt end of the musket, five threw themselves into the sea and were drowned, and two were taken prisoners, one of whom was desperately wounded. After having won the boat by this gallant enterprise, it was mortifying to lose her; but she sank as soon as she was taken. The consort of the proa escaped. The canoes were brought on shore, containing several articles of plunder from the ship: the proas appeared to be the two which set her on fire. The prisoners, one elderly, the other young, seemed to have no hope of being permitted to live, and sullenly awaited their fate; but, on the wounds of the younger one being dressed, the hands of the elder one untied, and food offered to them, with other marks of kindness, they became more cheerful, and were particularly gratified on seeing the bodies of their dead companions, which had been brought on shore, decently interred. Those who stupidly contend against the good effects of moral instruction and Christian education among the lower orders, would, perhaps, deny the superiority of Captain Maxwell, and his gallant associates, over the uncultivated barbarians whom they subdued and relieved. It would be impossible to do justice to the conduct of this forlorn band of heroes, without entering more deeply into the contents of the volume referred to than my limits will admit. I may be allowed to say, that the narrative is one of the most interesting that ever came from the pen of a sailor.

Lord Amherst having, by the care and assiduity of Captain Maxwell, been enabled to reach Batavia, with Lieutenant Cooke, Mr. Ellis, the secretary to the embassy, and Mr. Hoppner, these last two gentlemen, agreeably to a promise they had made at parting, returned to the assistance of their

shipmates, in the Ternate, one of the Company's cruisers, and pushed back to the island with the utmost diligence. Nothing, except the supply of provisions, could have been more providential than the arrival of this vessel, at the very time when famine threatened the garrison of the island (which in compliment to their leader they had named Fort Maxwell), and where upwards of 50 piratical proas had assembled to blockade, and threatened every hour to attack, them. The appearance of the Ternate, on the morning of the 3d of March, induced the barbarians to depart; and on the 7th Captain Maxwell, having embarked the whole of his crew, quitted the island, and was received on board the Company's vessel, commanded by Captain Davidson. How much more honour is often gained by misfortune than by success!

CHAPTER XXIV.

Mediterranean.—Decline of the Ottoman power—The Pasha of Egypt—Beys of Tripoli and Tunis agree to the proposals of Admiral Penrose—Army of occupation withdrawn from France—State of Spain and Portugal—Death of the King of Sweden—Accession of Bernadotte—Condition of Holland—Death of George III.—Holy Alliance—Abated efforts of Spain to regain her Colonies—Mutiny of the troops at Cadiz—State of Sicily—Naples—Policy of the Holy Alliance—Russia and the Porte—Death of Napoleon at St. Helena—Recall of the squadron from the Cape of Good Hope—Coronation of his Majesty King George IV.—Death of Queen Caroline—The King goes to Dublin—Returns to his capital, and visits his continental dominions—State of Hayti—Death of Christophe—Boyer assumes the sovereignty of the island of Hayti—Progress of war westward—South America—West Indies—Insurrection of the Negroes at Barbadoes—Alarm for Jamaica—Piracy—Gallant conduct of Captains Walcott and Roberts in the capture of the Zuragozana—War with Algiers renewed—Capture of the Tripoli by the Cameleon—Sir Harry Neale brings the Bey to terms—Peace again made.

The Mediterranean, in a moral, religious and political point of view, may be considered as the centre of the world, the cradle of arts, sciences, and literature. The eyes of Europe, Asia and Africa are constantly fixed on it. The Catholic, the Protestant and the Mahometan, all trace the foundation of their creeds from its eastern extremity. In latter ages, the polished nations on its shores have been held in subjection by the temporal power of the Popes; but the Court of Rome has had its day, and Papal bulls and anathemas are now unknown or disregarded.

The banner of Mahomet, which waved from the Thracian Bosphorus to the confines of China, and, westward, far beyond the modern discovery of the mouth of the Niger, seems to have passed the zenith of its glory. The Beys of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli,—after tyrannizing for ages over European commerce, living on plunder, and holding Christian captives in the most shameful slavery,—have been chastised by Britain, and finally subjugated by France.

The Turks, after holding possession of Constantinople for nearly 400 years, are both wavering in their faith and receding from the gigantic power of Russia; while Greece, their tribu-

tary state, is torn from them, and erected into a separate, if not an independent, kingdom.

The British navy, contrary to the wishes of its government and people, has been instrumental, by an irresistible destiny, in humbling the Ottoman flag. The Pasha of Egypt, so long the tributary of the sublime Porte, has shaken off the yoke; and the armies of Russia, penetrating through the defiles of Mount Caucasus, threaten the ancient institutions of Persia. Thus, in every direction, has the crescent of Mahomet been trampled under foot by princes who, although not always acting in concert, seem to be impelled by an invisible power towards the same end. The crisis, it must be admitted, is awful, and sinks all other earthly considerations into the most perfect insignificance.

On the 7th of November, 1816, Rear-admiral Penrose officially informed the British consuls within the limits of his command, that, in consequence of the victory obtained by Lord Exmouth at Algiers, the Beys of Tripoli and Tunis had acceded to the proposals made to them, and that not a Christian remained in Barbary against his consent; and the rear-admiral had had the satisfaction of sending 83 Roman subjects to Cività Vecchia.

In 1818, the army of occupation, which, by the treaty concluded with the Allies in 1815, was stationed in various frontier towns of France at the expense of that kingdom, was withdrawn by the consent of the parties to the treaty; and it was hoped that the severe lesson taught by the Revolution had not been lost either on the King or the French people.

In Spain, the long reign of bigotry and ignorance has produced its necessary fruits; and the continued disorganized state of the country gives rise to the most gloomy anticipations for the future. Such are the results of a political and ecclesiastical system, that reached its maturity in the feeble reigns of Charles IV. and his little less unworthy son Ferdinand VII. Spain, which once lent its assistance to the British colonies of North America to throw off the yoke of its parent state, has now, by the same natural reaction, lost her own. It is true she has her islands both in the East and West Indies, but her continental dominions in the New World are torn from her for ever.

An expedition was assembled in the harbour of Cadiz, by the Spanish government, for the purpose of regaining the revolted colonies in South America, but want of money to pay the troops, and other causes, gave rise to a mutiny among them. Spain, having no ships of her own to send out, borrowed or bought some from Russia, which, however, proved to be unfit for sea; the soldiers and sailors refused to embark in

them; and this put an end to the expedition. Elio, the governor of Valencia, in his endeavours to stifle the popular feeling that began to appear in the south, committed crimes shocking to humanity, and for which he soon after atoned with his life.

Portugal was hardly in a better condition than Spain. The provinces which she possessed in Brazil came to a friendly separation, and are governed by a member of the same family.

The King of Sweden died on the 5th of February, the last of his race. He was succeeded by Charles John (Bernadotte), the fortunate general of Bonaparte.

Holland, though feeble from the effects of the persecutions and conscriptions of the French, was regaining strength. United with Belgium, and put in possession of the colonies which had been wrested from her by England, and restored by an act of generosity, she began to revive; and, though she never could have been a great maritime power, she might, under the guarantee of Russia and Prussia, have been always opulent, respectable, and happy, but she has not proved so.

On the year 1819 we have nothing to remark, except discoveries, of which we shall speak hereafter.

On the 29th of January, 1820, his Majesty, King George III., expired at Windsor, in the 82d year of his age, and the 60th of his reign.

The political movements of the members of the Holy Alliance at Laybach, with reference to the revolutions in Spain, Portugal, and Naples, were watched with the most unceasing interest by the people of England, both in and out of parliament, and it is probable that on no subject did the whole country, from the king to the lowest of his subjects, ever feel more perfectly unanimous, than in their distrust of the motives of the members of that unnatural confederacy. We had not fought against liberty: for the 22 years that we were in arms, we wished all the nations of the earth the same freedom which we ourselves enjoyed: and we hailed with joy the dawn of their emancipation from oppression. Our squadron, it is true, cruised in the bay of Naples, and the Vengeur, a British ship of the line, conveyed Ferdinand to Leghorn, on his way to Laybach, at the invitation of the Allied Monarchs, but this was all; and the British government declared its decided neutrality, unless Austria and Prussia should have sought to aggrandize themselves at the expense of the disturbed countries. The Austrian army found no obstruction on its way to Naples, which city it entered early in the year, and re-established the royal authority.

A new expedition was planned by the Spanish government,

to regain her transatlantic colonies. This, likewise, proved a failure. Fever and the plague carried off the greater part of the troops: the remainder were, afterwards, reorganized and strengthened by fresh levies to the extent, altogether, of 16,000 men, when another mutiny, more alarming and better organized than that of the preceding summer, very nearly overturned the Spanish monarchy. This great movement was chiefly planned and executed by the Colonels Riego and Quiroga. On the 1st of January, 1820, these officers proclaimed the Constitution of 1812, as adopted by the Cortes. Corunna, Vigo, Ferrol, and Pontevedra, where military were stationed, followed the example. Abisbal himself joined the supporters of the Constitution; and Ferdinand was forced to submit to the will of the army, because he had refused to ratify the promises which he had made on his restoration to freedom. Portugal followed the example of Spain, and the whole Peninsula was in arms for a like object,—a representative government.

The beautiful and fruitful island of Sicily, under the influence and protection of Great Britain, had shown the most pleasing symptoms of a renovated vigour; and the form of a British constitution had been established there, under the able superintendence of Lord William Bentinck. Its total failure was ably accounted for by his lordship in the House of Commons, on the 19th of January, and adds one more instance of the often repeated axiom, that the British constitution will only flourish on the British soil, or in British colonies.

In the year 1820 the city of Constantinople and the whole of Turkey exhibited the most alarming symptoms of internal commotion, and, while the government displayed the greatest weakness of council, Ali Pasha, of Albania, a daring leader, defied the armies and the authority of the Sultan, and, though defeated and compelled to retreat, long held out with an obstinacy peculiar to the Albanian race. He shut himself up in the fortress of Janina, where the Turks blockaded him, but were obliged, at the end of the year, to raise the siege, and Ali again took the field with another army. Serious discussions commenced about the same time between Russia and the Porte, on the old subject of Moldavia and Wallachia. Great disorders ensued in Constantinople, where the Russian ambassador, Count Strogonoff, was insulted by the mob and the Janissaries.

The naval establishment at St. Helena, for the safe custody of Bonaparte, had long, and we think unjustly, been complained of, as an intolerable expense to the country. Economy is no doubt desirable in a state; but it is possible to carry it too far, and this Great Britain will no doubt find, should she

reduce her naval forces in peace to so low an ebb as to destroy their elasticity, and prevent their rising when the emergencies of war call for their services. The custody of Bonaparte, it was triumphantly stated by the advocates for economy and reform, cost us £400,000 per annum: true; but this money, "though cast upon the waters," was not thrown away. An active squadron between the Cape of Good Hope and St. Helena gave employment to between 2,000 and 3,000 officers and men; rendered them expert in their profession; and, being all volunteers, they were available to any service that might have occurred. The flag of a rear-admiral was flying on the station, in a ship of the line, and a strong squadron of frigates and sloops of war kept a constant watch round the island, and held frequent communication with the Cape of Good Hope and with England. The burden, however, of supporting this expense, was effectually removed from us by an unexpected event. Napoleon, from long inactivity, and a want of that stimulus to action which had been the employment of his early life, added to a deep sense of the privation of liberty under which he laboured, had contracted a disease which he seems to have had no wish to conquer, and which, on the 5th of May, terminated his earthly career. As the enemy of this disturber of the human race, I have ever held him up as a bold, bad man. The sufferings which he inflicted on mankind were dreadful, and, when it is remembered that his object was the gratification of his selfish ambition, I cannot easily forgive him, nor can I think these evils counterbalanced by any benefit he was enabled to confer on his country. Of his detention at St. Helena much has been written, and much contradictory evidence given, by men, too, of honour: but this I may say, that it is proved that he was well treated by Sir George Cockburn, Sir Pulteney Malcolm, Admiral Plampin, and Admiral Lambert. Of the military part of his guardianship I can say nothing. The safety of Europe required that he should be debarred from holding any communication with his friends, and the order was complied with to the letter; but what was this privation compared to the sufferings of the unhappy English, treacherously detained by him in the time of peace, and sent to Verdun? It was quite impossible to be sufficiently guarded against the spirit of intrigue which pervaded the residence at Longwood. Equally impossible was it to remove unreasonable grounds of complaint: no supplies were sufficient for the table; no vigilance could guard the avenues to secret intelligence. The situation both of the governor and the admiral was one of extreme anxiety; and, perhaps, no man who did his duty could have obtained the approbation of Napoleon Bonaparte.

The pretended tears and affectation of grief so pompously displayed by many of his attendants should be looked at with caution: facts were communicated to me by a captain of a frigate on the station, which convinced me that little was felt by his followers, whatever might have been said, on the subject of the death of Napoleon.

Preparations, I have been given to understand, were made for leaving him previously to his decease, by some who affected the most unbounded attachment to his person, and the most inconceivable grief for his loss. Ill-humour and discontent were visible in the countenances of many; and it is more than doubtful whether the death of Napoleon was not an event which they secretly rejoiced at, as the only means of ending their exile and captivity. A fact occurred at the opening of his body which I will not now relate, but it would convince any but the most sceptical that inordinate grief at least formed no part of their feelings.

Considering the great part he had played in Europe, it was wonderful how little sensation was felt at his sudden death. In England, the economist looked only to the saving of money by the paying off the ships and the recall of the troops; in France, the Ultras had long ceased to fear, and the Republicans to hope, any thing from him. His departure was therefore regarded with indifference by both parties.

As soon as the news of his death reached England, orders were given to recall the squadron from the St. Helena and Cape stations. At the latter the dockyard had been supplied with stores for the use of the shipping. The commissioner was recalled, and the establishment reduced to a storekeeper and a master attendant.

Conversant as I have been for many years with the various political opinions of men, I have never been able to discover how the friends of England and of liberty could approve the public character of Bonaparte. That kindness shown to an individual may have softened the sentence which public duty would pronounce, I admit; but that Bonaparte, after all his public acts, should have found admirers among the patriots of this happy land, is an enigma which can only be solved by supposing that patriotism sometimes means no more than opposition to "the powers that be."

The coronation of his Majesty King George IV. took place on the 19th of July, 1821, and the death of Queen Caroline on the 7th of August following. His Majesty received the news of this latter event when on board the royal yacht, at Holyhead, on his way to Ireland, whence he returned to London on the 16th of September. On the 24th, though so late in the year,

the King set off to visit his electoral dominions of Hanover. His Majesty landed at Calais, and proceeded to Brussels; thence to Hanover, where he was received, as he had been in France, with respect and admiration, as the monarch of a free and happy people.

We must now look back to the island of St. Domingo, which had not, after years of massacres and conflagration, succeeded in obtaining a government sufficiently strong to protect its people from violence, and secure their domestic happiness. Christophe, a cruel and merciless tyrant, had long held the supreme power, but, on the 5th of October, 1821, his troops revolted. Expecting no more mercy than he had shown to others, he escaped from the designs of his enemies only by a voluntary death.

Boyer, the mulatto chief, who had long been the rival of Christophe, no sooner heard of his decease, than he entered his territories with an army of 20,000 men, and, after a very trifling resistance, took the city of Cape François, the seat of the old government. He was received with real or affected joy by all, since none had the power of opposing him, and a new dynasty sprang up in St. Domingo, where civil wars and famine had diminished the population to about one-sixth of what it was in 1792. From the best information we have been able to obtain, the island had, in 1822, little more than 80,000 people: at the commencement of the unhappy revolution, Mr. Bryant Edwards estimated the number at half a million.

War, with all its accompanying horrors, seemed to have taken a western course, and, after having, for a long succession of years, afflicted the old world, it crossed the Atlantic, and ravaged the new. South America, from Buenos Ayres to Maracaibo, felt the scourge: Chili and Peru were drenched in the blood of their people. Lord Cochrane, who had been displaced from the list of British naval officers,* offered his services to the Chilian government: he was gladly received, and, having equipped a small squadron, defeated that of Spain, and declared the provinces which still held their allegiance in a state of blockade. This district contained the whole coast of Peru, from the 2d to the 21st degree of south latitude. A British squadron was kept constantly in the Southern Pacific Ocean, to watch the movements of the hostile navies, and protect British commerce. Commodore Bowles was succeeded by Sir Thomas Hardy, and both these officers, having a very difficult task to perform, obtained the objects for which they were sent,

* His lordsl ip has since been restored to his rank, and placed on the list as a rear-admiral of the blue, by order of his Majesty King William IV.

without compromising the interests of their country. Five or six British naval officers having entered the Chilian service, contrary to the king's proclamation, and in direct disobedience to the orders of the Admiralty, were struck off the list.

The landing of Sir Home Popham at Buenos Ayres, and of Miranda at Venezuela, laid the foundation of those events, which, after a civil war of 30 years, are not yet concluded. Bolivar, the South American Washington, took upon him to establish the liberty of his country, and succeeded; but whether the southern continent of the new world is capable of forming a rational and free government, like the people of the north, is a question on which I have very considerable doubts. The ignorance of the Spaniards in the mother country almost amounts to a proverb: those of the new world are ten times worse. No sources of information were open to these people, save what the Inquisition or the priests may have thought proper to admit. The revolution of the southern hemisphere was, in consequence, marked with more blood and greater horrors, in proportion as the people were more removed from civilization. Their famous declaration of independence was published at Buenos Ayres on the 19th of July, 1816. By this instrument, Spanish America was declared to be for ever free and independent of Ferdinand VII. and his successors.

At this crisis, Barbadoes, the seat of the Leeward Island government, experienced a temporary revolt among the slaves, during the absence of Lieutenant-general Sir James Leith on the expedition to Guadaloupe. It is remarkable that this officer returned to Barbadoes in a French vessel; but before his arrival tranquillity was restored, after 20 estates had been laid waste by fire, and 900 slaves killed or wounded, besides many prisoners taken. It must be observed that the insurrection was not general, though the effects on the planters were most destructive; and, as the fate of the other islands appeared to depend on the issue of the conflict at Barbadoes, its progress was watched with the utmost solicitude, and Jamaica trembled for its existence.

In suppressing the piracies in the West Indies, some of my junior brother officers under the command of Sir Charles Rowley, on the Jamaica station in 1823, gave proofs of high skill and gallantry.

Commander John Edward Walcott, C.B., who commanded his Majesty's sloop the Tyne, and Commander J. W. Roberts, in his Majesty's sloop the Thracian, were sent down to the coast of Cuba by the admiral, with orders to extirpate that horde of mongrel savages, the offscourings and outcasts of almost all the nations of the earth, bloodthirsty, reckless of

life, cruel, and inexorable. After searching all the intricacies of 400 miles of coast on the island of Cuba, Captain Walcott heard of a piratical schooner cruizing off the east end. He learned that this vessel resorted to a contiguous harbour, where the inhabitant settlers not only supplied their wants, but received from them, either in barter or purchase, the plunder which they obtained at sea.

In the harbour of Nerango, Captain Walcott discovered one horde of plunder, consisting of no less than 1,100 casks of wine which these villains had taken out of the vessels which had unfortunately fallen into their hands. Captain Walcott had no hesitation in seizing the whole of this, and bringing it away with him to Port Royal, where it was legally condemned and sold for £6,000, £4,000 of which, however, went to pay government and colonial duties.

Captain Walcott obtained correct information of the force and position of his enemy,—that it was a schooner manned chiefly with Spaniards, upwards of 80 in number, having a long 18-pounder on a swivel, four long nine-pounders, and eight swivels, and commanded by one of the most desperate villains that ever disgraced a ship, named Coyatano Arogonez. This monster and his crew had taken an oath never to spare the life of an Englishman, and to blow themselves into the air rather than submit, after which they took a poor black man whom they had made prisoner, a native of Jamaica, suspended him at the spritsail yard, and, for 20 minutes, amused themselves in firing at him with musketry, purposely delaying the mortal blow, that they might glut their eyes with his torture: but the hour of retribution drew nigh. On the 31st of March, 1823, Captain Walcott, in the Tyne, with his friend, Captain Roberts, in the Thracian, in company, saw their long sought enemy, who, notwithstanding their disguise as merchant-vessels, soon discovered their real character, and fled, taking refuge in a small harbour, where he moored his vessel head and stern, commanding the entrance with his broadside. It falling calm, the sloops of war hoisted their boats out, manned and armed them with two carronades, and boldly pulled in to the attack, notwithstanding the fire of the vessel, as well as that from a party placed in a thicket on the shore close to the schooner, with the black flag at her mast head. This fire our gallant fellows sustained for three-quarters of an hour, while the carronades from the pinnaces did considerable execution; but this warfare was not close enough for a speedy decision of the affair. The word was given to board, and answered with three cheers from all hands in the boats. The pirates, panic-struck with such determination, quitted their guns and threw them-

selves into the sea: 28 of them, including the captain, were secured, and hanged at Port Royal; 10 were killed on board, and 15 wounded, and 16, escaping into the woods, were afterwards taken by the troops sent against them by the Governor of Boracoa, and were given up to the vengeance of the laws. The boats of the sloops had two killed, one mortally wounded, and four severely.

The name of the vessel was the Zarogozana, manned and armed as before stated. Both the British commanders were made post; the senior midshipman, Mr. Henry Shapland, was made a lieutenant, and Mr. Ball, the acting master of the Tyne, confirmed in his rank. This was one of the most brilliant actions in boat-service I ever remember; it took place at noonday in the harbour of Mata.

The Dey of Algiers, that constant torment to European commerce in the Mediterranean, had, after seven years of good behaviour, forgotten the chastisement inflicted on him by the noble Exmouth, and dared again to insult the British flag in the person of Mr. M'Donald, the English consul.

In 1823, Captain the Honourable Robert Spencer, who at that time commanded the Naiad of 36 guns, with the Cameleon, sloop of war, under his orders, was sent to demand satisfaction; on his arrival he found two Spanish vessels in the mole, recently captured by an Algerine corvette named the Tripoli; and the crews being at that very time in slavery, the British officer made their liberation one of the express objects of his mission. A delay of four days having occurred without any answer being returned, Captain Spencer, by stratagem, got the consul and his family on board, together with all the English residents, and weighed on the 31st of January from the bay with the Cameleon. At this moment, the Tripoli, which had captured the two Spanish vessels, was seen under the land running for the mole. The Cameleon instantly laid her on board, when Lieutenant Bagwell with a party of men jumped on her decks, killed seven, and wounded 12 of her men; drove the remainder below and secured their prize. She had 18 guns, 100 men; and 17 Spaniards were found on board her who were rescued from slavery. War was again declared against these pirates, and Sir Harry Neale, the commander-in-chief on the station, was sent to avenge the wrongs of insulted Europe, but the Dey who had succeeded Omar Bashaw, the opponent of Lord Exmouth, had not the same inclination for fighting. The treaty was, therefore, very soon renewed, and an engagement entered into, that, under no circumstance of war, in future, should any Christians be made slaves.

CHAPTER XXV.

Napaul war—Pirates of the Persian Gulf—Burmese war—Its origin—Steam-boats on the Irrawaddy—Capture of the Burmese war-boats—Sickness among the troops and seamen—Fire-rafts sent down by the natives—Defeat of the Burmese—Names of ships of war employed on this service—Singular dexterity of the naval officers in avoiding the fire-rafts—Their nature and construction—Death of Commodore Grant—The enemy defeated at the Puzzendown Creek—Bandoola defeated by Sir Archibald Campbell—The Sophie protecting Kemmendine, Bandoola retreats to Donabew—The attack on the outworks of Donabew fails—Death of Bandoola—Donabew taken by assault—Army marches on Prome—Capture of war boats, and release of 3,000 laden canoes—Bassan taken by Captain Marryat—Sir James Brisbane arrives and takes the naval command—Proposals for peace made by the enemy—Death of Captain Alexander in the Alligator—Captain Chads promoted—Defeat of the Burmese at Napadee—Second proposals for peace—Death of Sir James Brisbane—Melloone taken—Third offer of terms from the Court of Ava—A new general, called "The King of Hell," sent by the King of Ava—Defeated by the British forces—Conclusion of a treaty of peace.

The Napaul war had given activity to our troops in the northern part of India, where Lord Amherst was governor-general: but victory crowned the efforts of our soldiers. At the same time, it cannot be denied that our successes awoke the jealousies and the fears of the King of Ava, the nearest of our neighbours on the eastern frontier. This produced another war, the history of which we are now to relate, as it involves many important acts of the navy.

The pirates of the Persian Gulf received a severe chastisement from Major-general Sir William Keir Grant and Captain (now Sir Francis Augustus) Collier, in his Majesty's ship the Liverpool, who had charge of the naval forces. Rear-admiral Sir Richard Keig was, at that time, commander-in-chief in the East Indies.

The embassy of Colonel Symes to Ava, in the year 1795, gave us almost the earliest information which we can rely on respecting this remote and barbarous, at the same time magnificent, kingdom.*

The Golden-footed Monarch and King of the White Ele-

* See Colonel Symes' Embassy to Ava. His accounts have received ample confirmation, had they needed it, by more recent travellers. Its actual boun-

phant, as the King of Ava is styled by his subjects, is a magnificent barbarian despot, ignorant of the advantages that knowledge confers on civilized nations, and extravagantly elated by the successes that have for many years attended the Burmese armies in their warfare with the adjacent nations. No wonder, then, this Pagan prince should have been made to believe that his armies would, at his command, have been able to overrun all our provinces, and bring the Governor-general in chains to the foot of his throne. His generals on our south-east frontier actually advanced within about 260 miles of Calcutta, and Colonel Bruen was repulsed with some loss in an attack on one of their stockades in the month of February, 1823.

The government of India, having no alternative but to go to war, commenced operations in a style commensurate with the occasion. I shall briefly relate the progress of this war, premising that I am indebted for almost the whole of my information on the subject to my friends Captain Frederick Marryat and George Frederick Ryves, of the Royal navy, both of whom commanded vessels of war employed in the Irrawaddy. I should also observe that I obtained much information from the work of Lieutenant John Marshall, our very able and industrious naval biographer, whose most interesting little volume on the Burmese war was compiled in a great measure from the memorandums of my friends above mentioned, or, at least, of one of them, Captain Marryat, and from the work of Major Snodgrass.

Commodore Charles Grant at this period held the command of the naval forces in India, but was at Bombay at the breaking out of the Burmese war; he immediately sent Marryat in the Larne, and Ryves in the Sophie, sloops of war, to assist and co-operate with the Indian army under the command of Brigadier-general Sir Archibald Campbell.

At the suggestion of Captain Marryat, a steam-vessel, the first ever used in that country, was purchased by the government at Calcutta, and sent over to the Irrawaddy; and great, indeed, must have been the astonishment and terror of the natives, when they beheld this novel machine navigating their river, contrary not only to the orders of "the Golden feet," but

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daries are better ascertained than its population; its length from north to south being estimated at 1,000 miles, its breadth nearly 600; its western frontier is bounded by the Bay of Bengal and the eastern side of the Company's dominions, forming a kind of barrier between our Indian possessions and China. On the south it has the Straits of Malacca, Sumatra, and our new settlement, Singapore. Its population is by some writers estimated at 17,000,000, others have reduced that number to 8,000,000. In truth we have nothing but conjecture to guide us on this point.

against the usual laws of nature. Neither wind nor tide, when both were adverse and combined, could much retard her movements, while, in the day time, she spouted black and white smoke from the same fountain, and, in the night, vomited flames as she glided, like a meteor, over the tranquil bosom of the stream.

The Company's forces assembled, preparatory to the attack, in Port Cornwallis, in the Great Andamans. They departed from these islands early in May, 1824; two detachments were sent off, one under the command of Brigadier-general M'Creagh, against the island of Cheduba, in the Honourable Company's ship the Ernaad, escorted by the Slaney sloop of war; the other, under Major Wahab of the Madras army, against Negrais. "With the main body," says Sir Archibald Campbell, "I proceeded for the Rangoon river, which we reached on the 10th of May, and anchored within the bar."

Previously to quitting the Andaman Islands, the forces had fortunately been joined by Commodore Grant, in the Liffey; with her sailed the Slaney, of 20 guns, Captain Charles Mitchell; the Larne, 20, Captain Frederick Marryat; the Sophie, 18-gun sloop, Captain Frederick Ryves; four of the Honourable Company's cruizers, under the command of Captain Henry Hardy; 18 pleasure-yachts from the Ganges, armed each with two light carronades and four swivels, and manned with 12 lascars, or Indian sailors, under the command of one European non-commissioned officer: to these were added 20 row-boats, lugger-rigged; these had each an 18-pounder in the bow, and were manned with from 16 to 20 lascars; the steamer Diana, before mentioned, and about 40 sail of transports. The total number of bayonets was 8,701, of whom 4,077 were British troops.

The reader who has followed me through all the mazes of the long and eventful war from 1793 to 1815, must now be prepared for a very different scene of action from anything which he has hitherto had described. The Irrawaddy is a difficult river to sail upon; its bed abounds with shoals and shifting sands; its banks are mostly low and swampy, adapted for the cultivation of rice, and naturally defended by a thick jungle; while small tributary streams, finding their way to the parent river, render the march of troops along the shore quite impossible. On the northern bank of a main branch of this river stands the town of Rangoon. It is of small dimensions, extending about 900 yards along the shore, by a width of 600 or 700 in its broadest part; the centre part only of the town is defended by an enclosure of palisades 10 or 12 feet high. This barbarous defence was of irregular construction, with gates, or wickets, and embankments within. A small battery defended the

landing-place called "the King's Wharf," opposite to which the Liffey took her station on the 1st of May, at 2 P.M. The smaller vessels we shall notice presently.

The British officers who commanded the troops and vesse s of war manifested, on this occasion, the same feelings of humanity which have ever distinguished our countrymen; and, conscious of their vast superiority over their unenlightened enemy, were unwilling to resort to extremities, until they were assured that other means were ineffectual. Their humane efforts to negotiate were, however, thrown away, and a feeble and impotent fire from the miserable battery was silenced in a few minutes by one or two of the Liffey's broadsides. The troops, having been previously prepared for landing, now put off from the ships. These forces consisted of the 38th regiment, under the command of Major Thomas Evans, who landed above the town; and of the 13th light infantry, under Major Thomas Henry Sale, who landed at the centre, in order to make a lodgment at the main battery, while a brigade of the Madras division landed below the town under the orders of Major-general Mac Bean. The Burmese, seeing these preparations, again opened their fire, and were again silenced by the Liffey, and, in 20 minutes, the British flag was hoisted on the fort of Rangoon, without our soldiers having fired a musket. Such was the success of the first effort on the Irrawaddy; the only oversight committed was, not securing the cattle with which the neighbouring country abounded.

Commodore Grant had still a very arduous duty to perform. The army was landed, or at least a part of it, and the enemy, who would not face our troops by day, with perseverance and cunning assailed them by night; he had, therefore, to guard his ships from their attempts to burn them by means of fire-rafts. These dangerous implements were turned adrift by the natives soon after the top of high water; they were large in dimensions, consisting of timber and old canoes filled with cotton and petroleum, the produce of that country; and, as they came flaming down upon our ships lying at anchor, presented a formidable appearance; but the danger was evaded by the same skill and presence of mind which had saved our ships on other occasions: for, though the river was narrow, still there was room enough for our boats to tow them clear of the shipping. This was the more easily effected by the application of the helm in a strong tide's way, and a large scope of cables, which enabled the officers to sheer their ships over to either side, to avoid the floating conflagration. These scenes took place off the Fort of Kemmendine, which was stormed and carried in the most masterly style by Captain Richard Birch, of his Majesty's

38th regiment, and Lieutenant James Wilkinson of the Royal navy, who, with their soldiers and sailors, trampled over spikes and stockades, stormed masked batteries, broke through palisades, and drove out 400 of the native troops, leaving 60 dead in the fort; yet, even here, the almost naked savage stood for a time with his spear, his wallpiece, or his jingall, and bravely received the charge of the British bayonets. In this very brilliant little enterprise we lost Lieutenant Thomas Kerr, of the 38th regiment; and Lieutenant Wilknson was severely wounded by a musket ball through the thigh. Still this young officer sat in his boat, giving directions to his men, and superintending their labours. In the midst of this success, it is painful to add, that the gallant and good Commodore Grant was seized with a mortal disease, I believe the Indian cholera, which obliged him to proceed to Pulo Penang, where he died. He would have been at any time a loss to the service, but, on this occasion, he could very ill be spared. He was succeeded in the naval command by Captain Marryat, who, at the request of the supreme Government, had been previously intrusted with the direction of the boats higher up the Irrawaddy.

Events at this time began to assume a different aspect; the army was entirely dependent on the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras for all its supplies, which were no longer abundant, as the south-west monsoon had set in, and rain, in torrents, was descending, attended with violent winds. The enemy began to advance through the incombustible, and to us impenetrable jungle, and rapidly constructed stockades and redoubts at every pass, even within musket-shot of our sentinels, on whom they constantly fired from their lurking-places; and they not unfrequently carried off a man, whom they put to death with horrible barbarity, sometimes crucifying him in ridicule of our holy religion, or at others sawing him asunder between two planks.

On the 2d of June, Sir Archibald Campbell received intelligence that the enemy had begun to stockade themselves again at Kemmendine, as if intending to attack the British lines. He, therefore, took with him a portion of troops, and a small naval force under the command of Captain Ryves, of the Sophie, for the purpose of watching their operations, and effecting a diversion. The force landed and burnt the enemy's encampment, but sustained some loss, in consequence of mistaking their own men for those of the enemy. In the mean time between 50 and 60 of the Burmese war boats were taken by our forces, and being cut down and divested of their high prows, and useless ornament, were rendered very serviceable;

they were capable of carrying 60 men each. As the annoyance of the fire-rafts still continued, it became necessary to attack and force the stockades from whose vicinity they issued. This was done on the 10th of June. The troops on this occasion were led by Sir Archibald Campbell in person, while the naval department was conducted by Lieutenant Thomas Frazer, first of the Larne.

The detachment sent against the island of Cheduba, under Brigadier M'Creagh, and Captain Charles Mitchell, of the Slaney, was successful in the reduction of that place; after a very little resistance on the part of the enemy, but a great display, nevertheless, of personal courage, perseverance, and resource, in surmounting difficulties, and destroying defences capable of a more effective resistance. The Rajah of this place was taken prisoner, and the island left under the charge of Lieutenant-colonel Hampton, with the Slaney as its naval protector, while the brigadier proceeded to Rangoon. The island of Negrais fell, also, into the hands of Major Wahab, but this place was not worth holding, being covered with a thick jungle, extending to the water-side. Its stockades and boats having been destroyed, the troops withdrew and joined the army at Rangoon.

The want of fresh provisions began to be severely felt by the troops, and the omission of driving the cattle when our army first landed, and which, I am informed, they might have done in almost any number, was now unavailingly regretted. The cholera, constantly attendant on the rainy season of June and July, broke out with violence; and Captain Marryat, in his letter to his commodore, who, at that time, had probably fallen a victim to the same disease, deplores the state of his crew, the loss of seven of his men by this fatal malady, and the sickness of many more; and even the destruction of his ship's company seemed no impossible or very distant event, from the unwholesomeness of the water, and the utter want of fresh provisions to recruit the strength of the convalescent.

The King of Ava, like many other despots, was badly served. The success of his enemies and the reverses of his own army were concealed from him, and he was led to believe, that any temporary success of the British forces would prove a snare to them, and the forerunner of their overthrow. A chosen favourite, the third minister of state, Sykia Wongee, was sent to surround and to capture the British forces; a smart action, in consequence, ensued, in which Sir Archibald Campbell, personally, bore a conspicuous part, and the navy, under the command of Captain Marryat, supported its claim to public favour. The Burman troops made their attack with great

fury on the 1st of July, near the stockades of Kemmendine, but were defeated, leaving 100 dead on the field. They betook themselves to the jungle. While our army was engaged in repulsing the savages, the boats of the navy, and Company's cruizers, the latter under the command of Mr. Lindquist, towed not less than 53 huge fire-rafts clear of the shipping. Captain Henry Hardy, of the Company's cruiser Teignmouth, acting by orders from Captain Marryat, destroyed 11 large country boats, which, having been loaded with stone, were intended to be sunk by the enemy in the channels of the river.

The Burmese still persevered in their endeavours to drive our forces out of their country, but a combined attack of the army and navy on their position proved again irresistible. The small vessels, with a light draught of water and heavy guns, under the command of Lieutenant Frazer, of the Larne, took the station assigned to them by Captain Marryat, and by their fire very soon silenced the guns of the enemy; and the signal having been made from the mast-head of the Larne that the breach was practicable, the troops instantly landed, under the command of Major Wahab, and attacked in one place, while Lieutenant-colonel Henry Godwin, with his division, went a little higher up the river, and entered the works by escalade: the enemy fired their guns and fled. A second stockade was taken by Colonel Godwin with similar gallantry and success, and, by a timely flight, the enemy spared him the trouble of attacking the third. Captain Marryat was, at this time, too ill to attend to the operations which he had planned. When Sir Archibald returned to Rangoon in the evening, he learned that, while he had been so successful in one quarter, Brigadier-general Macbean in another had taken five stockades from the enemy by assault. The result of the day was the capture of 10 stockades, and 800 of the Burmese troops left dead on the field: numbers must have died of their wounds in the jungle (or were more probably eaten by the alligators, with which the river abounds): 38 pieces of artillery, 40 swivels, and 300 muskets fell into our hands, while the loss on our part was four killed and 47 wounded, including 11 sailors. During this arduous service, some idea may be formed of the state of our shipping, by the following extract from a letter addressed by Captain Marryat to the senior officer on the station: "Since we have been on this expedition, we have had 170 cases of dysentery and cholera, and 13 deaths: we have now 30 in the sick list, 20 in the hospital, and the convalescent ineffective, and daily relapsing. When I sent away Lieutenant Frazer on the 7th, I could only muster 3 officers and 12 men fit for duty." After this, the Larne dropped down to the

mouth of the river, (where her crew recovered very much from their sickness,) and, on the 27th of July, returned to her station. During the absence of the Larne, Lieutenant William Burdett Dobson, of that ship, conducted a reconnoitring party up the Puzzendown Creek, where Sir Archibald Campbell succeeded in releasing a few Burmese families, who were desirous of returning to their houses at Rangoon. These poor people had made such a favourable report of the kind manner in which they had been treated, that the great body of the people returned to their dwellings, and, in the ensuing campaign, were of very great use to our army. Soon after Lieutenant Dobson, who had long been confined by severe illness, captured 35 large boats deeply laden with rice and salt fish.

The difficulties of this new species of warfare in which our soldiers and sailors were now engaged, seemed to increase as the contest went on, and I should be almost afraid of the charge of exaggeration were I to relate the particulars, which, however, are well authenticated, of the attacks on some of the strong defences of the enemy, to which our troops had to march "thigh deep" in the mud. The same officers, who have been named before in this narrative, continued their exertions, and throughout the campaign are to be found among the foremost assailants: in the attack on the east side of Dalla, Lieutenant Frazer and Mr. Henry Lister Maw, of the Royal Navy, were distinguished, and the latter was wounded so severely as to compel him to return to England.

The ships of war at this time employed on the East India station were the

Ships.	*Guns.*	*Commanders.*
Liffey	50	Lieutenant George Tincombe (acting).
Tees	26	Captain Coe, senior officer.
Alligator	26	Captain Thomas Alexander, C.B.
Slaney	20	Captain Charles Mitchell.
Arachne	18	Commander H. D. Chads, late first of the Java.
Larne	20	Captain Frederick Marryat
Sophie	18	Commander G. F. Ryves.

The subjugation of the maritime provinces was resolved on. Colonel Miles, of the Madras army, with a detachment of the 89th and 7th Madras native infantry, took possession of Tavoy without opposition; Mergui gave them more trouble, but was finally reduced, and the people submitted very quietly to the new Government. The loss sustained in the reduction of this place was trifling, and Lieutenant-colonel Miles, having returned to Rangoon, was ordered by Sir Archibald Campbell

to attack the stockades in the Dalla Creek. This was successfully performed in conjunction with a naval force under the command of Captain Marryat. Major Richard Lacy Evans, of the Madras army, bore a distinguished part in this affair. The enemy, beaten on every occasion, retired from place to place, but never surrendered without a conflict, and obstinately defended every approach to Thintai, the capital of Dalla; and most arduous and incessant was the duty which devolved on the navy in towing away the fire-rafts, and contending with the enemy concealed in the jungles. On the 5th of September, a severe contest took place. The British gun-vessels in the Dalla Creek were attacked by a number of war-boats, while our troops on shore had enough to do to defend themselves against a body of 1,500 or 2,000 of the native soldiers.

Captain Marryat just arrived in time with his division of boats to afford assistance to the Kitty gun-brig, then very hardly pressed by the tremendous war-boats of the country. The cheers of our sailors announced their near approach, and were of infinite use in supporting the spirits of Mr. Robert Crawford, the gallant commander of the vessel. As soon as the voices of the British sailors resounded through the jungle, the enemy hesitated, and withdrew to a little distance, preparing to renew their attack; but, when Marryat's boats came in sight, advancing ahead of the gun-vessels round a point of land, the Burmese war-boats retreated in great precipitation. Marryat pursued and captured five of them, in which many dead and wounded men were found. The sides of the Kitty, stuck with their spears, the boarding ladders attached to her rigging, and her boarding netting cut through in many places, gave proof, at once, of the valour of the assailants and the determined resolution of the crew of the British vessel, who only lost two or three of their number killed; Mr. Crawford and four of his men were wounded.

The sea-scurvy at this time made the most alarming progress among the crew of the Larne, and compelled Marryat, with the entire sanction of Sir Archibald Campbell, to proceed to Penang for the purpose of recovering his sick: 27 of his original crew were all that remained on board the Larne, and, during the same period 749 British soldiers had fallen victims to the climate; 1,000 were in the hospitals, and there remained only 1,500 men fit for service. The Sophie, in the mean time, had buried one-fourth of her crew.

On the death of Commodore Grant, Captain Coe, the next senior officer on the East India station, took the command of the Liffey, and promoted Captain Marryat into the Tees,

which himself had vacated. In the mean time Sir Archibald Campbell carried on his operations on the Irrawaddy, with, if possible, increased vigour. Captain Henry Ducie Chads, of the Arachne, took the command of the flotilla, and with this formidable force proceeded up the river, till he found himself between the stockades of the enemy on either bank; but the Diana steamer towing up the Satellite, regardless of a raking fire directed at them, they took their stations abreast of these works, and very soon cleared them. Major Sale then landed with a few troops, and with trifling opposition destroyed them; the British forces then proceeded 20 miles higher up, and burnt three more stockades.

Notwithstanding that reinforcements with money and provisions were sent from Madras and Calcutta, still the rainy season, and the want of wholesome provisions, combined with the natural unhealthiness of the climate, kept our hospitals filled with sick, and left only 3,000 men fit for duty. To Mergui and Tavoy, where the climate was more healthy, the convalescents were sent, and with great benefit. Captain Chads and Major Evans having reduced the strong place called Thai-ta-bain, a stockade, or, more properly speaking, a well-constructed fortress, for that country—these officers received the thanks of the Governor-general of India, who observed that the service had not been surpassed by anything done, since the first occupation of Rangoon.

Lieutenant-colonel Smith with his detachment having carried a stockade at Tadaghee, and a succession of breast-works, met with a serious check in an attempt to escalade the intrenchments surrounding the pagoda in the vicinity of Keykloo, and was obliged to retreat with loss; the bodies of 28 sepoys and pioneers were afterwards discovered fastened to trees, cruelly and savagely mangled by the Burmese.

Martaban, a strong place 100 miles east of Rangoon, was taken in fine style by Lieutenant-colonel Godwin and Lieutenant Keele, of the Royal Navy, with little more than 200 men of all arms, and among these some lascars, who, however, at this place, as well as at Thai-ta-bain, would not face the enemy. Captain Burrowes of the 41st, and Lieutenant Keele, were the first to storm and ascend the battery, driving all before them; Lieutenant Bazely, of the Sophie, was also most honourably mentioned in this service. Martaban was a very considerable place, being the capital and mart of an important province; it was a fortress and a depôt for military stores, and always the rendezvous of the Burmese armies in their wars against the Siamese. The services of Lieutenant Keele were conspicuous in the destruction of the enemy's war-boats. By this, and the

preceding operations, the whole coast of Tenasserim, including Mergui and Tavoy, as far as Yeh, fell into our hands, and, what was also highly serviceable at the time, large stores of grain and ammunition, and several ordnance boats for the conveyance of troops. The country from Rangoon eastward was finally ceded to us by treaty.

During the month of November the British forces were gradually recovering from their fatigues and sickness, and preparing to renew the campaign, while the Burmese, on their part, were equally assiduous in collecting their forces to meet their daring enemy, whose successes had at length roused the Golden-footed Monarch from his pleasing dream of conquering British India. He was forced to recall his most distinguished general, Maha Bandoola, who had been despatched over the north-west frontier with orders to attack Calcutta, and to bring the Governor-general in golden fetters to Umerapoora. He was ordered to concentrate his forces at Donoobew, where vast collections of men and material awaited his command, and accounts say that 50,000 well armed men, and a body of Cassay horse, with a numerous train of artillery, were assembled there; in fact, the enemy advanced both by land and water in a tremendous array of troops and fire-rafts. Our countrymen awaited their approach with cool intrepidity, a sure presage of victory. Ryves, in the Sophie, disposed of the rafts of logs and canoes as they came blazing down the stream; and, as they glided harmlessly by, the sailors cheered them on, in their way to the ocean, or to the muddy shores of the river. One officer only, in the Company's service, appears to have slipped his cable, and got lower down the river out of the way of these troublesome visitors; but, on the following day, Ryves, who had kept his station, in the Sophie, off Kemmendine, ordered him back to his post. By his absence much additional labour and danger had fallen on those who remained; the post was, however, defended against mighty odds, by Major Charles William Yates, with the 26th Madras native infantry and a few European troops; the naval force always assisting.

On the 1st of December, Sir Archibald Campbell saw with the penetrating eye of an experienced soldier the barbarian force accumulating round the post which he held, and, as occasion presented itself, he attacked them, and with invariable success, while the navy, ever attentive in its department, received the fire-rafts as they dropped down with the tide, and launched them clear of the vessels in the river. The great object of the enemy being to gain possession of the post of Kemmendine, they bent all their efforts on that point, which, could they have gained, they would have launched their fire-

rafts with infinitely more certainty and success, as the float departing from them would have been carried by the set of the tide into the midst of the shipping; but, launched from any other part of the river, they only passed very near them, or were very easily guided off.

The great attack was made on the 1st of December, and the account given of it by Major Snodgrass is animated and interesting. This gallant and talented officer, who was an eye-witness, says, that

Many attacks had been made on this post during the day, but, as the darkness of night approached, the last desperate effort was made.

Already the wearied soldiers had laid themselves down to rest, when suddenly the heavens, and the whole surrounding country, became brilliantly illuminated by the flames of several tremendous fire-rafts floating down the river towards Rangoon, and, scarcely had the blaze appeared, when incessant rolls of musketry, and peals of cannon, were heard from Kemmendine. The enemy had launched their fire-rafts into the stream, with the first of the ebb tide, in the hope of driving the vessels from their stations before that place: the rafts were followed by war-boats ready to take advantage of the confusion which might ensue. The skill and intrepidity of British seamen, however, proved more than a match for the numbers and devices of the enemy. Entering their boats, they grappled the flaming rafts and conducted them past the shipping, or ran them on shore on the bank. On the land side the enemy were equally unsuccessful, being repulsed with heavy loss in the most resolute attempt they had yet made to reach the interior of the fort.

The fire-rafts were, upon examination, found to be ingeniously contrived, and formidably constructed; made wholly of bamboos, firmly wrought together; between every two or three rows of which was a line of earthen jars of considerable size, filled with petroleum and cotton. Other inflammable ingredients were distributed in different parts of the raft, and the almost unextinguishable fierceness of the flames proceeding from them can scarcely be conceived. Many of them were more than 100 feet in length, and divided into pieces attached to each other by a sort of hinge, so arranged, that when they caught upon the cable, or round the bow of the ship, they might double on each side of her, and ensure her destruction."

Pressed by a numerous and desperate enemy, with a force almost overwhelming, in every direction, the little gallant band of heroes within the fort were relieved by the judicious foresight of Captain Chads, who, having at that moment returned from a reconnoitring party to Pegu, sent up the Arachne's pinnace, with three rowing boats, under the command of Lieutenant Kellett. This excellent officer judiciously opened a well sustained fire on the flanks of the enemy. The single

gun from the pinnace, loaded with grape, rendered all the service that could be desired, and elicited the admiration and gratitude of the garrison, which it so effectually relieved. This same officer, under the orders of Captain Ryves, pursued and captured many of the enemy's war-boats; one of which was 96 feet long, 13 feet 6 inches wide, and pulling 76 oars: he also took a floating stockade. The fire-rafts still threatened the vessels every moment with destruction. The Sophie cleared them all; but one touched the Teignmouth and set her on fire: this the British sailors extinguished without any damage; and, in the words of Sir Archibald Campbell to the governor, we may say, that the naval officers and men in the Irrawaddy "nobly maintained the long established fame of the British navy."

On the 5th of December, the left wing of the enemy was defeated near the Puzzendown Creek by the joint operations of the army and navy, the latter under the command of Captain Chads. All the Burmese artillery and stores fell into the hands of the victors. Undismayed by the defeat of his left wing, Maha Bandoola collected his scattered forces, and made another desperate effort on Kemmendine, but was defeated with great loss by Sir Archibald Campbell in person. On the morning of the 7th December, the whole force of the barbarians was posted in front of the British army, so close that our men could hear their bravadoes. Thirty fire-rafts and large boats all lashed together, and extending nearly across the river, were sent down to burn the shipping, and the Sophie, although touched by them, escaped unhurt, owing to the vigilance and dexterity of her officers and men.

At half-past 11 A. M., all being in readiness, Sir Archibald led his gallant troops to the assault of the enemy's camp. After a momentary pause, they received a spirited fire, but, undismayed and unchecked, they advanced up to the works, and the Burmese fled, leaving many dead behind them. In these several defeats, from the 1st to the 7th December inclusive, the enemy's loss in men was great: some accounts carry it to 5,000 in killed and wounded. To a despot like the King of Ava, the lives of a few thousands of his subjects were of little importance: but the loss of all his artillery, small arms, and ammunition, could not be replaced. Our loss appears to have been 25 killed, and 252 wounded.

Bandoola, sensible that a painful and lingering death awaited him at the court of Ava, unless he could give a better account of the enemies of the Golden-footed Monarch than he had hitherto afforded, resolved to make one more attempt, and Sir Archibald Campbell was apprised of his intention by a

deserter from the Burmese camp. The Sophie having, in the mean time, been temporarily withdrawn from the well defended and still contested post of Kemmendine, Major Yates, the gallant officer to whom that important place had been so judiciously entrusted, addressed the following forcible and pathetic lines to Captain Chads:

My dear Sir,

Mr. Midshipman Lindquist informs me, that I am to be attacked to-night. May I beg Kellett and his brig, and his boats, and the Powerful? Alas! the dear Sophie has forsaken me, and no prince, or potentate, can replace her in my confidence and affection; prithee keep the Prince of Wales, and cheer my heart again with the presence of the Sophie. C. W. Yates.

In another letter he adds,—

The fires of the enemy are around me; my little band are at their post. I have 200 natives and 27 Europeans short of the force I had the other day; if the Prince of Wales comes, I can expect no aid, as her commander is junior to the captain of the Teignmouth, (a Company's cruiser,) which has twice deserted.

In consequence of this pressing request, the Sophie, with her gallant young commander, George Frederick Ryves, was sent back to Kemmendine with a strong reinforcement of boats, and 100 more sepoys: and he had no sooner taken his station, than he received from the enemy, above him on the river, a double portion of fire-rafts, consisting of upwards of 60 canoes and bamboo stages, all loaded with oil and combustibles. These he successfully dispersed; but, in the mean time, the Burmese emissaries succeeded in setting fire to the town of Rangoon in several places at the same time, by which a fourth part of the town, including the Madras Commissariat, was destroyed. This misfortune was in some measure counterbalanced by the extraordinary perseverance and foresight of Captain Chads, who sent Lieutenant Kellett, with the Diana steam-vessel, and a suitable force, up the Panlang branch of the river. Here the lieutenant attacked the enemy's war-boats, which were of immense size and very numerous, defeated them with great slaughter, took three of the largest, (one being that of the chief, mounting three guns, the others two guns each, nine and six pounders,) together with about 40 other boats, all loaded with ammunition and provisions for the army before Rangoon.*

* The letter of Captain Chads to Captain Coe detailing this service will be found in Marshall's "Naval Operations in Ava," p. 58.

In the meanwhile Sir Archibald Campbell, with only 1,300 infantry, stormed and carried by assault the formidable intrenched and stockaded works of the enemy, defended by upwards of 20,000 men, under the command of Maha Silwah, an officer of high rank: in this action the navy bore its wonted share; the loss on our side was 18 killed, and 118 wounded.

The Burmese, at the commencement of the year 1825, began to discover the immense difference between savage and scientific warfare. Beaten on every point, whether by land or by water; their stockades stormed, their fire-rafts sent harmless down the stream, their artillery powerless, they had nothing left but submission, to save them from utter destruction; and they were the more inclined to adopt this course, when they saw that the valour and skill of their conquerors were only equalled by their clemency and moderation. Maha Bandoola retreated to Donoobew. The natives returned to Rangoon and resumed their peaceful occupations, affording to our army at once the means of subsistence, and facilitating its advance to the capital of the empire. Sir Archibald Campbell and Captain Chads, with their respective forces, now prepared to advance upon Ava. The daring and indefatigable Lieutenant Keele was foremost in this, as he had been in all the other offensive operations against the enemy, and the attack and carrying of the Syriam Pagoda, though among the last, was not the least of his exploits.

In January, Captain Chads was succeeded in his command by Captain Alexander, in the Alligator; and about the same time, Sir Archibald Campbell having been able to detach the Peguers from their allies, he left the Dalla district under their charge, and pursued his way with his naval companions in arms towards the capital, keeping as near to the banks of the river as possible, on account of the supplies and support he received from the flotilla.

Although superseded in the chief command afloat, Captain Chads did not relinquish his duty, but proceeded up the Lyne river with Lieutenant-colonel Godwin, where they took a stockade, mounting 36 guns, near Thai-ta-bain, and destroyed a vast quantity of fire-rafts. The naval force sent on this service was very considerable, consisting of the Diana steamer, Satellite, Prince of Wales, 15 gun-boats, with flats and canoes, and the boats from the ships of war.

The object of attack was a fort of great strength, standing in a peninsula on high ground and strongly stockaded, but our vessels brought up by the steam with a bower anchor, riding to the flood tide within 40 yards of the enemy's batteries. The broadside of the Satellite, and the rockets under the direc-

tion of Captain Charles Graham, succeeded in a few minutes in clearing the works of the enemy, who fled in confusion. Our loss was trifling: many of the Burmese war-boats fell into the hands of the victors.

The British general continued his march steadily upon Ava, with one corps, consisting of about 2,500 men: he kept in a direction parallel to the Lyne river, Bandoola retreating before him, and his friends in the naval department were constantly at hand to give him support. A division under the orders of Brigadier-general (now Sir Willoughby) Cotton, consisting of about 1,000 men, principally European infantry and foot artillery, with a small rocket corps, was embarked in all the boats of the ships of war remaining at Rangoon, as well as the gun-boats, launches, and the war-canoes taken from the enemy. Every officer and man who could be spared from the duty on board the Alligator, Arachne, and Sophie, joined this force. The Diana steamer, which vessel had contributed so largely towards the subjugation of the enemy, escorted these powerful auxiliaries, and towed up the Satellite. The squadron was under the command of Captain Alexander, whose orders were to push on to Donoobew, passing up the Panlang river into the Irrawaddy. In their progress the extensive stockade of the Panlang, with its outworks, was carried after very feeble resistance, although the force of the enemy at this place was estimated at between 4,000 and 5,000 men.

After passing the Panlang, the river becomes more shoal at Talynda, about 28 miles from the Panlang stockade; and, in consequence, it became necessary to unload the Diana and the gun-vessels. On the 6th of March, the flotilla was within two miles of the White Pagoda of Donoobew, where the enemy's ranks had a very formidable appearance.

Brigadier-general Cotton immediately sent a summons to Bandoola to surrender the place. To this the representative of the king sent an immediate and decided refusal, and the number and weight of the enemy's artillery, together with its good practice, of which they afforded some proof, gave the general reason to expect a prolonged resistance. He accordingly prepared to attack the forts in detail: for this purpose he landed below the stockades, leaving the defence of the river to the navy. The stockade Pagoda was carried by assault after a short cannonade, and with the loss on our part of 20 killed and wounded, while that of the enemy was estimated at 450; the attack on the second defence, or outworks, of Donoobew was not so successful. Our loss was severe, and the brigadier found it necessary to re-embark his troops, and fall back about 10 miles lower down the river.

The failure of the Water Column, as this corps was called, gave very considerable uneasiness to the commander-in-chief, who appears not to have entertained any doubt of its success. But, as no blame could by any possibility attach to the brigadier,—on the contrary, as it appeared that every human effort had been made,—it was resolved to fall back and assist him, and by a united effort to crush the power of Bandoola and take Donoobew. If this vigorous and decided measure had not been adopted, the army would have had to encounter the severest privations, if not absolute famine. The unparalleled exertions of the officers, naval and military, in effecting the passage of the Irrawaddy, one of the broadest and most rapid rivers of the eastern hemisphere, were crowned with success, and Sir Archibald, on the 18th of March, had his whole army on the right bank of that river, on which Donoobew was situated. On the 25th he moved on to attack this strong fortress: in the meanwhile, Captain Alexander, of the Alligator, was close at hand with his flotilla, ready to give the required aid, and the steamer, so much dreaded by the natives, boldly passed their strongest redoubts. The enemy now made a sortie with their cavalry, and 17 elephants armed for war, and carrying men on their backs. The British cavalry charged them, covered by the horse-artillery; the elephant riders were soon dismounted, or killed, and the huge animals quietly returned to the town. Bandoola, while using every exertion to defend the place, was killed by one of our rockets; on this the garrison fled panic-struck, and two deserters having informed the general of this fortunate event, the British troops marched in and took possession without any further opposition. A vast quantity of artillery, arms and ammunition, of course fell into our hands; our loss was 14 killed, and 69 wounded.

From Donoobew Sir Archibald Campbell proceeded to Prome, one of the largest towns of the empire. This place was abandoned by the garrison on the 24th April, when he appeared before it, and was taken possession of without firing a shot. Captain Chads had shortly before captured eight of the enemy's large war-boats, rowing from 50 to 60 oars, and another laden with guns, jingals, and spears. These war-boats had been employed in driving before them 3,000 canoes, filled with the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, who were compelled to quit their homes by their despotic sovereign, and the country was laid waste in their rear, to impede the march of our army.

While the British forces were enjoying repose at Prome, after these arduous exertions, Captain Marryat and Major Sale were actively engaged at Negrais at the entrance of the

Bassein river. Marryat, in the Larne, attacked Thingang, which he compelled to surrender, and brought away the Wongee, or chief of the town, a very distinguished officer, who had been honoured with the gold Chattah. The result of these combined operations was, the annexing of Bassein to the other provinces taken from the enemy, who was thus deprived of all the maritime districts from Cape Negrais to Tenasserim. To comprehend the advantages derived from this movement, the reader must observe, that the Delta of the Irrawaddy and the Bassein river afforded abundant supplies to Donoobew, and that a chain of communication, established through a combination of active chiefs from Negrais to Lamina, whom Marryat had had the address to bring over to our cause, enabled the gallant and active Major Sale to open a communication with the British general higher up the river; and that the occupation of this chain prevented a powerful reinforcement of Burmese from joining their main army at Donoobew, in the rear of Sir Archibald Campbell, which, notwithstanding the death of Bandoola, would have had the most serious effects on the results of the enterprise.

The rainy season having set in, the months of June, July, and August were passed by our army at Prome in good quarters. The Alligator and Arachne were unrigged at Rangoon, and thatched over with bamboos and leaves; a precaution of infinite use in that climate, both as it regarded the health of the crews and the saving of stores.

The Court of Ava, by this time fully convinced that mere bravery was utterly ineffective, when opposed to equal bravery, supported by all the advantages of European science, began to feel serious alarm for the fate of the empire itself, and accordingly descended from their hitherto lofty demeanour so far as to make proposals for peace to the commander-in-chief. Negotiations were accordingly opened, and commissioners appointed to meet on both sides, at a spot equidistant between the two camps.

Commodore Sir James Brisbane, who had been appointed to succeed Commodore Grant, joined the head-quarters of the British Army on the 22d of September, bringing up with him the boats, and a large part of the crew of the Boadicea frigate. The two commanders proceeded to the appointed rendezvous on the 2d of October; and it was then proposed by the Burmese commissioners, that the first day of their meeting might be devoted to social intercourse, and that the conference should be deferred until their next meeting. This did not look well at the outset, but it was assented to; and, on the ensuing day, the naval and military chiefs, together with Brigadier-general

Cotton, Captain Alexander, Brigadier M'Creagh, Lieutenant-colonel Tidy, and Captain J. Snodgrass, (military secretary to the general,) met the Burmese commissioners.

The principal conditions of peace proposed by the general, were, the non-interference of the Court of Ava with the territories of Cachas, Munnipore, and Assam; the cession of the four provinces of Assam; the payment of the expenses of the war; a certain sum as an indemnification; one-half to be paid immediately, and the provinces of Tenasserim retained until the liquidation of the other half. The Court of Ava was also to receive a British agent, and to consent to a commercial treaty upon principles of mutual advantage. After some delay, (to which the British general did not object, as the wetness of the season prevented any active military operation,) the proposals were rejected by the court of Ava; who refused to agree to any cession of territory, or to the payment of money: and the war was immediately renewed.

Captain Alexander, of the Alligator, died at Rangoon about this time, and Captain Chads was immediately promoted into that ship, although he had been previously advanced to the rank of captain at home as a reward for his conduct; and Lieutenant John Francis Dawson was promoted into the Arachne.

On the 15th of November, our army met with a severe check before the fort of Wattygoon, where Lieutenant-colonel M'Dowall was killed, with 53 men and some gallant officers, and about 110 men wounded. This gleam of sunshine, in the long run of Burmese misfortunes, encouraged their audacity and accelerated their ruin. Prome, the British head-quarters, was surrounded with 50,000 fighting men, who covered the whole neighbouring country, threatening to cut off all supplies. Our naval commanders had, however, taken the precaution to establish a line of gun-boats and armed vessels from Rangoon as high as the British advances, and Captain Studdert, of his Majesty's sloop the Champion, had charge of this very important line of communication. The defence of Padoungmew, on the western bank of the river, was entrusted to Captain Charles Dean, of the 1st regiment of foot, and Lieutenant Kellett of the royal navy. With only 200 British troops, and a small gun-boat force, after two hours' hard fighting, they beat off with great loss a body of 6,000 troops of the enemy, while ours was only one man slightly wounded.

The Burmese army, in three powerful divisions, of which the left wing consisted of 15,000 men, and the centre of 30,000, (the force of the right is not known,) was encamped near the heights of Napadee, five miles from Prome. On the 1st of

December, Sir James Brisbane, with the flotilla, began to cannonade the centre, while Sir Archibald Campbell bore with nearly his whole army upon their left, and in ten minutes completely routed them with great slaughter. The general commanding the enemy's left, Maha Nemiow, was among the slain. Guns, ammunition, small arms, and other stores, fell into our hands. The centre was attacked on the following morning with equal success, and completely defeated, by a well combined movement of the army and navy. Sir James Brisbane passed the enemy's works, and captured 300 boats laden with stores. Their right wing was defeated with similar rapidity on the 5th, by Brigadier-general Cotton, the enemy leaving 300 dead on the field, while our loss was only one killed and four wounded. The rapid, or, as we might almost say, the meteor-like advance and success of the British forces, astonished and terrified the natives to such a degree, that the strongest chain of posts was forsaken on the banks of the river, which, with the smallest exertion of skill and courage, might have prevented the advance of our flotilla.

The scattered remains of the Burmese army rallied at a place called Melloone, a strongly fortified city. Sir Archibald Campbell, after these successes, marched forward, determined to reach the capital; while Sir James Brisbane, in the Diana steamer, with the whole of the disposable flotilla, closely followed all his movements.

On the 26th December the Golden-footed Monarch again made proposals for peace, and Kolein Menghie, his ambassador, had full power to treat; a truce of 25 days was requested by the Burmese, and positively refused by the British general, who would only allow of 24 hours; and the ambassador was informed, that even that short truce would be at an end the moment the British deputies left Melloone.

It was pretty evident that, on the part of the enemy, the only object was to gain time, and, by protracting the war, to exhaust the resources of their adversary. At length, however, a peace was signed at Melloone, on the 3d of January, 1826: but, on the 19th, only 16 days afterwards, the war was renewed.

After having signed the treaty of Melloone, which he supposed was final, the gallant Sir James Brisbane, one of the ornaments of our profession, took his leave of the seat of war, where he had so greatly distinguished himself, and sailed for Pulo Penang, being at the time extremely ill with the disorder incidental to the country. Here he grew worse, and proceeded to New South Wales, where he died on the 19th December, 1826. He was to have had the command in South

America, with a broad pendant in the Warspite of 76 guns; he was succeeded in the Indian command by Rear-admiral Gage, who arrived there in the month of August following.

The efforts made by our land and sea forces to meet the occasion were singularly great. The ratification, which should have been signed by the Burmese plenipotentiaries, and returned to our head-quarters on the 18th, was withheld in violation of the preliminary treaty, and a farther delay of seven days was demanded, and refused. The deputies were told that they must, in addition to the other articles of the treaty, evacuate Melloone on the morning of the 20th, and farther, that, on the rejection of this proposal, hostilities would immediately commence. Accordingly the British general, at 12 o'clock that night, (the 18th,) commenced loading his guns, and made every preparation for attacking at daylight the city of Melloone, which Major Snodgrass calls a *chef-d'œuvre* of Burman fortification.

Our batteries, having 28 pieces of ordnance, were ready at 10 o'clock the next morning, on the eastern bank of the Irrawaddy, extending more than a mile to oppose the enemy's works on the opposite shore. At 11 o'clock the firing began from guns and rockets with fine effect, while the troops were embarking in the boats and flotilla above the camp, preparatory to the assault. The naval part of the operations was entrusted to Captain Chads.

After the bombardment had continued two hours, the divisions for storming crossed the river, one above, under the command of Brigadier-general Cotton, the other below the town, under Colonel Sale, who was unfortunately one of the first wounded in his boat, when Major William Frith succeeded him in the command. The whole operation was completely successful, and Melloone, in a few hours, was in the hands of our gallant countrymen.

No sooner had this place been taken, than the inhabitants flocked in, and placed themselves under the British protection.

The court of Ava now felt the fatal consequences of its perfidy; the fall of Melloone crushed all hopes of farther resistance. The faith of the Burmese court was so little to be relied on, that neither could the great men of that nation be found to undertake the charge of a negotiation, nor would the British general confide in their word. Dr. Price, an American missionary, under confinement at Ava, was taken from his cell, and sent as an ambassador. Dr. Sandford, surgeon of the Royals, who was also a prisoner, was added to the mission, on his parole of honour to return. This he did, on the following day, to the astonishment of the grandees and the people, who

had no conception of the moral feeling which prompts an honest man to keep his promise. While the conference was going on at Zaynan-oheoun, the Burmese forces were again collecting at the city of Pagahm. A savage warrior, whose name, translated into English, was the "King of Hell," vowed to redeem the honour of his country, and drive away the army "of rebellious strangers." Sir Archibald Campbell, however, in person attacked "the King of Hell," with less than 2,000 men, and routed his army with tremendous slaughter; some were left dead on the field, others were drowned in attempting to cross the river; our loss was only two men killed, or missing, and not 20 wounded.

The Golden-footed King now found that no force of his could repel the invaders, or save his capital; he, therefore, gladly consented to the terms dictated by the British general, which were in substance as follows:

To cede in perpetuity the provinces of Aracan, recently conquered by the British, including the four divisions of Aracan, Ramsee, Cheduba, and Sandoway; the provinces also of Yeh, Tavoy, Mergui, and Tenasserim, with their islands and dependencies. The Martaban river was to be the line of demarcation.

To pay one million sterling, as an indemnification to the British Indian Government for the expenses of the war.

To receive a British resident at Ava, and to send a Burman minister to reside at Calcutta.

To abolish all exactions upon British shipping in Burman ports, which are not demanded of the Burmese in British ports, and to enter into a commercial treaty on principles of reciprocal advantage.

The first instalment of the crore of rupees, or million sterling, agreed on to be paid, was sent down the river from Yandaboo to Rangoon, a distance of 600 miles. The sum thus shipped amounted to £250,000, which was conveyed to Calcutta by Captain Chads in the Alligator. Such was the termination of the Burmese war, in which the valour, perseverance, and skill displayed by our land and sea forces were only exceeded, by their kindness and generosity to their vanquished enemies.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Illness of Lord Liverpool—Partial change in the ministry—The Duke of Clarence Lord High Admiral—State of Greece as connected with the Turkish empire—Observations in Parliament; limits of non-interference arrived at—Sir Edward Codrington appointed to command in the Mediterranean—Treaty of London between France, Russia, and England—Its object—Cruelty of the Turks—Sir Edward's orders to his captains—Treachery of Ibrahim Pacha—Skirmish off Patras—The Turks not allowed to relieve it—The Pacha arrives at Navarin, and revenges himself on the poor inhabitants—Captain Hamilton's letter—The allied squadrons enter the Harbour of Navarin—Sir Edward's answer to an insolent message from the Pacha—The allies anchor—The battle begins—Details—Death of Captain Bathurst—Refutation of absurd and mischievous reports—Remarks of the Duke of Wellington and Mr. Huskisson—Official despatch—Sir John Gore sent out with the 10 Queries: answers thereto—Letter from Sir Edward to Mr. Croker—From Lord Dudley to Sir Edward—Motion in Parliament—Vote of thanks refused—The battle of Navarin declared by Sir Robert Peel to be "an untoward event"—In June, 1834, Sir Edward claims head-money for the Turkish fleet at Navarin—Debates—He is successful—Observations on the battle, and its effects on the policy of Russia—Causes of the recall of Sir Edward—Want of clearness and perspicuity in his instructions from the Foreign Office—Sir Edward's defence in his printed correspondence—Agreement of the French and Russian Admirals with him in the interpretation of the instructions—Attack on Carabusa by Sir Thomas Staines—Suppression of piracy.

In the month of February an important change was made in the Cabinet arrangements, by the sudden and afflicting illness of that amiable nobleman, and truly honest man, the Earl of Liverpool. He was seized with paralysis, and died a few months afterwards.

Mr. Canning was appointed to the vacant office, after encountering difficulties of an unusual nature in the new formation of the Cabinet, from which most of his former colleagues withdrew. Among these, the most important to my subject was Lord Melville, who, for so many years, had held the situation of first Lord of the Admiralty. That board was now entirely dissolved, and the office of Lord High Admiral again revived, and conferred on his Royal Highness the Duke of Clarence, who had a council appointed to assist him.

One of the earliest measures of his Royal Highness was the introduction into our service of the rank of second captain.

This was an act unpopular with many, but certainly one of justice, as well as policy, since it called into action a set of men, who, having gained that intermediate rank by their own intrinsic merit, had been passed by and lost to the service for want of friends to procure them the command of sloops of war.

The bloody contest carrying on between the Greeks and the Turks in the Morea had been prosecuted with the most relentless cruelty by the latter power against their former subjects, whom, for a series of ages, they had considered their slaves, and treated accordingly, adding, on every occasion of revolt provoked by oppression, penalties and insults still harder to be borne; until, at length, human nature could endure it no longer, and a general rebellion of the Greek provinces of the Turkish empire drew the serious attention of the Courts of Europe to the unhappy state of the Peloponnesian peninsula.

The first outbreaking of this rebellion commenced about the year 1821, and the enthusiastic admirers of liberty in this country were eager that the Government should at once go to war with Turkey, and even proposed driving the whole of the Mahommedan race out of Europe. The folly of such a crusade was justly exposed by Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons. "The Turks," said his lordship, "comprise (on this side the Hellespont) about 5,000,000 of souls; and I do not conceive it very easy to carry the sentence of transportation into execution." Negotiation had been carried as far as it could go, but his lordship very wisely observed, that neither the Government nor the country were prepared to go to war, or to take up arms, with a view to the more impartial administration of justice in Turkey. Sir James Mackintosh was the advocate of the Greeks in the House of Commons, as was Earl Grosvenor in the Lords; both equally unsuccessful. His lordship contended, that we had allowed a Turkish frigate to be refitted in the dockyard at Deptford, and to be navigated home by British sailors; but this charge was very ably refuted by the Earl of Liverpool, who observed, that the frigate had arrived in this country previously to any acts of hostility between the Greeks and the Turks. She had even come in the character of a merchant ship, partly laden with antiquities for the British Museum; under these circumstances the Government could not do less than permit her to be refitted and navigated back, as far as Malta only, by British sailors; in other respects, said his lordship, the impartiality of the British Government was proved by its refusal to supply this vessel with arms, or to permit the Pacha to purchase two frigates in this country, which he was most desirous of doing. Referring with

indignation to the horrible butchery of the Sciote hostages, his lordship still contended, that the British Government was excluded from all right of interference by the universally admitted rule that one Government could not interfere in the internal regulations of another, except in cases where its own security was menaced. Thus far in 1821; but the ferocious contest having been carried on till 1827, outraged humanity could allow it to continue no longer. The squadrons of Great Britain, France, and Russia, which were at first quiet spectators, received orders to take a more active part in the cause of Grecian liberty. No important event of a maritime nature connected with this country took place between the years 1821 and 1826, but, at the latter period, Vice-admiral Sir Edward Codrington was selected for the Mediterranean command. The vast importance of that station I have always insisted on, as one which requires in the officer who holds it a combination of talent and bravery, firmness and conciliation, rarely to be met with.

Vice-admiral Sir Harry Neale, the immediate predecessor of Sir Edward Codrington on this station, had been superseded in consequence of his term of three years having expired; his task had been arduous, and he had gone through it with credit to himself and his country. Sir Graham Moore, who had preceded Sir Harry Neale, had only occasion to exercise vigilance. Thus, from the year 1821 to the present time, our admirals on that station uniting, in a great degree, the diplomatic and executive offices, required, as they were to fulfil, instructions received both from the Board of Admiralty and the Foreign Office.

The treaty of London, signed in the year 1826, between Great Britain, France, and Russia, had for its object the pacification of Greece, and the suppression of piracy and anarchy in the Archipelago, which continually offered impediments to British, and indeed to European, commerce in the eastern part of the Mediterranean. The Greeks, at the same time, sent a pressing request to the above-named courts to interpose their mediation with the Ottoman Porte, and save them from threatened extirpation, or intolerable slavery. Our interference, therefore, to use the diplomatic language of the treaty, was called for as much by humanity as by the interests of Europe.

An immediate armistice between the contending parties was an indispensable condition to the opening of any negotiation for the final settlement of their differences. The treaty also contained secret articles to compel the observance of the armistice, and the naval commanders-in-chief, bearing the flags and fur-

nished with the authority of the high contracting parties, had positive instructions to *act* with vigour in cases where negotiation should prove unavailable.

Sir Edward Codrington reached his station and assumed the command in February, 1827, and immediately issued the following instructions to the captains and commanders of his Majesty's ships under his orders:

SIR, *Asia, at Sea.*

You are aware that a treaty has been signed between England, France, and Russia, for the pacification of Greece. A declaration of the decision of the powers has been presented to the Porte, and a similar declaration has been presented to the Greeks.

The armistice proposed to each, in these declarations, has been acceded to by the Greeks, whilst it has been refused by the Turks. It becomes, therefore, the duty of the allied naval forces to enter, in the first place, on friendly relations with the Greeks; and, next, to intercept every supply of men, arms, &c., destined against Greece, and coming either from Turkey or Africa in general. The last measure is that which requires the greatest caution, and, above all, a complete understanding as to the operations of the allied naval forces.—Most particular care is to be taken that the measures adopted against the Ottoman navy do not degenerate into hostilities. The formal intention of the powers is to interfere as conciliators, and to establish, in fact, at sea, the armistice which the Porte would not concede as a right. Every hostile proceeding would be at variance with the pacific ground which they have chosen to take, and the display of forces which they have assembled is destined to cause that wish to be respected; but they must not be put into use, unless the Turks persist in forcing the passages which they have intercepted.

All possible means should be tried, in the first instance, to prevent the necessity of proceeding to extremities; but the prevention of supplies, as before mentioned, is to be enforced, if necessary, and, when all other means are exhausted, by cannon shot.

In giving you this instruction as to the duty which I am directed to perform, my intention is to make you acquainted thoroughly with the object of our Government, that you may not be taken by surprise as to whatever measures I may find it necessary to adopt. You will still look to me for further instructions as to the carrying any such measures into effect.

I am, &c.

(Signed) ED. CODRINGTON.

It was agreed between Sir Edward Codrington and Ibrahim Pacha, on the 25th of September, that an armistice should take place between the Greek and Turkish forces by land and sea, and, under the faith of this treaty, the British vice-admiral permitted the Turco-Egyptian fleet to enter the port of Navarin, and thus everything appeared to favour the hope of peace. On the following day, the Pacha sent a messenger to Sir Edward,

to say that Lord Cochrane had made a descent on Patras, and requested permission to send a force to beat him off; the admiral knew the report to be a fabrication, and refused the request, in concurrence with the opinion of Admiral De Rigny, who was at that moment on board the Asia. This subterfuge and its result awoke the suspicions of the two admirals, and put them, in some measure, on their guard. Still Sir Edward despatched a part of his squadron to Malta for indispensable repairs, while he anchored in the Asia, off Zante, leaving the Dartmouth off Navarin. This frigate very shortly after rejoined him, with the information that a strong division of the Turkish fleet was steering out of Navarin towards Patras, where it was known that Ibrahim's land forces were stationed. Sir Edward, who had now with him only the Asia, 84, Dartmouth frigate, and Talbot and Zebra sloops of war, was determined not to be trifled with, although the Turkish force was numerically superior to his own; he ran down alongside of the Turkish commander-in-chief, Patrona Bey, and informed him by a message that he was resolved to oppose his passage to Patras by force, his going there being in violation of the treaty.

Patrona Bey seems to have been a little disconcerted at this unexpected interference of the British admiral, and sent his second in command, Reala Bey, to the vice-admiral to endeavour to alter his decision, but this had no effect, and the Turkish fleet stood to the southward, the Asia and her little squadron hanging on their rear, and stimulating the sluggish Turks with an occasional shot over their quarters. Sir Edward, while thus driving the Ottoman fleet before him, was still desirous of keeping them out of Navarin, and for this purpose detached his cruisers to call in more assistance.

On the 3d of October, the Turkish fleet received a reinforcement of 15 more vessels, of which two at least appear to have been of the line. These were under the command of Ibrahim Pacha in person. As they rounded the north point of Zante, he made the signal for the division which all night had been in company with the British admiral, and which we left proceeding towards Navarin, to join him. This they immediately prepared to do. Sir Edward, who was at this time far advanced towards Navarin, made the signal to his squadron to prepare for battle. The Zebra having been detached in search of assistance the previous night, the admiral had only the Dartmouth and Talbot, besides his own ship, but he immediately bore up, to watch and counteract the wily enemy.

As soon as the two Turkish divisions had joined, the whole fleet hove-to, and shortly after bore up for Navarin, the British

squadron keeping in their rear until they were clear of the Gulf of Lepanto. There was a trifling skirmish on the following day, the 4th of October: a part of the Turkish fleet was seen at anchor near Cape Papa, while the smaller Ottoman vessels were endeavouring to join them. This was prevented by the British squadron firing over or into them. On the 5th, Sir Edward returned to the neighbourhood of Cape Papa again, having been driven to leeward of it by a violent gale during the night; here he came to anchor, having the Dartmouth, Talbot, and Philomel with him. The captain of a Turkish frigate came on board, and acquainted the admiral, through the means of an Italian interpreter, that it had been the intention of Ibrahim to return to Navarin; but that, on the night of the 3d, he made the signal at 9 P. M. to bear up; that they had anchored near Cape Papa at four the next morning, and that they were only prevented by contrary winds from throwing supplies into Patras; and the captain very modestly concluded by asking permission to go to Patras for that purpose; this was refused in a peremptory manner, and he returned to join his admiral. In this stormy rencontre the Asia fired 96, and the Dartmouth 100 shot, but it does not appear that any material damage was sustained by the Turks, nor do the latter seem to have resented the insult to their flag. At the same time, it must be admitted, that the subsequent battle at Navarin was provoked by the obstinacy, ignorance, and perfidy of the Ottoman admiral, who, disappointed in his hope of relieving Patras, had forced his way on the 14th of October with his whole fleet into the harbour, and glutted his vengeance and cruelty on the ill-fated inhabitants of the surrounding country, as the following brief statement, from the able and energetic pen of Captain Hamilton, of the Cambrian, will prove.

I have the honour of informing you that I arrived here yesterday, in company with the Russian frigate Constantine. On entering the gulf, we observed, by clouds of fire and smoke, that the work of devastation was still going on. The ships were anchored off the pass of Ancyro, and a joint letter from myself and the Russian captain was despatched to the Turkish commander. The bearers of it were not allowed to proceed to head-quarters, nor have we, as yet, received any answer. In the afternoon we went on shore to the Greek quarters, and were received with the greatest enthusiasm. The distress of the inhabitants, driven from the plain, is shocking; women and children dying every moment of absolute starvation, and hardly any having better food than boiled grass. I have promised to send a small quantity of bread to the caves in the mountains, where these unfortunate wretches have taken refuge. It is supposed

that; if Ibrahim remain in Greece, more than a third of its inhabitants will die of starvation.

This conduct induced the three admirals to send in a strong letter of remonstrance to Ibrahim, which was carried in by Captain Fellowes, but the answer returned was, that Ibrahim was not to be found.

On the 18th of October the three admirals, viz., Sir Edward Codrington, Count Heiden, and Admiral De Rigny, agreed that the only certain means of putting an end to these ravages, and effectually to blockade the port, would be, to take their squadrons in, and moor them among the thickest of their enemies; and on the 20th, the wind not permitting it sooner, this intention was carried into effect, to the great astonishment of the Turks, and to the equal joy of the persecuted Greeks. As the Asia passed the battery, the admiral received a message, to signify that Ibrahim had not given any permission for the allied fleet to enter the port, to which Sir Edward replied, "that he was not come to receive orders, but to give them; that if any shot were fired at the allied fleet, that of the Turks would be destroyed, and that he would not be sorry should such an opportunity be given him."

The Spaniards used formerly to have a very beautiful aphorism engraved on their swords:

Draw me not without a cause:
Sheath me not without honour.

This motto Sir Edward seems to have adopted on the 20th October, 1827.

The Turkish boat from the battery, having delivered its message, was sent away, and a gun unshotted was fired from the fort to seaward. The Asia, in the meanwhile, leading the fleet, passed the battery and the ship of Moharem Bey, on board of which they were so near that, to use a sea-phrase, they might have thrown a biscuit. With silent and awful grandeur she clewed up her topsails, rounded-to, and let go her small bower anchor on the larboard bow of the Capitana Bey, whose ship, it appears, mounted the same number of guns as the Asia. Swinging round head to wind, the British admiral veered away to 60 fathoms of cable, then let go his best bower, and hove in 30 fathoms on the small. Thus having moored his ship in the most cool and seaman-like manner, with springs on his cables, he furled sails, and was prepared for the event, be it what it might. The Genoa followed the Asia, and took her station alongside of a ship of the line ahead of the Capitana Bey. The

Albion followed next, and I am credibly informed, that, in consequence of light winds, the Russians were unable to attain the spot intended for them, and that, consequently, the Albion was exposed for a time to the whole of the fire of that part of the Turkish fleet which it would have fallen to their lot to engage; and, as the action commenced before Captain Ommaney had time to furl his sails, his ship became peculiarly exposed from that circumstance to the fire of the enemy. The other British ships, having their sails furled, were not easily distinguished from the Turks in the dense smoke of the artillery. In this action the Albion fired away 45 tons of shot, and nearly six tons of powder.

The French admiral, the able and gallant De Rigny, was to anchor on the right hand side, going in, and would thus have to oppose the Egyptian squadron under the command of their admiral, Moharem Bey. The centre of the crescent, or horse-shoe, was allotted to the Russian squadron under Count Heiden, but, as there is no return of killed or wounded from that admiral, we can say nothing as to their damage sustained, or their share in the action.

The French frigate, Armide, was directed to place herself alongside the outermost frigate on the left, and the Cambrian, Glasgow, and Talbot, next to her; the Dartmouth, Musquito, Rose, Brisk, and Philomel, were to look after the fire-vessels at the entrance of the harbour. Sir Edward gave particular directions that no gun should be fired unless the Turks should commence, which were strictly obeyed, and the three English ships of the line took their stations without any act of hostility. Indeed, everything having been quietly carried on thus far, all idea of a fight on board the Asia was given up; the watch was called to square the yards, and the band was forming to play on the quarter-deck, when a firing of musketry took place into the boats belonging to the Dartmouth, under the orders of Lieutenant Smyth; which killed Lieutenant G. W. H. Fitzroy. The Dartmouth then opened a fire of musketry to protect her boats. Almost at the same moment two shot were fired from the Turkish vessels astern of the Sirene frigate, (Admiral De Rigny's ship,) struck her, and wounded one of the crew, which of course brought on a return, and the cannonade soon became general. Although the Asia was alongside the Capitana, she was still near to Moharem: but, as the latter had sent a message to say he should not fire, the Asia was hove on her larboard spring, and her broadside brought to bear on the Capitana's ship, which was bringing her broadside to bear on the Asia, and fired her bow-guns into her. The Asia then opened with double-shotted guns: whether the Turk could not get his men

to stand, or whether his spring was cut away, is uncertain, but he never brought his broadside fully to bear on the Asia. The smoke soon became so thick that the guns were pointed by the flag at the Capitana's mast-head, which was the only thing that could be perceived; the Asia's guns, however, occasionally ceased, to get a look at her opponent's hull, when he often returned single guns, until his cable was cut or slipped, and he went to leeward a mere wreck. The Asia, in order to bring her broadside to bear on the Capitana, was obliged to expose her stern to the raking fire of a frigate and a corvette or two in the inner line; and it was from their fire, as much as from her immediate opponent's, that she received her damage. During this conflict Lieutenant Dilke was despatched by Sir Edward to Moharem, to assure him of his desire to avoid bloodshed, and that, as he had promised not to fire into the Asia, similar conduct should be observed towards him. But whilst Lieutenant Dilke was getting down the side of the Egyptian ship, and the pilot, Mitchell, was in the boat alongside, the latter was shot dead, but whether by Moharem's order was not known: his ship, however, ultimately fired into the Asia At a quarter past three, having settled the matter with the Turk, the Asia hove on her starboard spring, and brought her larboard broadside to bear on the Egyptian and his second ahead, both of which were very soon destroyed. Moharem's went to leeward, cut to pieces; and the other, burning to the water's edge, at anchor, soon after blew up.

As the smoke which arose completely concealed the Asia from the rest of the fleet, and the explosion took place within a cable's length of her, it was at first feared that she had blown up, and a momentary suspense took place; but, on the smoke clearing off, and showing the Asia still holding her proud and commanding situation, a cheer was given which resounded from one extremity of the bay to the other, and the cannonade recommenced with the utmost vigour against whatever was opposed to them. This bloody and destructive battle was continued with unabated fury for about four hours, and the scene of wreck and destruction which presented itself at its termination was such as had been seldom before witnessed. As each of the Turkish ships became effectually disabled, such of her crew as could escape from her endeavoured to set her on fire; and by these means the greater part was totally destroyed. At a quarter past five, the firing along the whole line ceased. In this destructive but brilliant engagement, the mizen mast of the Asia went by the board, in consequence of the raking fire of the Turkish second line, which also cut her rigging to pieces. Her mainmast was severely shattered with 28 round

shot, and was with difficulty saved. The foremast received 18 shot, the bowsprit nine, and the hull 128. The mainmast was so badly wounded that it could no longer bear the mainyard aloft. This was, therefore, got on deck, and, as it had been rendered useless by shot, was sawn in pieces and thrown overboard. The main topmast was lowered down to fish the mainmast. On board the Asia there were 16 men, including Captain G. A. Bell, R. M., killed: Mr. H. I. Codrington, the admiral's son; Mr. W. V. Lee, midshipman; Mr. R. H. Bunbury, volunteer 1st class; Mr. C. Wakeham, supernumerary clerk; 26 seamen, and two marines, severely wounded: Honourable Colonel Cradock, passenger; Mr. H. S. Dyer, admiral's secretary; 16 seamen, and seven marines, slightly wounded. It was, indeed, almost miraculous how Sir Edward himself escaped; with the exception of once or twice descending to the quarter-deck, he was on the poop the whole time, which was once or twice cleared during the action; once in particular, when there was no one to be seen on it but himself. A musket-ball passed through the sleeve of his coat at the wrist; his watch was smashed by a splinter; a cannon ball passed through the rolled-up awning, under which he was standing, which just cleared his hat; he was twisted round several times, and his coat was torn in several places by splinters.

The proceedings of the Albion, Captain Ommaney, were such as in every respect fully maintained the high character of the British navy; this, also, may be said of the Genoa, Captain Bathurst, who lost his life in the achievement of this victory. I had the honour of knowing that gallant officer well; he was as valuable in private and domestic life as he was in his profession. He died like a hero, but I have authority to say, that it is not true that he ever uttered those words imputed to him, when his gallant friend and admiral, Sir Edward Codrington, sat by his bedside in the cockpit of the Genoa: "We had no business here, Admiral." It is equally false that an illustrious personage wrote on the official despatches sent out to Sir Edward, "Go it, Ned;" although it was stated at the time, and by many believed.

We next refer to the proceedings of the French squadron under Rear-admiral De Rigny. That gallant officer took up his station athwart the hawse of the first Egyptian frigate, and his three line of battle ships were to occupy positions between him and the British admiral, but, owing to particular causes, they did not do so. A fire-ship got under the bows of the Scipion in coming in, to escape which, she anchored, while the fire-ship was towed off by the boats of the Dartmouth and Rose.

The Breslaw went to the end of the bay, and attacked the vessels in that quarter, where she rendered great assistance to the Russian squadron, the whole of which behaved in the most brave and gallant manner. Admiral De Rigny, having set fire to his opponent, was in great danger of sharing the same fate, when the Turk was cast loose from his anchor, either by burning or slipping; to prevent this catastrophe, a man swam from the Sirene to the Dartmouth with a rope, and, a hawser being made fast, the French frigate was enabled to get clear. Captain Lewis Davies, of the Rose, also relieved the French frigate Armide, commanded by an excellent officer, (Hugon,) from a disadvantageous and too perilous position: acts which Admiral De Rigny acknowledged in his letter to Admiral Codrington, October 23.

To the whole of the officers and men under his command Sir Edward bore the most unqualified testimony of approbation, nor did he neglect to particularize instances of singular intrepidity and zeal.

The manner in which (said he) the Genoa and Albion took their station, was beautiful; and the conduct of my brother admirals, Count Heiden and the Chevalier De Rigny, throughout, was admirable, and highly exemplary. Captain Fellowes, in the Dartmouth, executed the part allotted him perfectly, and, with the able assistance of his little, but brave detachment, saved the Sirene from being burnt by the fire-vessels. The Cambrian and Glasgow, following the fine example of Captain Hugon, of the Armide, who was opposed to the leading frigate of that line, effectually destroyed their opponents, and also silenced the batteries.

The expressions of praise, on the part of the French admiral, respecting the Dartmouth and Rose, were met by a corresponding warmth on the part of Sir Edward, who addressed the following letter to M. De Rigny, dated October 23:—

Sir,

When your Excellency did me the honour of voluntarily placing yourself and the French squadron under my command, you gave me a right to judge of your conduct in that situation, by making me, in a great degree, responsible for it. I take advantage then of that right to say, that I contemplated your way of leading your squadron into battle, on the 20th, with the greatest pleasure; that nothing can exceed the good management of the ships under your especial direction; and that my having had you under my orders in that bloody and destructive engagement, will be one of the proudest events of my whole professional life. Although it was my wish to avoid entering into any particular detail, the general expressions of the captains of the British ships, who were near the Armide, call upon me to say, that the conduct of Captain Hugon entitles him to the marked consideration of your Excellency.

The Duke of Wellington declared in the House of Lords, "that the gallant admiral had been placed in a difficult and peculiar situation; that he was in command of a squadron of ships, in conjunction with admirals of foreign nations, and he had so conducted himself as to acquire their confidence, they allowing him to lead them to victory. This service," the noble duke observed, "the gallant admiral had completed, in a way which did credit alike to himself and his country, and that he admired the course which he had pursued in such a time of difficulty and danger." And Mr. Huskisson, in his speech in the House of Commons, observed, "that, upon entering the bay, there ensued a scene, in which the greatest skill, seamanship, and gallantry, were evinced by Sir Edward Codrington. It was no small addition to the praise which the gallant admiral obtained by his valour and skill, that he had effected that which it was not always easy to effect when the forces of rival powers were employed together for a joint object; that he had conciliated them by his conduct, and that he had so produced a unity of purpose, and a harmony of design, which could not have been exceeded, if the force employed had been entirely British, and under the command of a British officer, as much beloved, as he understood Sir Edward had the happiness of being beloved, by every man who sailed under his orders."

LONDON GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Admiralty Office, Nov. 10, 1827.

Despatches, of which the following are copies or extracts, have been this day received at this office, addressed to John Wilson Croker, Esq., by Vice-admiral Sir Edward Codrington, K.C.B., Commander-in-chief of his Majesty's ships in the Mediterranean.

His Majesty's ship Asia, in the Port of Navarin,

SIR, *Oct.* 21, 1827.

I have the honour of informing his Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral, that my colleagues, Count Heiden and the Chevalier De Rigny, having agreed with me that we should come into this port, in order to induce Ibrahim Pacha to discontinue the brutal war of extermination which has been carrying on since his return here from his failure in the Gulf of Patras, the combined squadron passed the batteries, in order to take up their anchorage, at about two o'clock yesterday afternoon.

The Turkish ships were moored in the form of a crescent, with springs on their cables, the larger ones presenting their broadsides towards the centre, the smaller ones in succession within them, filling up the intervals.

The combined fleet was formed in the order of sailing in two columns, the British and French forming the weather or starboard line, and the Russians the lee line.

The Asia led in, followed by the Genoa and Albion, and anchored close alongside a ship of the line, bearing the flag of the Capitana Bey, another ship of the line, and a large double-banked frigate, each thus having their opponent in the front line of the Turkish fleet. The four ships to windward, part of the Egyptian squadron, were allotted to the squadron of Rear-admiral De Rigny; and those to leeward, in the bight of the crescent, were to mark the stations of the whole Russian squadron; the ships of the line closing those of the English line, and being followed up by their own frigates. The French frigate Armide was directed to place herself alongside the outermost frigate, on the left hand entering the harbour; and the Cambrian, Glasgow, and Talbot next to her, and abreast of the Asia, Genoa, and Albion; the Dartmouth and the Musquito, the Rose, the Brisk, and the Philomel were to look after six fire-vessels at the entrance of the harbour. I gave orders that no gun should be fired, unless guns were fired by the Turks; and those orders were strictly observed. The three English ships were accordingly permitted to pass the batteries, and to moor, which they did with great rapidity, without any act of open hostility, although there was evident preparation for it in all the Turkish ships; but, upon the Dartmouth sending a boat to one of the fire-vessels, Lieutenant G. W. H. Fitzroy and several of her crew were shot with musketry. This produced a defensive fire of musketry from the Dartmouth and La Sirène, bearing the flag of Rear-admiral De Rigny; that was succeeded by a cannon-shot at the rear-admiral from one of the Egyptian ships, which of course brought on a return, and thus, very shortly afterwards, the battle became general. The Asia, although placed alongside the ship of the Capitana Bey, was even nearer to that of Moharem Bey, the commander of the Egyptian ships; and, since his ship did not fire at the Asia, although the action was begun to windward, neither did the Asia fire at her. The latter indeed sent a message "that he would not fire at all," and therefore no hostility took place betwixt our ships for some time after the Asia had returned the fire of the Capitana Bey.

In the mean time, however, our excellent pilot, Mr. Peter Mitchell, who went to interpret to Moharem my desire to avoid bloodshed, was killed by his people in our boat alongside; whether with or without his orders, I know not; but his ship soon fired into the Asia, and was consequently effectually destroyed by the Asia's fire, sharing the same fate as his brother admiral on the starboard side, and falling to leeward a mere wreck. These ships being out of the way, the Asia became exposed to a raking fire from vessels in the second and third line, which carried away her mizen-mast by the board, disabled some of her guns, and killed and wounded several of her crew. This narration of the proceedings of the Asia would probably be equally applicable to most of the other ships of the fleet. The manner in which the Genoa and Albion took their stations was beautiful; and the conduct of my brother admirals, Count Heiden and the Chevalier De Rigny, throughout, was admirable and highly exemplary.

Captain Fellowes executed the part allotted to him perfectly, and, with the able assistance of his little but brave detachment, saved the Sirène from being burnt by the fire-vessels; and the Cambrian, Glasgow, and Talbot, following the fine example of Captain Hugon, of the Armide, who was opposed to the leading frigate of that line, effectually destroyed their opponents, and also silenced their batteries. This bloody and destructive battle was continued with unabated fury for four hours, and the scene of wreck and devastation which presented itself at its termination was such as has been seldom before witnessed. As each ship of our opponent became effectually disabled, such of her crew as could escape from her endeavoured to set her on fire, and it is wonderful how we avoided the effects of their successive and awful explosions.

It is impossible for me to say too much for the able and zealous assistance which I derived from Captain Curzon, throughout this long and arduous contest; nor can I say more than it deserves for the conduct of Commander Baynes and the officers and crew of the Asia, for the perfection with which the fire of their guns was directed; each vessel in turn, to which her broadside was directed, became a complete wreck. His Royal Highness will be aware that so complete a victory, by a few, however perfect, against an excessive number, however individually inferior, cannot be acquired but at a considerable loss of life; accordingly I have to lament the loss of Captain Bathurst, of the Genoa, whose example on this occasion is well worthy of the imitation of his survivors. Captain Bell, commanding the Royal Marines of the Asia, an excellent officer, was killed early in the action, in the steady performance of his duty, and I have to mourn the death of Mr. William Smith, the master, admired for the zeal and ability with which he executed his duty, and beloved by all for his private qualities as a man. Mr. H. S. Dyer, my secretary, having received a severe contusion from a splinter, I am deprived temporarily of his valuable assistance in collecting and keeping up the general returns and communications of the squadrons; I shall therefore retain in my office Mr. E. J. T. White, his first clerk, whom I have nominated to succeed the purser of the Brisk. I feel much personal obligation to the Honourable Lieutenant-colonel Cradock, for his readiness, during the heat of the battle, in carrying my orders and messages to the different quarters, after my aides-de-camp were disabled: but I will beg permission to refer his Royal Highness for further particulars of this sort to the details of the killed and wounded, a subject which it is painful for me to dwell upon. When I contemplate, as I do with extreme sorrow, the extent of our loss, I console myself with the reflection that the measure which produced the battle was absolutely necessary for obtaining the results contemplated by the treaty, and that it was brought on entirely by our opponents.

When I found that the boasted Ottoman word of honour was made a sacrifice to wanton, savage devastation, and that a base advantage was taken of our reliance upon Ibrahim's good faith, I own I felt a desire to punish the offenders. But it was my duty to re-

frain, and refrain I did; and I can assure his Royal Highness that I would still have avoided this disastrous extremity, if other means had been open to me. The Asia, Genoa, and Albion, have each suffered so much, that it is my intention to send them to England so soon as they shall have received, at Malta, the necessary repairs for their voyage. The Talbot, being closely engaged with a double-banked frigate, has also suffered considerably, as well as others of the smaller vessels; but I hope their defects are not more than can be made good at Malta. The loss of men in the Turco-Egyptian ships must have been immense, as his Royal Highness will see by the accompanying list, obtained from the secretary of the Capitana Bey, which includes that of two out of the three ships to which the English division was opposed. Captain Curzon having preferred continuing to assist me in the Asia, I have given the charge of my despatches to Commander Lord Viscount Ingestre, who, besides having had a brilliant share in the action, is well competent to give his Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral any further particulars he may require.

I enclose, for his Royal Highness's further information, a letter from Captain Hamilton, descriptive of the proceedings of Ibrahim Pacha, and the misery of the country which he has devastated; a protocol of the conference which I had with my colleagues, and the plan and order for entering the port, which I gave out in consequence. I have, &c.,

(Signed) Edward Codrington, Vice-admiral.

No. I.—(*Translation.*)

The admirals commanding the squadrons of the three powers which signed the Treaty of London, having met before Navarin for the purpose of concerting the means of effecting the object specified in the said Treaty, viz. an armistice *de facto* between the Turks and the Greeks, have set forth in the present protocol the result of their conference.

Considering that after the provisional suspension of hostilities, to which Ibrahim Pacha consented in his conference of the 25th of September last with the English and French Admirals, acting likewise in the name of the Russian admiral, the said Pacha did, the very next day, violate his engagement by causing his fleet to come out, with a view to its proceeding to another point in the Morea:—

Considering that since the return of that fleet to Navarin, in consequence of a second requisition addressed to Ibrahim by Codrington, who had met him near Patras, the troops of this Pacha have not ceased carrying on a species of warfare more destructive and exterminating than before, putting women and children to the sword, burning the habitations, and tearing up trees by the roots, in order to complete the devastation of the country:—

Considering that, with a view of putting a stop to atrocities, which exceed all that have hitherto taken place, the means of persuasion and conciliation, the representations made to the Turkish

chiefs, and the advice given to Mehemet Ali and his son, have been treated as mockeries, whilst they might, with one word, have suspended the course of so many barbarities.

Considering that there only remains to the commanders of the allied squadrons the choice between three modes of fulfilling the intentions of their respective courts, namely:

1. The continuing, throughout the whole of the winter, a blockade, difficult, expensive, and perhaps useless, since a storm may disperse the squadron, and afford to Ibrahim the facility of conveying his destroying army to different points of the Morea and the Islands.

2. The uniting the allied squadrons in Navarin itself, and securing, by this permanent presence, the inaction of the Ottoman fleets; but which mode alone leads to no termination, since the Porte persists in not changing its system.

3. The proceeding to take a position with the squadrons in Navarin, in order to renew to Ibrahim propositions which, entering into the spirit of the treaty, were evidently to the advantage of the Porte itself.

After having taken these three modes into consideration, we have unanimously agreed that this third mode may, without effusion of blood, and without hostilities, but simply by the imposing presence of the squadrons, produce a determination leading to the desired object.

We have in consequence adopted it, and set it forth in the present protocol.—Oct. 18, 1827.

(Signed) Edward Codrington, Vice-admiral and Commander-in-chief of his Britannic Majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean.

Louis, Count de Heiden, Rear-admiral of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the Russias.

Rear-admiral H. de Rigny, commanding the squadron of his Most Christian Majesty.

No. III.

Statement made by the Secretary of the Capitana Bey in the Port of Navarin, Oct. 21, 1827.

3 Turkish line-of-battle ships:—1 Turkish admiral—84 guns, 850 men—650 killed—1 ditto, 84 guns, 830 men—1 ditto, 76 guns. 850 men, 400 killed.

4 Egyptian double-banked frigates, 64 guns each, from 450 to 500 men.

15 Turkish frigates, 48 guns, from 450 to 500 men.

18 Turkish corvettes,—8 Egyptian ditto,—from 18 to 24 guns, 200 men.

4 Turkish brigs,—8 Egyptian ditto,—19 guns, from 130 to 150 men.

6 Egyptian fire-vessels.
40,000 Egyptian troops in the Morea, 4,000 of whom came with the above ships.

No. IV.—(*Translation.*)

As the squadrons of the Allied Powers did not enter Navarin with a hostile intention, but only to renew to the commanders of the Turkish fleet, propositions which were to the advantage of the Grand Signior himself, it is not our intention to destroy what ships of the Ottoman navy may yet remain, now that so signal a vengeance has been taken for the first cannon-shot which has been ventured to be fired on the allied flags.

We send, therefore, one of the Turkish captains, fallen into our hands as a prisoner, to make known to Ibrahim Pacha, Mouharem Bey, Tahir Pacha, and Capitana Bey, as well as to all the other Turkish Chiefs, that if one single musket or cannon shot be again fired on a ship or boat of the Allied Powers, we shall immediately destroy all the remaining vessels, as well as the forts of Navarin; and that we shall consider such new act of hostility as a formal declaration of the Porte against the three Allied Powers, and the Grand Signior and his Pachas must suffer the terrible consequences.

But if the Turkish Chiefs acknowledge the aggression they have committed by commencing the firing, and abstain from any act of hostility, we shall resume those terms of good understanding which they have themselves interrupted. In this case they will have the white flag hoisted on all the forts before the end of this day. We demand a categorical answer, without evasions, before sunset.

Signed by the English, French and Russian admirals.

No. V.

His Britannic Majesty's ship Asia, Navarin,
MONSIEUR L'AMIRAL, *Oct.* 23, 1827.

When your Excellency did me the honour of voluntarily placing yourself and the Russian squadron under my command, you gave me a right to judge of your conduct in that situation, by making me in a great measure responsible for it. I take advantage then of that right to say, that I contemplated your way of leading your squadron into battle on the 20th, with the greatest pleasure; that nothing can exceed the good management of the ships under your especial direction, and that my having had you under my orders in that bloody and destructive engagement will be one of the proudest events of my life. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD CODRINGTON.

To his Excellency Rear-admiral
Count Heyden, &c.

(N. B.—The answer of Rear-admiral Count Heyden does not appear to have been received.)

No. VI.

His Britannic Majesty's ship, Asia, Navarin, Oct. 23, 1827.

Monsieur l'Amiral,

When your Excellency did me the honour of voluntarily placing yourself and the French squadron under my command, you gave me a right to judge of your conduct in that situation, by making me in a great measure responsible for it. I take advantage then of that right to say, that I contemplated your way of leading your squadron into battle on the 20th, with the greatest pleasure; that nothing can exceed the good management of the ships under your special direction, and that my having had you under my orders in that bloody and destructive engagement will be one of the proudest events of my whole professional life. Although it was my wish to avoid entering into any particular detail, yet the general expression of the captains of the British ships, who were near the Armide, calls upon me to say, that the conduct of Captain Hugon entitles him to the marked consideration of your Excellency.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) Edward Codrington, Vice-admiral.

Son Excellence Monsieur le Contre-Amiral, Chevalier de Rigny, &c. &c.

No. VII.—(*Translation.*)

Sir, *Syrène, at Navarin, Oct. 23, 1827.*

I consider your approbation, and the letter which you have addressed to me, as a testimony most honourable to myself and to the officers under my orders; and I shall preserve the letter as a valuable record of your esteem, and I hope also of your friendship.

In the action of the 20th, you set us the example; we could not do better than to follow it.

I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration, your Excellency's most faithful servant,

(Signed) H. de Rigny, Rear-admiral.

To his Excellency, Vice-admiral Codrington.

Syrène, at Navarin, Oct. 23, 1827.

Sir,

I hasten to do myself the honour to inform your Excellency, from a detailed report made by Captain Hugon, of the Armide, that the excellent manœuvre of Captain Davies, when the Rose came and resolutely cast her anchor within pistol-shot of two Turkish corvettes, relieved the Armide in a few minutes from her unfavourable position: and it is my duty, and at the same time a great pleasure to me, to assure your Excellency, that on this occasion Captain Davies did every thing that could be expected from a brave and experienced officer.

Allow me also to take this opportunity of returning my thanks to Captain Fellowes for the assistance which the Syrène received from

the boats of the Dartmouth, when, with much skill and bravery, they attacked and turned off the fire-ships ready to come down upon us.

I am, with the highest consideration, your very faithful servant,

(Signed) H. DE RIGNY, Rear-admiral.

His Excellency, Vice-admiral Codrington,
commanding his Britannic Majesty's squadron.

A Return of the Killed and Wounded on board his Majesty's Ships and Vessels under the command of Vice-admiral Sir Edward Codrington, K.C.B., in an action with the Turkish Fleet, in Navarin Harbour, Oct. 20, 1827.

Ships.	*Killed.*	*Wounded.*
Asia	19	57
Albion	10	50
Genoa	26	33
Dartmouth	6	8
Glasgow	0	2
Talbot	6	17
Cambrian	1	1
Philomel	1	7
Rose	3	15
Brisk	1	3
Musquito	2	4
Total	75	197

No. X.—(*Translation.*)

A Return of the number of Killed and Wounded on board his most Christian Majesty's ships at Navarin, the 20th October, 1827.

On board the Syrène, at Navarin,
Oct. 21, 1827.

Ships.	*Killed.*	*Wounded.*
Officers	3	3
Syrène	21	42
Scipion	2	36
Trident	0	7
Breslau	1	14*
Armide	14	14
Alcyone	1	9
Daphne	1	8
Total	43	144

(Signed) H. DE RIGNY, Rear-admiral,
Commanding the Squadron.

On the arrival of the despatches in England there was, of course, much public excitement, and by many the action was

* Captain La Bretonnière, of this ship, has been wounded.

condemned as rash, useless, impolitic, and calculated to advance the already too extended power of Russia in the East of Europe. The government seems to have felt that it had committed itself, and Vice-admiral Sir John Gore was sent out, the bearer of despatches to Sir Edward, of which the following are nearly all which it concerns the public and the naval profession to know.

QUERIES, &c.

From J. W. Croker, Esq. to Sir E. Codrington.

(Delivered 4th of December, 1827, by Sir J. Gore.)

Sir, *Admiralty Office, Nov.* 18, 1827.

His Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral, having transmitted to his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, your despatch of the 21st October, and its inclosures, giving an account of the battle which had on the preceding day taken place between the Allied squadrons and the Turkish and Egyptian fleets in the harbour of Navarin, and of the circumstances and motives, on your part, which had led to that event, his Royal Highness has, in return, received from the Earl of Dudley a despatch of which his Royal Highness commands me to inclose you herewith a copy, and to convey to you his Royal Highness's commands, that you furnish his Royal Highness with your explanation on the several points stated in Lord Dudley's letter, together with any other observations which may occur to you as necessary for putting his Royal Highness, and his Majesty's government, in full possesion of all the circumstances of this transaction.

You will perceive, by the first part of Lord Dudley's letter, and by my two letters of the 13th instant, conveying to you notification of the promotion conferred by his Royal Highness on so many of the officers of your squadron, and of the honours which his Majesty has been graciously pleased to bestow upon yourself and the several captains and commanders, how highly, and how justly, the skill and gallantry displayed in this brilliant exploit, by you and the officers, seamen and royal marines under your command, are appreciated.

And his Royal Highness further commands me to express his high satisfaction at the cordiality and courage with which the squadrons of his Majesty's allies took so honourable a share in this sanguinary contest.

I am, Sir, &c.

(Signed) J. W. Croker.

Vice-admiral
Sir E. Codrington, K.G.C.B.

From Earl Dudley to his Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral, K.G.

Sir, *Foreign Office, Nov.* 17, 1827.

His Majesty's confidential servants have had under mature consideration the despatch from Sir Edward Codrington of the 21st of

October, which, together with its several inclosures, has been transmitted to me by your Royal Highness's command.

They entirely concur with your Royal Highness in recognising the great skill and distinguished bravery, displayed by his Majesty's naval forces on the 20th of October, as well as the ability of Sir Edward Codrington in maintaining that perfect harmony and good understanding with the admirals commanding the allied forces, which became the guarantee of their cordial and gallant co-operation in the hour of trial at Navarin.

Whilst, however, his Majesty's government are happy to make this acknowledgment, it is impossible not to lament the loss of life with which this severe conflict has been attended; and it is their duty to consider the circumstances of this case with reference to the instructions under which Sir Edward Codrington was acting, marked as they were by an anxious desire to avoid, except in the last extremity, any act of hostility.

In this view of the question, there are some points of great importance upon which the despatches hitherto received from the admiral, do not convey that full explanation which his Majesty's government deem it essential to obtain; the omission of which they ascribe solely to the circumstances under which those despatches were written, and to the admiral's anxiety to transmit the earliest intelligence of the important event that had occurred.

The points respecting which further explanation is considered to be necessary are those adverted to in the following queries.*

ANSWER TO QUERIES.

From Sir E. Codrington to Mr. Croker.

SIR, *Asia, at Malta, Dec. 9, 1827.*

On the 4th instant I received your letter of the 18th of November, with the inclosure of the 17th from the Earl of Dudley, which his Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral was pleased to entrust to the care of Vice-admiral Sir John Gore.

By these letters I am commanded "to give such further explanations as may occur to me as necessary, for putting his Royal Highness and his Majesty's government in full possession of all the circumstances and motives on my part which led to the battle of Navarin, and with particular explanations of points stated in Lord Dudley's letter." I propose, therefore, in the first place, taking these latter points *seriatim*:—

1*st Query*.—"Is the memorandum transmitted in Sir Edward Codrington's despatch of the 25th of September (inclosure No. 7) the only written document in which there is any specification of the conditions of the armistice agreed upon with Ibrahim Pacha?"

Answer.—There was no written agreement betwixt Ibrahim and

* I have given the queries, with their answers, as Sir Edward has written them, to save unnecessary repetition.—AUTHOR.

the admirals. I was given to understand that it was not customary with this people to put such things down in writing, because their word given in the presence of witnesses is supposed to be sacred. On this account, I demanded that the interview which Ibrahim required with me, might take place in the presence of all his chiefs; and I, for the same reason, took with me several of my officers, as did also Rear-admiral De Rigny. I likewise took on shore with me as interpreter a gentleman of Malta, but did not insist upon his admission, when told it would offend.

I spoke in English; which the Pacha's dragoman showed he well understood, by repeating the sense of what I said in French to the full satisfaction of Admiral De Rigny, and which he then transferred to the Pacha and his chiefs in the Turkish language without the least hesitation. And it was the conviction of the by-standers who watched his manner, and the effect my observations thus translated had upon the auditors, that they were given faithfully.

2nd Query.—"Was that memorandum communicated to Ibrahim Pacha, or any officer of the Turkish forces who had been present at the conference at which the armistice was agreed to?"

Answer.—The dragoman was always asked if he clearly understood what was said, to which he replied in the affirmative: and we were all convinced by watching him and his auditors that he did so.—When off Patras, I asked the Reala* Bey, who came on board the Asia, if he was not present at the interview; and he answered that he was: and when I told him he was therefore as bad as Ibrahim himself in breaking his word of honour, he excused himself by saying, that he understood I had given leave on the 26th. And further, upon the dragoman being asked, if what passed at this conference was as binding as if committed to paper, he replied that his Highness Ibrahim's word was considered as his bond, and, therefore, it might be as much relied upon as a written treaty. And upon my desiring, at the close of our conference, that this question might be put to the Pacha, the dragoman objected that it would be an affront to doubt it. I, nevertheless, made a point of it; and it was therefore put and replied to by Ibrahim himself in the affirmative.

3rd Query.—"It being stated in Sir Edward Codrington's memorandum that the armistice was to take effect by sea and land, was there any article or any understanding in respect to the forces and districts to be included in it, or as to the period and mode of its termination?"

Answer.—The armistice by sea and land thus agreed upon, referred only to the ships and troops forming the expedition then at Navarin. It was to remain inactive at Navarin until Ibrahim should receive answers from Constantinople and Alexandria to the communications he was to make of what had passed at our conference. Upon my asking how long the answers might be coming, it was

* Called by mistake in Sir Edward's first letter Hallil Bey.

stated that 20 days was the shortest period: and it was agreed that Ibrahim should make known to us, through our ships off the port, his receiving those answers. At this time the Turkish part of the fleet was outside the harbour; and I acceded to Ibrahim's request that I would allow them to come in, (lest, as he said, suspicion of his inclination to follow our wishes should arise from the Egyptian ships alone being in the port,) on account of his disposition to bind himself by the armistice.

4th Query.—"Was there any mode agreed upon for denouncing the armistice by either party on receipt of the answers from Constantinople?"

Answer.—Ibrahim was to make known his receipt of answers to his communications, and whether by those answers our proposals were or were not acceded to.

5th Query.—"On the 18th of October, when the protocol was signed, had any answer been received from Constantinople; and if so, was the nature of that answer known to the admirals when they agreed to the protocol?"

Answer.—I have no means of knowing whether any answers were received or not. No notification, as agreed upon, of any such answers being received was made to us.

6th Query.—"It having been alleged in the answer of Patrona Bey, when he was turned back with the forces under his command on his way to Patras, that Ibrahim Pacha did not consider the armistice as precluding him from making that movement, was any explanation entered into between the return of Patrona Bey to Navarin and the 20th of October, for clearing up that difference of construction of the armistice?"

Answer.—No explanation was entered into, because I felt sure that Ibrahim had misstated the fact designedly. On the 26th of September, when the Asia and Syrène were about to quit Navarin, betwixt two and three o'clock, Ibrahim's dragoman came to me from the Pacha, to say that he had received information of Lord Cochrane having made a descent upon Patras,* and to ask if I would give him leave to send a force competent to beat him off. Admiral De Rigny was present at this interview on board the Asia: and we both replied, that on no account whatever could we permit such a thing, as being directly contrary to that part of our orders which we had read at the preceding day's conference. The dragoman argued, that I had myself promised to prevent Lord Cochrane's proceedings. I said, that this intention referred to a meditated expedition to a part beyond the present theatre of war; and that the Greeks having accepted our mediation, I had no authority for interfering with their operations in any part within the present theatre of war. I then inquired if I was to consider the armistice as still binding; to which the dragoman in conclusion said, that if the Pacha had any further objection to urge, he would return to an-

* There was no truth in this.

nounce it; and that if he did not return in about an hour, we were to conclude that the agreement remained as settled the preceding day. We waited until almost dark, and the dragoman not having returned, the Asia and Syrène went out of the harbour.

7th Query.—"Was any step taken by Sir Edward Codrington after the conclusion of the armistice, and before the entrance of the combined fleet into Navarin, to remonstrate against the hostilities carried on by the forces of Ibrahim Pacha by land?"

Answer.—Yes; as the accompanying document clearly shows. But Ibrahim, consistently with his other conduct, made his dragoman swear that he did not know where to find him, and that there were no means whatever of sending him the letter. [See Lieutenant-colonel Cradock's report.]

8th Query.—"Was any communication made to the admiral commanding the Ottoman fleet in Navarin, as to the object of the movement of the 20th of October, before it was carried into effect?"

Answer.—None. Because the commander of the Ottoman fleet had refused to receive my letter of the 19th of September, alleging, that he had no authority to receive any such communications, and that they must pass through Ibrahim himself. Accordingly, Ibrahim, who was then passing in his boat, received the letter himself from Captain Baillie Hamilton, although not addressed to him.

9th Query.—"If the second mode of proceeding, mentioned in the protocol of the 18th of October, had been adopted, would it not, on the one hand, have effectually obviated all the risks pointed out as objections to the first mode; and on the other hand, as effectually secured, so far as the naval forces in Navarin were concerned, the main object of the instructions of the 12th of July, namely, 'the interruption of all supplies of arms, ammunition,* &c. to the Turkish forces,' in Greece, without incurring the same danger of collision as was apprehended from the third?"

Answer.—The third mode of proceeding, having in contemplation the renewing the propositions, was less likely to "degenerate into hostilities" than the second. But as Ibrahim had determined to receive no communications from us whilst without the port, and as we considered an effectual blockade of Navarin during the winter as physically impossible, we adopted the plan of entering the port as the only means of fulfilling the object of the treaty. I may here state, that when before Navarin in the middle of September, we were, at one time, carried by a northerly current as far to the northward as the Strophadia Islands; and at another time, in a strong wind aided by a southerly current, below the Gulf of Coron; and there is no anchorage† whatever upon any part of the neighbouring coast.

* The instructions say of "*men*, arms," &c.
† Owing to the great depth of water.

There is no safety for any larger vessel than a sloop of war in Modon, or under Sapienza, where the Columbine was lost.

10*th Query*.—" With respect to the third mode of proceeding, what were the propositions referred to therein as intended to be made to Ibrahim Pacha?"

Answer.—The propositions referred to were, that the expedition should return to Alexandria or the Dardanelles, and not operate further in Greece or the islands;—and we were prepared to guarantee the safe return of any or all the forces at Ibrahim's disposal, if he consented to abandon the country.

I am induced to think the Answers which I have thus given to the Queries put by Lord Dudley will be satisfactory to the government, as showing that I had no other means of effecting the purpose of the treaty than by anchoring in the port of Navarin.

But I will beg leave to trespass further upon the time of his Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral, by adverting, in the first place, to that part of the second instruction emanating from the treaty, which says, " Should this hypothesis be realized, you will be informed thereof directly by the King's Ambassador at Constantinople, who is instructed to correspond with you, &c."

" The informations which you may receive, and the directions which may accompany them, to which you will be pleased to conform, will be concerted between the three ambassadors; and the proceedings and arrangements which these ambassadors shall have pointed out, as well as those which circumstances may have rendered necessary, must be arranged between you and the French and Russian commanders."

Now, upon weighing the possible, if not probable, effect of carrying this instruction into execution, I wrote on the 11th of August to Mr. Stratford Canning:—

" Neither of us* can make out how we are by force to prevent the Turks, if obstinate, from pursuing any line of conduct which we are instructed to oppose, without committing hostility. Surely it must be like a blockade. If an attempt be made to force it, by force only can that attempt be resisted."

To this he replied in a *confidential* letter, dated the 19th of August, 1827, " I agree with you in thinking that any loss or imminent danger occurring to his Highness's fleet is more likely to soften than to rivet his determination. In speaking of ' collision' in a former letter, I only meant that the decisive moment as to war will be that in which he first learns by experience that we mean to enforce, if necessary, by cannon shot, the armistice, which it is the object of the treaty to establish with or without him, as the case may be. This, I imagine, to be the true meaning of the second instruction addressed to you and your colleagues. You are not to take part with either of the belligerents, but you are to interpose your

* Meaning Admiral De Rigny and himself.

forces between them, and to keep the peace with your speaking trumpet if possible; but, in case of necessity, with that which is used for the maintenance of a blockade against friends as well as foes,—I mean *force*."

And in another confidential letter, dated the 1st of September, 1827, he further replied, "On the subject of *collision*, for instance, we agree that although the measures to be executed by you are not to be adopted in a hostile spirit, and although it is clearly the intention of the allied governments to avoid, if possible, any thing that may bring on war, yet the prevention of supplies, as stated in your instructions, is ultimately to be enforced, if necessary; and when all other means are exhausted, by cannon-shot."

These documents will show that it was my duty to execute the treaty,—by persuasion if I could,—but if not, by the employment of actual force; and that force is defined by Mr. S. Canning to be *cannon-shot*.

In all my subsequent proceedings, detailed with a scrupulous minuteness, his Royal Highness will observe, that I used my utmost endeavours to avoid the collision contemplated in the treaty. My first letter received by Ibrahim in Navarin, urging consent to the mediation, goes to establish this point; for if the expedition had put to sea, and he had refused to return with it to Africa upon my representation, it is evident I must, according to my instructions, have employed the force under my command to effect it, without waiting for his first making an attack upon any of the allied ships. Even if a blockade could have been made effectual, we must have come to this extremity whenever a want of provisions might oblige the Ottoman fleet to put to sea. But in the mean time, the whole of the Peloponnesus would have been ravaged by the vengeful Ibrahim and his army, and its unopposing and unoffending inhabitants reduced to that misery, to prevent which was the prominent object of this important treaty. This conduct of Ibrahim was first made known to me by deputies bringing letters from Armyro, translations of which, with other papers relating to it, accompany this.

In order further to show that I have made it my object throughout to avoid collision with the Ottoman fleet, and not to let my interruption of the supplies of men, arms, vessels, and warlike stores, degenerate into hostilities, I have inclosed copies of papers referring to this particular head; in all of which his Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral and his Majesty's government will observe, that caution on this point has been my prominent principle.

Even when a division of the Navarin fleet was met with going to Patras, in breach of the armistice, and when so favourable an opportunity was afforded for professional distinction, I refrained as much as possible from coming into actual collision. The same evidence of determination to execute the object of the treaty which prevented collision on the above occasion, enabled me to deter Ibrahim himself, with almost his whole fleet, from forcing the passage which it was my duty to intercept.

I may now be permitted, in closing this letter, to repeat, that according to the concurrent testimony of all the pilots, and all the officers whose local experience establishes the soundness of their opinions, a blockade of the port of Navarin was physically impracticable;

That so long as the allied fleet remained without the port, Ibrahim continued to practise uninterrupted that barbarous and exterminating warfare. which the treaty was framed to prevent;

That, therefore, the object of the allied powers could only be accomplished by our actually entering the port, and by means of the imposing presence of the squadrons, inducing Ibrahim to send back the expeditionary force to Alexandria or the Dardanelles.

I have, &c.

(Signed) EDWARD CODRINGTON.

Letter from Vice-admiral Sir Edward Codrington to John Wilson Croker, Esq.

SIR, *Talbot, Malta, April* 4, 1828.

In the newspaper reports of the proceedings in Parliament on the 5th of last month, one of the members (Sir Robert Wilson), referring to a statement of from 2,000 to 3,000 Greeks having been seized by Ibrahim Pacha and sent to Alexandria, is said to have observed, that "such a transaction could not well have taken place without the consent of the allied forces," &c. And Mr. Huskisson is stated, in reply, to have attributed the successful removal of the Greeks "to the injury done to the allied squadrons having interrupted the blockade" (I own I do not comprehend this sentence;) and Mr. Huskisson is reported to have added, "that government was most anxious to put an end to this traffic, and had sent orders into the Mediterranean to intercept all vessels found engaged in it." As the error contained in this statement, besides compromising in some measure my conduct in the command with which I have been honoured, may be otherwise injurious to his Majesty's service, I beg his Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral's permission to explain *that I do not* consider myself empowered, by my present instructions, to institute blockades of any sort; that I do not consider myself authorized to examine into the composition of any part of the Ottoman forces, which may return to Turkey or Africa in general; and that I have as yet no orders to intercept vessels found engaged in the traffic in question.

In the execution of so complicated a measure as the treaty of the 6th July, 1827, I may well be diffident of having understood the whole purport of the instructions, in which it is observed, that it is impossible to foresee all the cases which may arise. I beg leave, therefore, to request that his Royal Highness the Lord High Admiral will be pleased to inform me if I am hereafter to intercept vessels carrying on this traffic, and to institute a blockade, or to take any other means of putting an end to it.

The harem of Ibrahim Pacha himself formed part of the detachment referred to, and his Royal Highness will be aware that no

measure would be more likely to produce hostility with the Mahometans, than an attempt to examine their harems; and several previous communications from me will show the liability of getting into disputes with the Austrian marine by the interruption of their communication with the Ottoman forces; but I have no hesitation in saying, that the adoption of these two measures would greatly forward the object of the allied powers described in the treaty, and would eminently promote the cause of humanity. Commander Richards of the Pelorus informs me, that at that time 600 Greek children were publicly sold in the slave-market at Alexandria; and le Capitaine Pujol, in his report to Vice-admiral De Rigny, makes the number of Greek captives sent over amount to 1,200. The return of these and other Greeks might be stipulated for in exchange for the troops who would be placed at our mercy by the measures contemplated. I should observe, that the only blockade which I have hitherto considered myself authorized to adopt, was that of the force in Navarin under Ibrahim Pacha, and that solely because he had broken an armistice solemnly agreed upon; that I had ample experience of the difficulty of supporting it against the querulous interruption of the Austrian marine forces; and that, after having deprived the Ottoman commander of the means of executing the hostile measures he had contemplated, I have not found myself justified in continuing, in absence of further instructions from his Majesty's Government.

I have, &c.,

EDWARD CODRINGTON, Vice-admiral.

To J. W. Croker, Esq.

Earl Dudley to Sir Edward Codrington.

(Received April 9th, at Malta.)

SIR, *Foreign Office, March* 18, 1828.

By the reports from Captain Richards of the Pelorus, and Mr. Consul Barker to yourself, forwarded to Mr. Croker in your letter of the 21st January, it appears, that on the 27th and 28th December, 45 Egyptian or Turkish vessels, of which 30 were ships of war, (including 17, which, in a return transmitted by you, are said to have arrived at Navarin on the 7th December,) returned to Alexandria from Navarin with invalid and wounded soldiers of the army of Ibrahim Pacha, and having also on board a considerable number of unfortunate Greek children who have been disposed of in the slave-markets of Alexandria. Similar statements have reached his Majesty's Government from other quarters. A letter from Mr. Consul Barker at Alexandria to Mr. Stratford Canning, after stating that "Ibrahim Pacha has sent away in the expedition all whose maintenance had become burdensome; all such of the crews of the destroyed ships as could not be converted into soldiers; the sick, and the wounded, and otherwise disabled of the fleet, and all superannuated invalids, and useless followers of the army," adds that "the number of Greek slaves, chiefly young women and children, amounted to 5,500, and describes them as having arrived in the most wretched state of suffering from hunger and grief."

This latter intelligence has caused the deepest concern to his Majesty, and is calculated to excite the most painful feelings throughout the country.

From the circumstance of the first intimation of this expedition from Navarin having been transmitted to you from Alexandria, after it had arrived in that port, as well as from the statements received from Corfu, of there having been no naval force before the ports of Navarin, Modon, and Coron, since the battle, it would appear that those ports had not only been free from blockade, but that the movements of Ibrahim Pacha, and of the remains of the Turkish and Egyptian naval forces in the Morea had not even been watched.

Adverting to the paragraph in your instructions of the 16th October, (of which you acknowledge the receipt on the 8th of November,) which directs you to concert with the commanders of the allied powers the most effectual mode of preventing any movements by sea on the part of the Turkish or Egyptian forces," and more particularly " within the line described in the protocol of the ambassadors at Constantinople for the operations of the Greek blockade," I have to desire you will forthwith furnish me with a detailed statement of the orders given, and the steps taken by you in pursuance of that part of your instructions.

This information is the more requisite after the events to which I have already called your attention, as in an inclosure, transmitted in your letter of the 8th November, already referred to, his Majesty's Government were given to understand in your own words, and those of the allied admirals, that an *Armistice de mer existe de fait du côté des Turcs;—leur flotte n'existe plus.*

Vice-admiral I have, &c. DUDLEY.

Sir Edward Codrington, K.G.C.B.

Observations on the Battle of Navarin, and its Effects on the Commerce of the Eastern Seas, particularly as to the suppression of Piracy.

Whatever may have been the causes which led to the removal of Sir Edward Codrington from the command in the Mediterranean, I think there is no naval officer, nor any impartial person, who will not admit that, with regard to his discharge of the instructions from the Admiralty, Sir Edward stands fully and honourably acquitted of all blame; and that no officer, holding so high a command, would have performed its various important duties with more zeal and ability.

Many a careful perusal of his " printed correspondence," of his " Compressed Narrative," and of " the 10 Queries" sent out under the confidential charge of Sir John Gore, has impressed me with a decided opinion on the subject, which I will venture to offer to the public, in the hope that it will at least prove useful to my profession.

That the battle of Navarino was, in one important particular, an untoward event, none will dispute; but I maintain, that Sir Edward was thoroughly exonerated from the slightest imputation of having produced hostility: we must, therefore, consider his merit the same as if he had subdued the most inveterate enemy of the country.

That a victory gained over the Ottoman fleet was adding to the power of Russia has never been doubtful, since the year 1789, and, perhaps, much earlier. It remains to be seen how far the Sublime Porte was instigated by foreign intrigue to adopt that course with regard to Greece, which provoked that chastisement from British valour, of which the British nation was likely, at no distant day, to be the dupe. This opinion will appear far from improbable, to him who considers the tendency of Russian policy during the last half century. This was the dreaded power against which Mr. Fox on the Whig, and Mr. Jenkinson, afterwards Lord Liverpool, on the Tory side, publicly inveighed in the years 1790 and 1791. They spoke as profound statesmen; they were the watchmen on the tower, that gave notice of the coming storm; and the armament against Russia, in 1791, was one of the results of their views. Their point was gained for the time. Russia consented to withdraw from the Turkish frontier, and the sword was sheathed. But, in the midst of the storms of the French revolution, when all Europe was busied in repelling invasion, or protecting themselves and their commerce, Russia kept steadily on the advance in her system of aggrandizement. It is true, that by her assistance, the French were taught to keep within their natural boundaries; that the armies of the Great Napoleon found their graves in her snows; and that the accidental conflagration of the second city of her empire was, in the hand of the Almighty, amongst the second causes, which operated so wonderfully against the powerful invader of human rights. Yet these very circumstances, by exciting the general gratitude, and by lulling the vigilance of European statesmen, may have operated with other causes in promoting the sleepless, the incessant, the dangerous movement of Russian policy.

The day therefore may yet arrive, when we shall have cause to regret the victory of Navarin, and the fatal destruction of the Turkish fleet. The treaty of Hoonkiar Skelesry, one of the first fruits of that event, may yet tend to cripple the commerce of Britain in the Eastern archipelago, and still more on the shores of the Euxine.

The attentive observer will not have failed to remark that no Russian return was given of killed and wounded in the battle of Navarin, and, according to one account, which I re-

ceived from an officer of rank who was present, the Russian admiral by some accident failed to take the post assigned to him and his squadron in the action.

We must now refer to the ostensible cause of Sir Edward Codrington's removal from the command of the fleet, and from a station in which his conduct for valour had obtained for himself and his officers the highest approbation, not only of his own government, but also that of the powers in alliance with it.

On the meeting of Parliament after the battle of Navarin, a vast deal of false information and much idle, and, if I may use the term, "clap-trap" declamation, was indulged in by some of the members: this Sir Edward might have disregarded; but when Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Huskisson, in their places as ministers, imputed to him the blame either of disobedience or inattention to orders, but which orders he had never received, and which he had even begged to be furnished with, it became his duty to speak out. Straightforward dealing is ever the characteristic of a British sea-officer; and it does not appear very easy to put any other construction either on the orders he had received, or on the observations made in Parliament, than he did: and he seems to have been entirely borne out by the result.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that "the ministers, who are responsible for measures, have a right to choose their men:" and this was the maxim of my illustrious friend, the late Earl of St. Vincent. The conclusion come to by the ministry, was, that Sir Edward had displayed all the gallantry of a British officer, but that he unfortunately had misunderstood or misinterpreted his orders, and the Lord High Admiral was accordingly applied to for his removal. In his place in Parliament Sir Edward succeeded in explaining every point to the satisfaction of a large majority of the House, and, as I believe, of the country.

By the letter which Sir Edward addressed to Mr. Croker, dated Talbot, Malta, 4th April, 1828, he seems to have had a clear presentiment of the coming storm. The letter of Lord Dudley, of the 18th March of the same year, does not appear to have been received at the time Sir Edward was writing that important document; but it would have required no depth of penetration to perceive that he was to be thrown overboard, either as a sacrifice to the opposition, or a peace-offering to the Sublime Porte; perhaps both. The cause assigned for his removal from his command had reference to the deportation of the innocent Greek captives from the Morea to the slave-market of Alexandria. In this

unfortunate, nay, infamously cruel and detestable transaction, Sir Edward was no more to blame than Sir Robert Wilson, who first raised the question about it in Parliament: a direct order from his superiors, to put an end to such barbarities, would have afforded to the British admiral and his colleagues the highest satisfaction. He had even sought to receive such orders, but could not obtain them; and his judgment was afterwards called in question for not having put a construction on an ambiguous paragraph, in the order of 16th October, 1827, which it would not bear.

I remember a very remarkable trait in the character of the late Lord Collingwood, which is applicable to this inquiry. When he sent Sir John Duckworth to the Dardanelles, the orders he gave to that admiral were so clear and distinct, that it was thought impossible to misconstrue them. Duckworth, after looking over them, returned into the cabin, and asked the commander-in-chief what he was to do in the event of certain contingencies. "Read your orders," said the plain-dealing upright admiral, "and then, if you don't understand them, come to me, and I will explain them." Duckworth read his orders again with attention, and told his chief that he was perfectly satisfied. This is the way in which orders should be given. Ambiguity admits of no excuse, and is highly criminal where the life, liberty, or character, of one human being may be compromised.

In the "printed documents" I find the following remarkable passage in a letter from Sir Edward Codrington to Mr. Croker:

> The despatch in which Lord Aberdeen has announced to me the decision of his Majesty's government, grounds that decision upon the construction they are now pleased to give to an order to my predecessor, dated the 8th February, 1826, and the instructions of the Earl of Dudley of the 16th October, 1827. I deny, altogether, the interpretation, both in letter and in spirit, which has thus been given to either of these documents.—p. 37.

And it is very remarkable that the gallant and intelligent French admiral, De Rigny, has the same impression.

> I only feel the imputation (says the French admiral) thrown on you, as attaching equally to myself, and share with you that moral responsibility which among men of honour is considered the most effective pledge that can be given.—p. 76.

Count Heiden, the Russian admiral, expresses the same sentiments in language equally strong and energetic.—p. 68.

If then the British language does afford terms in which our meaning may be plainly and unequivocally expressed, why not use those terms at once in a clear and manly avowal of our sentiments?

One great object was certainly attained by Sir Edward Codrington in its fullest effect, namely, the entire suppression of piracy. Carabusa, the strong hold of the pirates, a harbour and a rock of almost inaccessible height, was taken by the peculiar gallantry and perseverance of Sir Thomas Staines, whom Sir Edward had appointed to perform that particular service.

The island of Carabusa (says Sir Edward in his compressed narrative), which had been captured by the Greeks from the Turks, is admirably situated for the interception of all vessels either going into or coming out of the Archipelago. It has an anchorage well adapted for securing the small pirate vessels fitted either for rowing or sailing as required; but it is dangerous for larger ships. And the fort on the rocky summit of the island, in the hands of the most desperate pirate leaders, had set us at defiance by actually firing upon our ships of war. No less than 28 of these pirate vessels made this their place of refuge.

In determining to destroy this nest of rapine, much circumspection was required; since it was to be expected that ruffians like these would make a desperate resistance.*

The only prospect of destroying the fort, in which the pirates themselves lived and stored their plunder, was from a height on the contiguous land of Candia. My colleagues were to be consulted and made parties: the Turks, who coveted repossession of the fortress, were to be reconciled to its demolition from Turkish ground; whilst the enterprize was to be made palatable to the Greeks, who were proud of its capture, profited by the abuses to which it was applied, and valued it as the future medium of obtaining possession of Candia.

Time and extensive communications formed a necessary preliminary to the undertaking. And it is, perhaps, jointly owing to the evident determination to take it at whatever cost, and the decisive conduct and ability of Sir T. Staines and his supporters,† that its capture was accomplished at so early a period. Several of the principal culprits were sent in irons to be placed at the disposal of the Greek government, and a large mass of plundered property was conveyed to Malta, subject to the claims of its rightful owners. The opportune arrival of Count Capodistrias enabled me to procure a simultaneous attack on the system in the upper part of the Archipelago, under Admiral Miaulis; which, coupled with this important capture, has put an end to any further piracy in those seas.

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* Order to Sir T. Staines of the 27th November, 1827.

† See Sir T. Staines' letters of the 1st, 4th, and 5th, February, 1828; sent to the Admiralty in Sir E. Codrington's of the 15th February, 1828.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Observations on the state of Europe consequent on the battle of Navarin —Occupation of Algiers by France—Dispute between Holland and Belgium—Siege and surrender of Antwerp—State of Spain—Death of Ferdinand VII.—British legion—Portugal: Pedro and Miguel—Capture of Miguel's squadron by Admiral Napier—Reflections on the custom of Englishmen entering the service of Foreign Powers—Narrative of the loss of the Thetis, and recovery of the treasure, &c.

The events that have occurred in Europe since the battle of Navarin are so little connected with the naval history of Great Britain, that they will claim in this place but a few and very cursory remarks. The immediate consequence of that battle, and which fully verifies the prophetic denouncement of it as "untoward," was the Russian attack on Turkey. The capture of Farna, essential as it was to the advance of the Russian troops towards Constantinople, could hardly have been, at least, so readily accomplished had a Turkish fleet been prepared to impede the operations before that place. This would, probably, have carried the war on to a third campaign; and, besides exhausting the feeble resources in finance of the Russians, already shaken by the preceding campaigns, have given chance for the jealousies of the European powers to have been roused into a state of activity, to repress the dangerous encroachments of that aggressive power. As it was, success attended her arms, and the treaty which ensued convinced all Europe, that Turkey was from that moment helpless and prostrate at the feet of Russia. The attack of Mehmet Ali on his master, the Grand Signior, and the consequent invocation of Russian aid to stop the progress of the rebel arms, that threatened the capital itself, have amply confirmed this conviction, and nothing but the jealous vigilance of the powers of Europe can, in all human probability, offer any impediment to the transference of the court of the Autocrat from the frozen shores of the Baltic to the more enviable seat of Constantine and his successors.

The Russian restrictive policy has since been shown in an attempt to impose a toll on the navigation of the Danube; as if the nations inhabiting its banks were to be deprived of the advantages of nature by the selfish views of a despotic cabinet. The attempt failed, but the spirit was shown.

England too has felt, but in a more indirect manner, the unfriendly influence of Russian diplomacy. The Turks have

admitted the Americans to the free navigation of the Black Sea, an indulgence which Great Britain has never yet been able to obtain.

The revolution in France, which displaced the old branch of the Bourbon trunk, and substituted Louis Philippe, however important in the history of empires, claims but little remark from us. The French conquest of Algiers, which occurred under Charles X., and which is still retained under the new dynasty, and apparently with the approbation of the French nation, is a subject for more consideration. In a commercial, and therefore in some degree a naval, point of view, the occupation of the country by a civilized people, rather than by barbarous and piratical tribes, must, I conceive, be generally advantageous. However, very recent events seem to render it problematical whether the French will ever be able to reduce the country by absolute force, or whether they possess the spirit of patient conciliation, and the disposition to accommodate their views of government to those simple principles of justice which alone are understood by the primitive tribes of Northern Africa, and without the exercise of which the permanent occupation of the country would be impossible.

The services of a British fleet were called for, in conjunction with one from France, to co-operate against Holland on the occasion of the reduction of Antwerp in the year 1830. The union of Belgium with Holland, after the abdication of Napoleon, had been unfortunately followed by incessant jealousies on the part of the southern provinces. These broke out into absolute resistance against the Dutch government after the revolution in France, which has just been slightly alluded to; and the Dutch troops were expelled from Brussels: neither were they able to obtain possession again, in spite of a three days' attack with 15,000 to 18,000 men under the command of Prince Frederic. The consequence of this failure was the actual separation of the two states. After a considerable interval, Prince Leopold, of Saxe-Coburg, was elected King of the Belgians, with the sanction of most of the different European Governments. The King of Holland, however, disputed the legality of this compulsory separation, and maintained his right to endéavour to enforce again his authority over the unwilling Belgians. He was still in possession of the citadel of Antwerp and the forts adjacent. It was to dispossess him of these, that a strong military force was despatched by France to Antwerp, whose operations were to be supported by the combined squadron. The citadel was obliged to surrender, in spite of the stout resistance of its commander, General Chassée, and very little aid was required from the fleet.

Since these events, the Dutch government has steadily persevered in the resolution to resist or evade all the endeavours made to bring about a final and amicable settlement of the question, and has maintained on foot an enormous army, totally disproportioned to the population of the country, and ruinous to its finances, and apparently with no other hope than the desperate one of taking advantage of whatever chance may produce in its favour, pending the many agitating questions to which the state of European politics promises to give rise.

I can hardly avoid casting a slight glance at the condition of unhappy Spain, although the policy of our Government has been such as to render any exertion of our naval force, more than on a very limited scale unnecessary in that quarter; and the propriety of that policy, it would, I feel, be unbecoming in a naval officer to discuss. Every friend to humanity must, however, deeply deplore the horrible scenes of carnage which every day gives rise to, in that afflicted country. The moral degradation into which a nation must have fallen, before it can have become familiarized with acts of cool, deliberate, savage murder, offers to the philanthropist a subject for painful and melancholy reflection.

The night of superstition and ignorance that has for so long a time overspread Spain, through the pernicious influence of a resistless and selfish priesthood, is no doubt beginning to clear up. Bonaparte, by his violent and treacherous aggression, first roused the country from its slumbers. The very priesthood were on this occasion identified in interest with the nation, and powerfully contributed to stimulate the efforts that were made to expel the invader: but no sooner was this effected than they endeavoured to restore things to their original state, and regain their former power. It was too late. The Inquisition had lost its terrors, the priests much of their influence. Knowledge and juster views had penetrated the sanctuary, and, having once found entrance, were no longer to be kept out. The sentiments of civilized Europe must inevitably become those of Spain. In the mean time too many interests are involved to allow this transition to be brought about without a struggle. The priesthood have too much to lose, both of power and wealth. Despotism is in the same condition: while liberty, on the other hand, as yet unrestrained by knowledge, is hurrying on with an inconsiderate and dangerous rapidity. The death of Don Ferdinand was the signal that set these discordant elements in commotion. The friends of absolutism, both in church and state, are strenuously exerting their influence in favour of Don Carlos, while the friends

of limited monarchy are ranged on the side of the infant successor of Ferdinand. The civil war has hitherto been confined to the northern part of Spain, a mountainous region, where priestly influence reigns triumphant, and where the further motive of exclusive privileges long enjoyed in this quarter, but certainly incompatible with the well-being of the monarchy at large, operates fatally to confirm the quarrel. The Carlists, however, though in possession of the mountainous region, through the support of the rural population, have never been able to obtain possession of a single important town. The British legion, which the policy of our Government has allowed to be enlisted in the service of the Queen, has greatly contributed to this effect; yet the coolness of the Queen's generals, who have seemed unwilling cordially to cooperate with that force, and the inability of the Government to meet the pecuniary engagements they had made with it, owing to the miserable condition of the Spanish finances, have concurred to render of secondary value all its noble endeavours: while officers and men are suffering every privation, with the hope, I fear, of no better reward than detestation from one party, and ingratitude from the other. A small naval force under Lord John Hay has been actively employed in preventing the transmission of supplies to the Carlists by sea; and on one or two occasions in rather more offensive operations.

Portugal, our ancient ally, also claims a brief notice before I bring my work to a close. Portugal, in its social and moral state, bears a very close resemblance to Spain. The same germs of civil war existed in both. In Portugal their development occurred a little earlier. The retirement of the Royal family to Brazil under the escort of Sir Sydney Smith, when the French under Junot entered the Portuguese territory; the renunciation by Don Pedro of the crown of Portugal in favour of his daughter, Donna Maria da Gloria, accompanied by a charter conferring on the nation the benefits of a representative constitution; the suppression of that charter by Don Miguel, the young Queen's uncle, after having solemnly sworn to observe it, and at the same time proclaiming himself absolute King; the ultimate expulsion of Don Miguel from his usurped throne by the efforts of Don Pedro, aided by a body of English and French volunteers: all these are events within the recollection of my readers. But I must not omit the important fact, that the main cause of the success of Don Pedro was due to the naval victory gained by the fleet under the command of Admiral Napier, who, with a resolution in thorough accordance with the character of a British sailor, attacked and completely overwhelmed the Miguelite fleet, cap-

turing one ship of 80 guns, one of 74, one of 56, one of 48, and one of 24 guns: three corvettes escaped. But, though the glory of the victory belongs to Admiral Napier, it would be unjust not to admit that the merit of having put the fleet in fighting order is fairly to be assigned to his predecessor, Admiral Sartorius. Upon the propriety, however, of Englishmen's drawing the sword in the quarrels and strifes of other nations, I entertain great doubts; perhaps, my sentiments on this subject are over scrupulous. I must, however, honestly avow them. The energies of every man should be devoted to his country, and be cheerfully employed in whatever service may best promote its interests: but whoever quits his country to take part in the civil warfare of other nations, appears to me, by whatever deaths he may occasion, to be incurring something not very unlike the guilt of murder. I seek not to condemn the sentiments of the many honourable men who, entertaining very different ideas on this subject, have devoted their exertions to the advancement of the political principles they approve, and have for that purpose entered the service of other states: I merely take this opportunity to record my own opinion, and which, also, I believe to be shared by many others. It is this conviction on my part that has prevented my entering into more detail respecting the naval transactions which distinguished the contest between the rival brothers for the crown of Portugal.

The following narrative of the loss of the Thetis, and the recovery of the greatest part of the treasure lost in her, is here introduced, as illustrative of some of the best qualities that belong to the character of British seamen.

The Thetis, a frigate of 36 guns, commanded by Captain Samuel Burgess, sailed from Rio Janeiro for England on the 4th December, 1830. She had on board about 810,000 dollars, or that value in gold and silver bars and old plate.

By an unfortunate set of the current she was taken much out of her course, and while it was supposed they were steering off the land at an angle of at least four points, they were surprised all at once with the horrid shout from the forecastle, "Breakers on the lee-bow—land over the mast-head," and in one instant more the jib-boom and bowsprit came with tremendous force against the perpendicular cliffs of Cape Frio. The ship had her fore-topmast-studding-sail set at the time, and was going 10 and a half miles an hour when thus suddenly checked; and no sooner had the bowsprit fallen on board, than all three of the masts fell aft, over the side or quarters,

killing, wounding, and crushing many of the gallant crew. The night was dreadfully dark and raining: the sea beat with fury against the rocks, and every wave was expected as the final stroke of the executioner. No pen can describe, none but those who have been present on such occasions, can conceive, the sublimity of horror of this dreadful moment: yet, notwithstanding the dying groans of their shipmates, and the state of wreck of the ship, the captain and his noble crew never lost their presence of mind; on the contrary, by a powerful exertion of those faculties with which British seamen seem to be so peculiarly endowed, they rallied from the first shock, and were enabled, as if by an interposing miracle, to save their lives. The boatswain, Mr. Geach, one of that invaluable class of men in our service, who are in general promoted from before the mast for their intrinsic merit alone, succeeded in throwing a line on shore, to some 30 or 40 of the crew who had watched their opportunity and jumped upon the rock: by these means a halser was soon got up, and, though the ship was driven along the rocks by the action of the current, she at last providentially settled, and went down, carrying away the halser; but, at the same time, enough of her larboard side was left above water for the people to save themselves. This was effected by the perseverance of the captain and officers; and, out of a crew of near 300 men only 28 were lost. The reader who wishes for fuller information, will find it in the clear and able narrative of Captain Thomas Dickenson, who volunteered to go in command of the Lightning, sloop of war, to the wreck, and use his endeavours to recover the valuable cargo; and, were it not for the loss of the gallant men who had perished in the Thetis, I should congratulate my countrymen on an event which showed forth the character of British seamen in a new and admirable point of view.

To comprehend the full extent of mind and resolution possessed by Captain Dickenson, and the resources of his men, the reader must not only be, at least in some degree, a seaman, but he must be somewhat conversant with the danger and difficulty of working in an element not natural to man. Captain Dickenson's inventive faculties, employed on his diving-bells, and his air-pumps, and, above all, his derrick, are most surprising; but even these are nothing when compared with the cool and undaunted manner in which he applied them to their various purposes. Complete and merited success crowned his endeavours. Out of 810,000 dollars he recovered to the value of 588,801 by his own exertions, and 161,500 were subsequently recovered by the Algerine, commanded by the Honourable Frederick De Roos; so that out of 810,000 there were only

59,700 lost: Captain Dickenson, also, recovered 27 of the guns, besides stores to the amount of £2,000 in value. In doing this he and his men descended to the depth, very often, of 11 fathoms, or 66 feet, remaining four hours and a half under water, excavating into the mud and sand and gravel, to wrest the treasure as it were by force from the gripe of the ocean. He overturned rocks of many tons weight, and set at defiance the voracious shark and the gigantic whale. One of these enormous creatures, which Captain Dickenson supposes to have been 90 feet long, came so very close in upon their submarine works, as to threaten himself and his daring band of heroes with destruction. In short, the achievements of the captain, his officers, and men, not only realise, but go beyond, the fabled deeds of the most renowned warriors of Homer, Virgil, or Tasso.

After having said so much in favour of this gallant officer, it is painful to read of the ungrateful and disgraceful manner in which he was treated: after years of cruel and persecuting litigation, he was awarded the sum of £17,000 out of £187,000, or one-eleventh part, for salvage. A Deal pilot, who had only gone off to a ship upon the Goodwins, and saved her cargo, would have turned with scorn from such a compensation. Fortunately for the honour of the country, there was a higher tribunal to appeal to. A most extraordinary argument had been unblushingly resorted to in the court on this occasion: it was stated in the Admiralty Court, "that all the several persons engaged in this exploit, and now claiming to be salvors, as well officers as men, were, during the period referred to, as they now are, in his Majesty's service, and receiving pay accordingly; that it was, therefore, the unquestionable duty of the said alleged salvors to proceed in their public capacity upon any service which might call for the exercise of their skill and labour, without reference to any private emolument to be derived therefrom."

I, however, deny, "that it was the unquestionable duty" of the salvors to go on such service, because no admiral can order a captain to construct a diving-bell, and to go down with it to the bottom of the sea, and fetch up treasure for his (the admiral's) profit. True, the admiral has the power to order a captain to go into any danger *on* the water, and, as Bonaparte would have said "*se faire tuer là*;" but here his jurisdiction ends: and, since he could not give the order, he had no more right to a share of the salvage than I had, who was sitting at my fire-side. Still less had the underwriters any *right* to expect such an exertion of skill and labour in their favour and for their sole advantage. The question is now set at rest:

the appeal to the Privy Council was successful; and by this illustrious tribunal £12,000 was added to the £17,000; thus making in all £29,000 to the salvors, among whom the admiral and commander-in-chief was not considered to have any claim.

Of the conduct of the Committee at Lloyd's in this affair I can only say, that I do not recognise in it the noble sentiments which used to animate that honourable body of men when they had John Julius Angerstein for their chairman. I lament this the more, as I have ever been in the habit of viewing them in a very different light. They may, however, have been influenced by motives with which I am unacquainted, and which may have been perfectly just: but surely they must have been ignorant of the nature of the services performed by Captain Dickenson, or they would never have thought that *less than a sixth part* of the treasure recovered was a fair compensation to the salvors.

In February, 1829, the Black Joke, lugger, of 2 guns and 55 men, captured the Almorante, a Spanish slave-vessel of 14 guns and 80 men, with 466 slaves on board.

Lieutenant R. B. Crawford, when commanding a tender on the coast of Guinea, had a rencontre with a pirate, or slaver, for they are almost synonymous terms. Lieutenant Crawford commanded the Nettuno, having only one gun and five men, three of whom ran below when the pirate attempted to board. Lieutenant Crawford shot the officer of the boat, and the bowman, and with his own hands loaded and fired the carronade 23 times with grape and canister. The pirate was finally beaten off with the loss of 20 men killed.

At this very time (1836) I have received a letter from an officer in South America, who states that the slave trade is carried on with the Brazils in the most shameless and determined manner, protected chiefly by the Portuguese flag. The vessels sail in ballast from the Tagus, or with a small cargo of light Manchester goods: these they sell on the coast, or exchange for slaves, with whom they run to the coast of South America; and almost invariably, by their superior sailing, escape capture. We have not vessels of war enough to prevent their landing; steamers alone could effect this. The only effectual way to put a stop to the infamous traffic would be by the unanimous consent of the great European powers to declare it piracy. It has been suggested, that the prosperity of Manchester, whose manufactures supply the coast of Africa, might be compromised, but it is sufficiently obvious, that, if the slave trade were suppressed, the Manchester goods would be ten times more in demand on the coast.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Voyages to the Polar Regions.

ROSS.—PARRY.—FRANKLIN.

THE voyages to the Polar regions, the first of which took place in the year 1818, are well entitled to notice in the naval history of this great maritime country.

Great Britain, having been three years at peace with the whole world, directed her attention to discoveries in the Polar regions, with a view to the enlargement of our knowledge of that portion of the globe, and to the possible consequences to which that might give rise,—objects well worthy the dignity as well as the interest of the greatest maritime and commercial nation of the globe.

By the reports of the whalers in the neighbourhood of Baffin's Bay and Davis's Straits, the Polar seas were at that period remarkably clear of ice; and it was said, that a fair prospect offered of penetrating to the Pacific Ocean, by passing through Lancaster Sound, and thence to Behring's Straits; in other words, of solving the long doubtful problem, whether a passage was to be found through the northern extremity of Baffin's Bay into the Arctic Sea, thus preparing the way for the discovery of the whole of the coast of North America, from the entrance of that great inlet, as far as Behring's Straits.

The expectations of our adventurous officers were farther excited by a letter from Captain Scoresby, a highly respected master of a whaler, to Sir Joseph Banks, the President of the Royal Society; and by that illustrious individual and the council over which he presided the expedition was deemed expedient, and was accordingly proposed by them for the consideration of the Admiralty.

Tenders, or offers, to supply vessels adapted for the service having been advertised for, pressed in from all quarters. Captain Ross condemns the precipitation with which the first four ships were selected, as they were unsuitable from their sailing qualities, as well as from drawing too much

water. Not only were these vessels purchased without his being consulted, but, with the exception of Captain Buchan, all the officers were appointed before it was made known that he was designated to command the expedition. This officer, at the period now referred to, held the command of the Driver, sloop of war, on the Scotch station; and being known to the late Sir George Hope, at that time a Lord of the Admiralty, as a hardy and persevering seaman, and one who had had much experience in the Polar seas, he was selected for this important service. He reached London in January, 1818, ignorant of what was going on, and then found that the ships intended for the voyage had been one month in dock at Deptford, undergoing alterations and repairs.

Captain Edward Sabine, of the Royal Artillery, was appointed to the department of astronomy and natural history, and, at the request of Captain Ross, Commander Buchan was appointed chief of the Eastern expedition, which was to sail through the sea of Spitzbergen, and endeavour to find a passage across the Polar Sea to Behring's Straits. The Isabella and the Alexander, the former commanded by Captain Ross, the latter by Lieutenant William Edward Parry, were to go to Baffin's Bay; while the Dorothea and the Trent, under the orders of Captain Buchan, steered direct for Spitzbergen. The four ships sailed from the river Thames on the 18th of April, and the two last were very soon beset by the ice. In July they had reached the latitude of 80° 32′, when a heavy gale of wind drove them into the harbour of Smeerenburgh; and the Dorothea was found to have sustained so much damage, that it was with great difficulty she reached the port: both ships returned to England in October, agreeably to their orders.

The Isabella and the Alexander passed Cape Farewell at the latter end of May, and on the 4th of June made the land to the south of Coquin's Sound. It is curious, as well as instructive, to follow these gallant men in their minute researches round the eastern and northern coast of Baffin's Bay. Their intercourse with the Danes at Whale Island, in Disco Bay, tended much to damp their sanguine expectations of getting farther northward that season. The whole of their information was directly at variance with all they had learned in England, although stated with so much confidence. The ships, however, proceeded on their enterprize, surrounded and encouraged by the presence of between 30 and 40 sail of British whalers, whose masters and crews were eminently serviceable in extricating them from many and imminent perils. One fearful occurrence, portending inevitable destruction to both the discovery ships, I shall relate in Captain Ross's own words.

We are prepared for the loss of human life in battle, and, when we hear of the field or the ocean bestrewed with the bodies of the slain, we pass on with scarcely more than a sigh; but when hearing of a ship caught up, as it were, and suspended, ready to be dashed in pieces by the fall, or crushed between two mountains of ice, the least imaginative and feeling mind cannot fail to be horror-stricken at the awful idea.

At half-past six in the morning of the 7th of August, 1818, being in latitude 75° 52′, and longitude 64° 42′ (says Captain Ross), the ice began to move, and the wind increasing to a gale, the only chance left for us was to endeavour to force the ship through it to the north, where it partially opened; but the channel was so much obstructed by heavy fragments, that our utmost efforts were ineffectual: the field closed in upon us, and at noon we felt its pressure most severely. A large floe, which lay on one side of the Isabella, appeared to be fixed, while on the other side another of considerable bulk was passing along with rapid motion, assuming a somewhat circular direction in consequence of one side having struck on the fixed field. The pressure continuing to increase, it became doubtful whether the ship would be able to sustain it: every support threatened to give way, the beams in the hold began to bend, and the iron tanks settled together. At this critical moment, when it seemed impossible for us to bear the accumulating pressure much longer, the hull of the ship rose several feet, while the ice, which was more than six feet thick, broke against the sides, curling back on itself. The great stress now fell upon our bow, and, after being again lifted up, we were carried with great violence towards the Alexander, which had hitherto been in a great measure defended by the Isabella. Every effort to avoid their getting foul of each other failed: the ice anchors and cables broke one after another, and the sterns of the two ships came so violently into contact, as to crush to pieces a boat that could not be removed in time. The collision was tremendous, the anchors and chain plates being broken, and nothing less than the loss of the masts expected; but at this eventful instant, by the interposition of Providence, the force of the ice seemed exhausted: the two fields suddenly receded, and we passed the Alexander with comparatively little damage. The last things which hooked each other were the two bower anchors, which, being torn from the bows, remained suspended by their cables between the two ships, until that of the Alexander gave way.—Vol. i. p. 98.

This is one of the most awful adventures I ever read of in our perilous profession. On the 20th and 21st of August, being six leagues from Cape Clarence, Captain Ross saw the land which forms the bottom of this gulf, and fairly inferred, that no communication existed between the north-west extremity of Baffin's Bay and the Polar Sea: he therefore turned his ship's heads to the southward, explored the next opening, called by

Baffin Alderman Jones's Sound, which he concluded to be a *cul de sac*. Shortly after this he entered and explored Lancaster Sound, and on the 31st of August, at 4 A. M., he supposed he saw the land extending entirely across the western extremity of this inlet, and, consequently, that all hopes of proceeding westward by this channel were at an end. Under this impression he named the deceptive land "Croker's Mountain," and put about to return homeward,—an act in which, whether he had seen the land or not, his orders would fully have borne him out, although he was afterwards much censured for his precipitation by those who were not acquainted with the tenor of those orders. Let it suffice for the present to say, that his conduct was approved of by the Admiralty, that he was promoted to the rank of captain, and Lieutenant William Edward Parry to that of commander. Although Captain Ross was unwarrantably attacked in the public prints of the day, the Admiralty refused his earnest application for a court-martial, justly observing, that their lordships had shown their opinion of his conduct, and that, the charges being anonymous, there was no prosecutor.

In the following year, Commander Parry was appointed by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to lead another expedition for the same object as the former one. The ships appointed under his orders were the Hecla,—a bomb vessel of 375 tons, built at Hull in the year 1815, and, consequently, nearly a new ship, and as strong as it was possible to make her,—and the Griper, a gun-brig of 180 tons, commanded by Lieutenant Matthew Lidden. Both these vessels were barque-rigged, that is, having a small mizen-mast, with a boom and gaff-mizen, but no square topsail. This mode was justly preferred, as requiring the least number of hands to work them. Captain Edward Sabine was appointed astronomer to this expedition, as he had been to the last; and, perhaps, a more scientific and accomplished set of young officers, and more excellent seamen, with better fitted ships for the service, never quitted a British port. The orders to the commander were drawn up with peculiar care, and, while much was left to his discretion, he was warned not to endanger the lives and comforts of his men by wintering in that cold climate, unless he should find very good reasons for so doing. These instructions conclude by informing Captain Parry, that Lieutenant Franklin having been sent to command an expedition by land to explore the northern coast of America, from the mouth of the Copper-mine river eastward, it would be desirable that Captain Parry should endeavour to establish a communication with him.

On the 11th of May, 1819, the two vessels set sail, and on

the 15th of June made the south coast of Greenland. On the 1st of August they entered Lancaster Sound, where they had the satisfaction to find a clear passage to the westward. On the 12th they examined and named Prince Regent's Inlet, and, after encountering much difficulty and delay, they came to an anchor on the 5th of September in Hecla and Griper Bay, in Melville Island. Here, having attained to the 110th degree of west longitude, Captain Parry officially informed his people of the fact, telling them that they were thus entitled to £5,000 by his Majesty's order in council. After a short stay here, he pushed on to the westward.

On the 20th of September the two vessels were in a most alarming situation; but, on the 26th, after immense labour, they had the satisfaction of mooring the Hecla and Griper safe in Winter Harbour, Melville Island, one of the North Georgian group, discovered by this able and intrepid navigator. Here he had to pass a Polar winter with his people; nor was it till August, in the ensuing year, that they were released from their confinement. The lover of wild travelling, in a country utterly unfrequented and desolate, would be delighted with the tour made by Captain Parry and his friends over Melville Island. On his return he began to prepare for sea. The ice was melting, and the sun never below the horizon, and it is cheering to read of the hilarity and spirited exertions of all hands in their exciting occupation; but, notwithstanding the flattering appearance of the grass and the flowers, and the warmth of the sun's rays, it was not till the 1st of August that they were enabled to leave Winter Harbour, after having remained 10 months in its friendly anchorage. Captain Parry soon reached the longitude of 113° 48′, being the most western meridian ever attained in that high latitude: but his discoveries went farther; for in the south-west he saw land at 16 or 18 leagues' distance. This he called Banks's Land, out of respect to the memory of the late President of the Royal Society, the friend and companion of the immortal Cook. In reading the account of this voyage, we are at once delighted and instructed by the daring enterprise and philosophical reasoning of this able navigator. The month of August was beginning to pass rapidly away, and the ice, so far from opening, or in the least relaxing from its rigorous compact, pressed more firmly round them on every side; nor could the human eye, from the highest eminence, discover anything but shapeless and rugged masses of ice closely wedged together, producing, as Dr. Johnson says of the *bouloir* of Buchan, "the idea of insurmountable confinement."

We had been lying (says Captain Parry, p. 241, 4to. edition) near our present station, with an easterly wind blowing fresh for 36 hours together; and, although this was considerably off the land, beyond the western point of the island now in sight, the ice had not during that time moved a single yard from the shore; affording a proof that there was no space in which it was at liberty to move to the westward, and offering a single and striking exception to our former experience.

Early in the morning of the 13th, Lieutenant Lidden, an admirable second to so great a leader, sent to inform Captain Parry that the ice had closed in upon the land where the Griper was lying (about four miles from the Hecla), by which means she was forced against the submarine ice, and her stern lifted two feet out of the water. This pressure, Lieutenant Lidden remarked, had given her a twist, and made her crack a good deal, but, apparently, without occasioning any material injury to her hull, though the ice was still pressing upon her when Mr. Griffiths, who brought the account, came away. She at first heeled inwards, but, on being lifted higher, fell over towards the deep water: here was a situation of tremendous difficulty and danger, met, however, with a corresponding presence of mind and firmness. In the hottest month of the year the ice was still inexorably pressing in upon them: one of the ships was threatened with total and immediate destruction, and the other was in a situation scarcely more enviable. We feel, therefore, a secret pleasure on reading, that, in conformity with the opinions of his officers, as well as his own, Captain Parry, at this crisis, resolves to turn his prow to the eastward. On the 31st we find him opposite to the Navy Board Inlet, on his return homewards. On the 26th of September Captain Parry finally quitted the coast for that year, and shaped his course to get an offing. The Hecla and Griper parted company shortly after; the former being obliged to scud in a gale of wind in which the latter was compelled to lay to. The Hecla soon after lost her foremast and bowsprit; but both vessels reached England in safety.

PARRY'S SECOND VOYAGE.

Encouraged by the success of the two last voyages of Ross and Parry, the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty had no hesitation in sending out a third expedition; and Captain Parry was appointed to the command of the Fury, of 360 tons burthen, while the Hecla was recommissioned for the same service by Captain George Francis Lyon. The officers who had

accompanied them in their former voyages were re-appointed in preference to any others, and the ships were soon completely manned with the very best description of seamen.

Profiting by experience, there was a manifest improvement in the equipment of this third expedition. Instead of sending a large vessel and a small one, both ships were of the same dimensions, as nearly as could be, with respect to hull, masts, yards, and all other equipments; a measure so obvious and simple, that it seems wonderful that it had not been adopted earlier: by this arrangement each ship was alternately made the storehouse of the other, each could supply the other's deficiency, or each, in case of accident, receive the whole of the other's crew, and convert her stores to immediate use without any alteration. Another improvement was, having the foremast and mainmast of exactly the same dimensions, topmasts and lower yards the same; the inconvenience of the lower yard-arms locking when in stays was obviated, or guarded against; the 'tween decks and habitable parts of the ship were lined with cork, to repel the humidity, while an apparatus was fixed in between the fore and main hatchways, for supplying every apartment with heated air: this ingenious contrivance was kept up at the moderate expense of less than five pecks of coals per day: the galley fire was turned round to face aft instead of forward, thereby imparting both heat and cheerfulness to the habitation of the men.

In the victualling department ingenuity seems to have gone to its utmost limits, every article being not only of the best sort, but so concentrated as to occupy the smallest possible space in the ship, and at the same time its preservation was doubly insured: thus a greatly increased supply of Mr. Gamble's preserved meats was furnished, amounting to an addition of two pounds per week to each man, also a quart of concentrated meat, or vegetable soup, for a period of three years. Spirits were supplied at 35 per cent. above proof, to be reduced, when issued, by means of an hydrometer, to the proper strength; by this means the stowage was increased 40 gallons in every 100: the vinegar was concentrated to one-seventh of the ordinary bulk; the lemon-juice, also, a most important article, was stowed in small charred casks, not quite filled up, to allow of expansion by freezing. In short, nothing was omitted to ensure the health and comfort, if not the luxury, of the adventurers; and having done all this, the Lords of the Admiralty went a step farther, and most liberally ensured to them not only the possession of all these comforts, but a farther supply of them at the very edge of the ice: for, finding the ships were too deeply laden with their three years' stores for a voyage across

the Atlantic, they ordered a transport of 400 tons to attend them, and convey any quantity which it might be found inconvenient for the ships to stow. This vessel was called the Nautilus, and was commanded by Lieutenant Scrymgour: among other most acceptable additions, she conveyed 20 live bullocks, and as many coals as would complete each ship to 118 chaldrons, a very ample allowance for three years.

Captain Parry was farther informed, that, as Captain Franklin had been sent to explore the north coast of America, he (Captain Parry) was to mark his progress westward by erecting flag-staves on the most convenient stations, burying at the foot of each a bottle containing such information as might be useful.

The Fury, Hecla, and Nautilus, transport, sailed on Sunday the 29th of April, 1821. On Monday, the 18th of June, the ships had reached the latitude of 61° 50′, and the longitude of 62° 8′, where, near Resolution Island, Captain Parry was directed to part with the transport: but it was not till the evening of the 30th that all the stores were removed. On the following day Lieutenant Scrymgour received Parry's despatches, and parted company for England. On the 7th the ships were close under Resolution Island. In the month of August Parry surveyed the Duke of York's Bay in Southampton Island, where, though he found a noble anchorage, he saw no passage to the westward, as he had flattered himself he should, into Sir Thomas Rowe's Welcome, and thence by a short cut into Repulse Bay.

He, however, very soon entered that long famed inlet, and, to his surprise, entered it through what Captain Middleton had called the Frozen Strait, but in which scarcely a vestige of ice was to be seen. Captain Parry, however, does great justice to the injured memory of Captain Middleton, whom he proves to have been mainly correct in all his statements, contrary to the senseless clamour of his antagonist Mr. Dobbs; and Captain Parry has set at rest, for ever, the hypothesis of a passage into the Polar Seas through Repulse Bay. He, therefore, retraced his steps, surveyed Hurd's Channel, Gore Bay, and Lyon's Inlet, at the head of which, after a flattering course of upwards of 60 miles, he found a bay, which he named, after his young companion, Ross's Bay,* and returned again with his boats to the anchorage where he had left his ships.

Having made some progress, in the month of October our officers were warned of the termination of all farther discoveries until the return of summer, and Captain Parry thus estimates the almost incredible amount of their labours:—

* Now Captain John Clark Ross.

"Small as our actual advance had been towards Behring's Straits, the extent of coast newly discovered, and minutely explored, in pursuit of our object, amounted during the last eight weeks to 200 leagues, nearly half of which belonged to the continent of North America.—p. 118."

He adds,

"That he had left no part of the coast from Repulse Bay, eastward, in a state of doubt as to its connexion with the continent of North America."

We now leave them safe moored in a bay at the southern extremity of Winter Island, which, although more than eight degrees to the southward of Melville Island, was far more backward in the melting of the ice, at the corresponding season of the year.

The situation of the Fury in the month of July was equally, if not more, desperate than that in which Captain Ross describes the Isabella in 1818. She was lifted five feet out of the water abaft, while her bows were proportionably depressed, her beams cracking, and her whole frame subjected to a trial which, perhaps, none but such a ship could have sustained: at length the ice yielded to the ship, and she righted.

On the 3d of September he completed the survey of an island, lying north of Melville Peninsula, to which he gave the name of Cockburn Island, and between which, and the peninsula he discovered a strait, which he named after the Fury and Hecla. Through this opening, which he flattered himself would prove the channel of communication between the Atlantic and Polar Seas, the current was constantly running from west to east; so that he could only bring the ships as far as between Amherst and Liddon Islands: the rest of the survey, as far as Cape Hallowell on the north, and Cape Inglefield on the south, he executed by walking over the rugged and snow-clad mountains, with his indefatigable officers and men; nor is it possible for any one who has not seen the service performed, to make a just estimate of the fatigue, labour, and privation with which it was accompanied. Lieutenant Reid had the honour of reaching and naming Cape Hallowell, and of ascertaining the connexion between Fury and Hecla Straits, and the Polar Sea. It was, indeed, as Captain Parry expresses it, "a time of mental solicitude and physical exertion."—p. 251. The Herculean labours of the Arctic summer are modestly summed up by Captain Parry in a few words:—

"Flattering as our prospects had appeared at the commencement of the past summer, our efforts had certainly not been attended with a

proportionate degree of success; and, whatever may have been added to our geographical knowledge of the eastern coast of America, and its adjacent lands, very little had been effected in furtherance of a north-west passage. Even the actual discovery of the desired outlet into the Polar Sea had been of no practical benefit in the prosecution of our enterprise; for we had only discovered this channel (if such it can be called) to find it impassable, and to see the barriers of nature closed impenetrably against us to the utmost limits of the navigable season.—p. 372.

We are now to leave our adventurers in comparative safety in their little bay in the island of Igloolik, to pass their second winter: they had learned from long experience, that it was better only to strike the topgallant yards and masts, unreeve their running rigging, lay the small sails across the tops and stow the spare spars over the side. The boats were placed on the ice 50 yards from the ships, and with their geer stowed in them closely covered with snow.

The next operation was to throw an embankment of snow all round the ships so as to cover nearly the upper works. The decks, hatchways, and companions, were next covered with a layer of snow about eight inches in depth, and above that a coating of sand cemented by water, so as to form a firm and level covering: this plan was found to answer the double purpose of preventing the escape of warmth from below, and of preserving the ship's decks and sides from cracking with the frost. They had also learned from the innocent, and one would almost say the outcast and friendless Esquimaux, how to employ the abundant article, snow, to its best advantage. The ships were enclosed in a parallelogram, consisting of a snow wall 12 feet high, at a distance of 25 yards all round. This comfortable and ingenious contrivance prevented the abstraction of heat from the ship, kept out the snow drift, and afforded the people, at all times, a comfortable shelter for walking. And here our feelings are entirely engrossed for the safety of the whole of our gallant countrymen, among whom that terrible scourge, the sea-scurvy, began to make its appearance, after an absence of 27 months from England.

Few of my readers, and even my naval readers, are practically acquainted with this disorder: it was my lot in early life to know it from actual and personal experience. It is produced by a scanty supply of salt provisions, and a want of all the common comforts, I might say necessaries, of life: 150 of a ship's company, consisting of 490 men, were afflicted with this complaint, and many died through improper treatment. It was at that time the fashion to bury us up to the hips in the earth, in a soft black mould: my youth saved me, but many

fell a sacrifice to it. I remember instances of sudden death among our men owing to the inward decay produced by this disorder. The corpse turned black immediately. A small muscular exertion would produce instant death. I cannot remember how many men we lost by this dire disease: but I know it was occasioned originally by the bad salt provisions, taken on board at our outfit, and the false economy, nay shameful parsimony, observed towards us, all the time we were in the East Indies. The crew of the Centurion, in Lord Anson's celebrated voyage, suffered dreadfully from this cause; but kinder and wiser treatment has now driven it out of our navy. Some of the symptoms of this dreadful disease are a swelling and soreness of the gums; the teeth get loose, while the legs swell and turn black, and the flesh becomes soft and inanimate, like dough; the compressions of the fingers on it remain, and do not fill up for some time: such was my state in 1791, at the Andaman Islands when on board the Crown.

It is a singular fact, that in Captain Parry's expedition the disorder attacked the officers first, a proof of the efficacy of the preventive means which had been prepared for the men. Released from their horrible besetment, that of being *soldered* into the ice, as the sailors expressively called it, we feel an indescribable pleasure in reading of the final departure of these gallant fellows from Button's Islands on the 22d of September. On the 10th of October, 1823, they put into the secure, and to me well-known, friendly port of Brassy Sound, in Shetland. Captain Parry reached London shortly after.

PARRY'S THIRD VOYAGE.

While the ships had been employed as before mentioned, Captain Franklin, of whom we shall soon speak more fully, had returned from his overland expedition to the shores of the Polar Sea, and his account of the probably open state of the ice on the coast being corroborated by Russian voyagers, his Majesty's government determined on sending out a fourth expedition, for the purpose of penetrating through the ice to Behring's Straits: but, on this occasion, the route of the voyagers was more distinctly marked out. It having been proved by Parry, that neither Repulse Bay, nor Fury and Hecla Straits, afforded any outlet westward, all further effort by Hudson's Straits was abandoned, and the orders were to proceed by Prince Regent's Inlet, which, on looking at the chart, certainly appears to hold out the greatest probability of success.

In this voyage Captain Parry again took the command of the Hecla, while his friend Captain Hoppner was appointed to

the Fury, with the rank of commander for his services as first lieutenant of that ship during her late voyage. The ships were ready to proceed early in May, 1824, the William Harris, transport, being ordered to accompany them to the ice with their heavy stores.

Captain Lyons, who had in the last voyage commanded the Hecla, was promoted to the rank of captain, and sent to make the best of his way to the coast of the Arctic Sea, by Repulse Bay, where he was to land, and travel on foot across the isthmus towards Akkoolee; thence along the coast to the Coppermine River. Another expedition was to set off at the same time, under Captain Franklin, being his second; to proceed through the lakes of North America to the mouth of the Mackenzie River, and thence to Icy Cape, the limit of the immortal Cook, where he entered Behring's Straits from the Pacific Ocean in 1776.

In the event of reaching the northern shores of America, near any of the above points, Captain Parry was directed to deposit such provisions as he should deem most acceptable to the land travellers, whose sufferings for want of them on their former attempts had produced such dreadful and fatal calamities. It was also carefully noted in these orders, that, in the event of Captain Parry's passing the Straits of Behring, he was, after landing his despatches at Kamskatcha, to proceed to Owhyhee; so that the officer going to Behring's Straits by Cape Horn, would learn, on touching at the Sandwich Islands, that his farther progress would be unnecessary.

On the 18th of May, 1824, the ships sailed from the river. On the 21st of June they were in Davis's Straits, anchoring at the Whalefish Islands, and clearing the transport. These islands are near that of Disco, a Danish settlement on the coast of Greenland, with which our officers were familiar. On the 3d of July Lieutenant Pritchard, in the transport, was sent back to England with the despatches, and our discovery ships pursued their way to Lancaster Sound. They had nearly lost the Hecla on a sunken rock which lay in the channel, coming out of the harbour, and of which the pilots were ignorant: she was, however, got off without damage. On the 1st of August the Hecla received a very awkward "nip" in the ice, having been fairly laid on her beam-ends by a strain which must inevitably have crushed a ship of ordinary construction. Instances have been known in the whale fishery of the ice passing completely over the ship: but this fatal event does not often occur. In the month of October, 1824, we are delighted to find our gallant seamen safely moored for the winter in Port Bowen.

I am sorry my limits will not admit of giving fuller quotations; but the works of these daring adventurers should be read as they come fresh from the hands which penned them. At p. 40, Third Voyage, Captain Parry's description of a Polar winter is amusing, and even poetical.

In a naval author it would be ungrateful to omit speaking of Mr. Sylvester's stoves; to the use of which, placed in the bottom of the ship's hold, Captain Parry attributes (under Providence) all the good health which the people in both ships enjoyed.

There is no part of Captain Parry's character which does him more honour than the manly and religious sentiment which pervades all his actions; and it is highly creditable to his officers and men, that they partook strongly of this feeling. The following passage it would be an injustice to the service to omit: in speaking of their winter pastimes, the pious chief thus expresses himself:—

But an occupation not less assiduously pursued, and of infinitely more eventual benefit, was furnished by the re-establishment of our schools under the voluntary superintendence of my friend Mr. Hooper, in the Hecla, and of Mr. Mogg, in the Fury. By the judicious zeal of Mr. Hooper, the Hecla's school was made subservient not merely to the improvement of the men in reading and writing, (in which, however, their progress was surprisingly great,) but also to the cultivation of that religious feeling which so essentially improves the character of a seaman, by furnishing the highest motives for increased attention to every other duty; nor was the benefit confined to the 18 or 20 individuals whose want of scholarship brought them to the school-table, but extended itself to the rest of the ship's company, making the whole lower deck such a scene of quiet, rational occupation as I never before witnessed on board of ship. And I do not speak lightly, when I express my thorough persuasion, that to the moral effects thus produced upon the minds of the men, were owing, in a very high degree, the constant sober cheerfulness, the uninterrupted good order, and even, in some measure, the extraordinary state of health which prevailed among us during the winter.—p. 50.

Their philosophical transactions and experiments are most instructive and delightful to read. Mr. Barlow's newly-invented plate for correcting the effect of local attraction on board of ship was found to answer beyond all anticipation:

Never had an invention a more complete and satisfactory triumph; for to the last moment of our operations at sea did the compass indicate the true magnetic direction.—p. 56. But when (adds Captain Parry) I consider the anxious days and sleepless nights which the uselessness of the compass in these seas had formerly occasioned me, I should feel it a kind of personal ingratitude to Mr. Barlow, not to have stated my opinion of its merits.

Another curious fact is mentioned by Captain Parry: it appears that sound in these frosty regions travels with infinitely greater facility than we in this climate can form any idea of; Lieutenant Forster found that he could keep up a conversation with a man at the distance of 6,696 feet, or more than a mile and a quarter: the thermometer then at 18°, barometer 30° 14′ inches.

In July, 1825, after having been imprisoned between 9 and 10 months in Port Bowen, the ships were released, partly by the severe exertion of the crew, and partly by a disruption of the ice: but this, as it would appear, premature enlargement from their monotonous situation, was the forerunner of their misfortunes. On the western side of Prince Regent's Inlet, the ships were both in imminent danger: they were driven on shore by the pressure of the ice, and, though got off again, the Fury was found to have sustained very serious damage, requiring all hands at her pumps to keep her free, and it became absolutely necessary to heave her down: this laborious operation in any climate is to be dreaded, but here there was no convenient place to be found, where the ships could be in security; to say nothing of the additional risk incurred in the snapping of rope and iron by the action of the frost. A small basin was at last found, into which the ships were hauled; all hands were set to work to land the stores from the Fury, while the ice still pressed upon the unfortunate ship, as if determined never to release its victim; and here the exertions of officers and men, and even of their dogs, were great beyond description. Wonderful to say, the Fury was cleared and partially hove down, and the officers had the mortification to perceive that the damage she had sustained was much greater than they had expected; both her stern-post and forefoot were broken, and the main keel nearly destroyed. It is painful to read of the excessive labour and anxiety caused by this extraordinary operation. Never, perhaps, were British courage, fortitude, and seamanship more nobly displayed or urgently required: but it soon became too evident that no human exertion could save the Fury, and she was therefore most reluctantly abandoned. The two ships' companies uniting into one, on board the Hecla, an immense quantity of stores was left behind, in and alongside of the Fury on the beach, the Hecla being unable to stow them. Captain Parry now found that, with a double crew and only one year's provisions, it would be hopeless, and worse than useless, to remain out any longer: he, therefore, decided to make the best of his way to England. He landed at Peterhund on the 16th of October, and the Hecla proceeded round to Sheerness, where Captain Hoppner, his officers and

ship's company were tried by a court-martial, according to the custom of the navy, for the loss of the Fury, and they were, of course, all honourably acquitted. The Hecla was paid off at Woolwich, in November, 1825.

The following summary of the dates of Captain Parry's voyages, and the places where he wintered, may not be unacceptable:

In 1819-20, Melville Island.
1821-22, Winter Island.
1822-23, Igloolik.
1824-25, Port Bowen.

Besides these, he had been out in the command of the Alexander, as a lieutenant with Captain Ross in 1818; and in 1826 he made the attempt to reach Behring's Straits, by going, in the first instance, to Spitzbergen in his old ship, the Hecla, intending, when he reached that island, to proceed in light boats mounted on wheels, and drawn by reindeers. This voyage ended only in disappointment, and he returned to England the same year. He was appointed Hydrographer to the Admiralty, a situation for which he was admirably qualified.

FRANKLIN'S FIRST VOYAGE.

As I have been unwilling to interrupt the course of the narrative of the Polar voyages, I have not, hitherto, done more than barely notice the outfit and departure of Lieutenant (now Captain Sir John) Franklin. This gallant and highly talented officer left England in May, 1819, accompanied by Dr. John Richardson, a surgeon in the Royal Navy, and Messrs. Back and Hood, Admiralty midshipmen. The party embarked at Gravesend on board the Prince of Wales, a ship belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company. On the 25th of July they opened Davis's Straits, and on the 7th August made Resolution Island, where they were in some danger of shipwreck, and on the 11th they entered Hudson's Straits, and soon after held some intercourse with the Esquimaux of the Savage Islands; on the 30th they reached the anchorage of York Flats, near the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company, called York Factory, which lies on the west side of the great inland sea, known by the name of Hudson's Bay.

In tracing the route of this enterprising traveller and his companions, we might be inclined to express even a higher mark of admiration than we have done, had we not seen in the preceding narrative what Englishmen are capable of doing. Still, with Ross and Parry and the immortal Cook before our eyes, we cannot find terms sufficiently strong to express our

astonishment at the hardships, difficulties, and dangers encountered and overcome by this invaluable officer and his little party.

If we trace him from Liverpool to the western side of Hudson's Bay, we shall find it a voyage beset with risks of no common kind; but when, with the map of North America before us, we follow him, in the autumn of 1819, through all the mazes of hill, river, rapids, and portages, to Lake Winipeg; and thence to Cumberland House, where we see him, in the midst of a Canadian winter, tear himself away from his warm and comfortable quarters, and, in the midst of pathless snows and scarcely endurable cold, commit himself again to the wilds and deserts of North America,—to its treacherous natives and not less formidable beasts of prey,—to the imminent chance of being starved or devoured; we turn over every page in breathless suspense, concluding it to be all but impossible that he should escape such dangers. In the circuitous route which he pursued from York factory, in 1819, to Fort Enterprise, which stands near the junction of the Hood and Coppermine River, a distance of not less than 2,400 miles, we could scarcely give credit to the wonderful narrative, were we not fully confident of the entire veracity of the parties, whose statement is further borne out by the strongest collateral evidence. Circumstances over which Captain Franklin had no control, compelled him to winter at Fort Enterprise, in the autumn of 1820 and spring of 1821. Here the travellers passed 10 months in a loghouse, built by themselves, Mr. Wentzel being their principal architect. I shall not detain the reader with the history of any intervening events, however interesting, but at once follow our travellers to the sea, by the Coppermine River. They reached the coast of North America on the 18th of July. On the 21st they embarked in two canoes on the hyperborean sea: landing soon after on an island, they found an Esquimaux deposit of stores and fishing geer, most of them elegantly made. The voyagers having occasion for four seal-skins, which they found here, took them to repair their boats, and left a copper kettle and some awls and beads in lieu: from hence, still keeping on an eastern course, they paddled all day through a crowded range of islands, and, in the progress of this adventurous cruise, surveyed 550 geographical miles of coast, including Melville Sound, Bathurst Inlet, George the Fourth's Coronation Gulf, and the Duke of York's Archipelago. On reaching the spot which they named Point Turnagain, our indefatigable voyagers were compelled to abandon any farther progress to the eastward, and seek their safety by getting back as fast as possible to Fort Enterprise. Mr. Franklin had flattered himself

that he should have found a communication between Bathurst's Inlet and Repulse Bay. This hope was very soon dissolved; and, although this able and gallant officer was forced to relinquish his enterprise, when he had gone thus far, he felt, no doubt, that a channel by sea along the coast was open during the summer months, between Mackenzie River and Repulse Bay. This theory seems to be for ever set at rest by the subsequent discovery of Boothia Felix, by Captain Ross, connecting the western side of the Regent's Inlet with the northern part of the American coast, and which leaves very little doubt that the Cape Clarence of Parry is the north-east extremity of the western continent.

The return of the travellers is a history replete with adventures the most disastrous. The deaths, by famine and violence, of some of the party; the peculiarly tragical end of Mr. Hood, and the just retribution inflicted on his murderer, a measure of self-preservation by the manly and determined hand of Dr. Richardson; the unheard of sufferings of the whole party; and, finally, the providential deliverance of the survivors, place this melancholy narrative among the most touching histories of human suffering and human fortitude. We must refer our readers to the work itself for fuller information; it will be found amply to repay the reading: it will teach the young adventurer the virtues of resignation, temperance, and patience, and will enable him to endure the trifling ills of every-day life, with more equanimity, when he campares them with the sufferings of Franklin, Richardson, Hood, Back, and Hepburn. We follow these adventurers on their return to Moose Island, where all their wants were supplied, and their faithful friends, Akaicho and his Indians, amply rewarded for their kindness and noble exertions in their favour. From this friendly habitation they returned by the same route by which they had come down to York Factory, where they arrived on the 14th of July, 1822; and from thence proceeded to England. Lieutenant Franklin heard of his promotion to the rank of commander while at Moose Island, and Mr. Back obtained the rank of lieutenant at the same time: a similar honour was intended for poor Hood, but he was removed to more lasting happiness. The distance travelled on land, lake, river, and ice, from their landing at York Factory in 1819, to their return to it in 1822, was no less than 5,550 miles.

FRANKLIN'S SECOND VOYAGE.

We are now to follow this heroic officer through another expedition to the shores of the Arctic Sea. Profiting by the

dearly bought experience of the last, he was better enabled to shun many evils. Still, with all this advantage, he found difficulties of no common kind to contend with; and, had not the mildness of his temper been fully equal to his coolness and resolution in the hour of danger, he would, in all probability, have fallen a sacrifice to the treacherous savages, whose welfare he sought to establish on a more permanent basis.

Parry, on his return to England from his Polar voyage in 1823, had given hopes of a passage along the north coast of America, by keeping between the ice and the land. This officer, as we have related, sailed again in 1824 with the same object in view. During his absence, Captain Franklin, who had returned from his first over-land expedition to the Arctic Seas, was prepared to undertake a second, and sailed in February, 1825, before the result of Parry's last voyage to Regent's Inlet was known. About the same time Captain Beechey, in the Blossom sloop of war, was ordered by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty to proceed round Cape Horn, and to enter Behring's Straits in the summer of 1826, with a view of penetrating, if possible, by that route to the eastward, and meeting with Parry by sea, and Franklin by land. He was to call at the Sandwich Islands on his way, for the purpose of ascertaining whether Parry had succeeded in passing Behring's Straits, in which event, as that officer was directed to touch there on his way home, Beechey would have known whether it was necessary for him to proceed any farther or not. Should he have found that he was to go on, he was directed to gain, if possible, Kotzebue's Sound and Icy Cape; and thence to follow the coast to the eastward as near as possible; establishing beacons and flag-staves, and leaving letters and provisions at any place where he might be able to land. All this was extremely well contrived, and, as we shall see, led very nearly to the solving of the great problem, whether the shores of North America ran direct from the Coppermine River or the Mackenzie to Icy Cape.

Depôts of provisions were formed at such places as Captain Franklin pointed out. This was effected by the Directors of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose interests, by the intervention of Captain Franklin, were now united with the North-west Company, to their mutual advantage. The pemmican, so well known as the staff of life among the northern travellers, could not be prepared in sufficient quantities before the spring of 1825. Some of their heavy stores were sent to New York, to be forwarded to their intended residence on the Great Bear Lake, and, before the winter had set in, these important articles had reached the Athabasca Lake, where they were placed

under the care of Mr. Peter Warren Deane, who had been appointed to build the house, and form the winter settlement for the accommodation of the voyagers, on the Great Bear Lake. This place was selected by Captain Franklin, as being the nearest to the mouth of the Mackenzie River.

Three light boats in June, 1824, were sent out to Hudson's Bay, and forwarded. These were built under the superintendence of Captain Franklin, by order of the Admiralty. They were made of mahogany with ash timbers, and might be steered either with a rudder or an oar. The largest of these was 26 feet long, and 5 feet 4 inches broad, was adapted for 6 rowers, a steersman, and an officer, and could be carried on the shoulders of 6 men. There were two other boats, a size less, and a fourth, called the Walnut Shell, so ingeniously constructed by Lieutenant-colonel Paisley, of the Engineers, that it deserves to be described: it was 9 feet long, 4 feet 4 inches wide, framed of well-seasoned ash, fastened with thongs, covered with Mr. Mackintosh's prepared canvass, and shaped like one valve of a walnut-shell; it weighed only 85 pounds, might be taken to pieces, and carried in 5 or 6 bundles, and put together again in 20 minutes.

The party embarked at Liverpool; Mr. Back and Dr. Richardson accompanied Captain Franklin, Mr. Kendall, and Mr. Drummond, with four marines, making nine in all. They arrived at New York on the 15th of March, where they received the most flattering marks of attention.

The boats of the expedition had advanced from Hudson's Bay into the interior 1,200 miles, before they were overtaken by the officers, who, taking the more circuitous route by New York, travelled 2,800 miles before they joined their friends and supplies in the Methye River, in lat. 56° 10′ N., long. 108° 55′ W. Captain Franklin here makes an observation which should be written in letters of gold. The poor Indians applied to him for rum, which he steadily refused, and determined not to give any spirits to these people; and the Fur company, he says, on the following season discontinued the practice of bringing rum to this quarter. This I hail as the first great step in the improvement of the Indian character, whole nations of whom have been debased and contaminated, perhaps destroyed, by the pernicious effects of this poisonous liquid, so largely supplied both by Americans and English.

On the 15th of August, our voyagers, in their beautifully painted and ornamented boats, reached Ellice's Island, and, on the following day, after much toil and perseverance against a foul wind, they discovered an island standing well out at sea, in the mouth of the Mackenzie River, which Captain Franklin

named Garrey Island, ascending the most elevated part about 250 feet high, to look around.

Never (says this gallant officer) was a prospect more gratifying than that which lay open to us; the rocky mountains were seen from the S.W. to W. ½ N.; and from the latter point round to the north, the sea appeared in all its majesty, entirely free of ice, and without any visible obstruction to its navigation. * * * The whole scene was calculated to excite in our mind the most flattering expectations as to our success and that of our friends in the Fury and Hecla. [It was just nine days after this that the poor Fury was abandoned in Prince Regent's Inlet, and the Hecla was on her way home with the officers and crew.]

During our absence (says Captain Franklin) the men had pitched the tent on the beach, and I caused the silk union to be hoisted, which my deeply lamented wife had made, and presented to me as a parting gift, under the express condition that it was not to be unfurled before the expedition reached the sea. I will not attempt to describe my emotions as it expanded to the breeze; however natural, and for the moment, irresistible, I felt that it was my duty to suppress them, and that I had no right, by an indulgence of my sorrows, to cloud the animated countenances of my companions. Joining, therefore, with the best grace that I could command, in the general excitement, I endeavoured to return with corresponding cheerfulness their warm congratulations, in having thus planted the British flag on this remote island of the Polar Sea.—*Second Voyage*, p. 36.

Having performed this great achievement, Captain Franklin, finding the season was much advanced, turned towards his winter habitation on the Bear Lake. This place he reached on the 5th of September, and found a very comfortable residence, which still, however, required much work to render it complete. This place was named by the officers Fort Franklin; and here they passed the winter, not only comfortably, but almost enviably, considering the noble object they had in view, and for which they were preparing.

On the 1st of June, 1826, the parties began to pack up and prepare for their different destinations, but it was not till the 23d that they were enabled to set out. They proceeded up the Bear Lake River to the Mackenzie; stopping at Forts Norman and Good Hope: leaving this, they came, on the 3d of July, to the expansion of the Lake Mackenzie, where the different channels branch off, and it became necessary for the parties to separate. Dr. Richardson and Mr. Kendall, in the boats Dolphin and Union, with every necessary and comfort which could be wished for, were ordered to proceed eastward; each party had 80 days' provisions, and this might be made to last 100, besides the chance of obtaining deer and other supplies. Dr. Richardson's party consisted of 12 men in all, and his

directions were to survey the coast between the Mackenzie and Coppermine; on reaching this latter river, he was to travel by land to the north-east arm of the Great Bear Lake, where Beaulieu, a Canadian, was to meet him with a boat to carry him and his party to Fort Franklin; in case of accident he was, however, at liberty to return by any other route: the place where these arrangements were completed was named Point Separation.

Captain Franklin with his two boats and 16 people in all, proceeded to the westward through the usual difficulties occasioned by the ice, and they narrowly escaped being cut off by the treacherous Esquimaux. It was at this place, on the western branch of the Mackenzie, which they named Point Pillage, that Captain Franklin and his men displayed that remarkable coolness and presence of mind to which, under Almighty protection, they owed their escape from the rapacious plunderers. He pursued his course westward 374 miles, from the mouth of the Mackenzie, and, at the period of his putting back on the 16th of August, 1826, was, he afterwards found, within 160 miles of the Blossom's barge, which Captain Beechey had sent forward to the eastward, unable to advance any farther with his ship. Mr. Elson, the master of the Blossom, who had charge of the barge, quitted the ship on the 18th of August off Icy Cape. This was two days after Captain Franklin had been compelled to give up the pursuit. Mr. Elson turned back on the 25th of August, having reached a low point where the ice prevented his further progress westward. This point was ascertained to be in 71° 23′ N., and 156° 21′ W., being 120 miles beyond or eastward of Icy Cape, and leaving him about 53 leagues between Point Beechey, Franklin's utmost western discovery; so that this is the only space on the main land which now remains unsurveyed, between Melville Sound and Behring's Straits.

The western voyagers got back to Fort Franklin on the 21st of September, and had the unexpected happiness of finding that Dr. Richardson and his party had returned on the 1st of the same month. Dr. Richardson and his friend Mr. Kendall seem to have had the same cause to exert their forbearance, and had shown as much prudence and courage, as their friends Captain Franklin and Mr. Back had done at Pillage Point. Dr. Richardson coasted as far as George the Fourth's Coronation Gulf, at Cape Kreuzenstern, connecting his discoveries with those made by Captain Franklin in his first voyage. On the 8th of August he reached the mouth of the Coppermine: this river it was impracticable to ascend in boats, such as he had; he therefore left them, with every article he could not carry, and

proceeded overland to the mouth of the Deane River, which empties itself into the Bear Lake: here he soon after met with Boileau and his party, as had been agreed, who conducted him, by the Bear Lake, to Fort Franklin, where they all arrived in safety.

ROSS'S SECOND VOYAGE.

The results of these voyages (observes Sir John Ross, Introduction, p. ix.) show that the discovery and survey of the land between Greenland and Asia had gradually advanced, so that when my voyage was undertaken, in 1829, there were only 150 miles on the west, [the interval between Franklin and Beechey,] and 400 miles on the east, between Cape Garry, and Point Turnagain, unexplored.

In the voyage of Sir John Ross, which we are now about to notice, the results may be stated in his own words. It consists in the discovery of King William's Land, the Isthmus and Peninsula of Boothia Felix, the Gulf of Boothia, the Western Sea of King William, and the true position of a northern magnetic pole: in regard to the question of a north-west passage, it is fully established, that there is none through Prince Regent's Inlet, or to the southward of the latitude of 74° north.

Captain Ross, during his ten years retirement, had been constantly brooding over the possibility of filling up this hiatus in modern geography; and we must admit, that he has evinced a very wonderful degree of courage and perseverance. The frail vessel, in which he embarked not only his person, but his private fortune, was ill adapted for the service: yet it was the best he could procure. He was cruelly abandoned by a set of men who had engaged to follow him, and who left him at the very moment when time was too precious to be employed in seeking others; the machinery of his steam-vessel was found to be shamefully defective; with his own hands he was obliged to amputate the arm of his engineer, before he quitted the shores of Scotland; soon after this he lost the head of his foremast: yet, with all these difficulties, and many more, he reached the formidable barrier of ice; boldly entered Lancaster Sound, made his way down Prince Regent's Inlet, and triumphantly brought his little vessel to an anchor within a quarter of a mile of the wreck of the Fury, which had been left there by Captain Parry in 1824. Having taken on board as good a supply from this storehouse as his vessel could convey, he pursued his voyage down the Inlet, and added new discoveries to those of Parry and Hoppner: but at length the

pressure of the ice forced upon these desperate voyagers the sad conviction, that their progress for the year was at an end, and the Victory, and her little tender, the Krusenstern, were secured in Felix Harbour, in the latitude of 70°, and precisely in the parallel of the Straits of the Fury and Hecla, the Gulf of Boothia only intervening. The adventures of this gallant officer, and his wonderful exertions during a detention of four arctic winters on the shores of that country of which he was the first discoverer, fill us with amazement. The position of the magnetic pole he seems to have determined within one minute, the dip being 89° 59′, while the horizontal needles were perfectly motionless; the situation of this spot he places on the south-west extremity of the Boothian peninsula. The latitude of the magnetic pole is 70° 5′ 17″; its longitude 96° 46′ 45″ W.

The final separation between Captain Ross and the Victory is an important and affecting event in this wonderful voyage; and it is remarkable that it should have occurred in the neighbourhood of the spot where the Fury was lost; and still more so, that the loss of that ship should have been the means of saving the crew of the Victory from famine. Their dinner on the Christmas-day of 1832 was a round of beef and some veal from the wreck of that ship, and which, although left there eight years before, were as good as the day they were first prepared.

At length the day of their deliverance drew near, and it is impossible to read the account of his falling in with his old ship, the Isabella, in which he had entered the ice in 1818, without the liveliest emotion: such a scene was probably never before presented. The crew of the Victory, in three boats, were providentially discovered by that ship, not far from the east side of Navy Board Inlet, in Barrow Strait. The reception of this gallant seaman and his men on board the Isabella on the 26th of August, by Captain Humphreys, which was kind and hospitable in the extreme, and his subsequent arrival with them in the port of Hull, are well narrated by Sir John Ross in his elaborate work, to which I must, in conclusion of these remarks, refer the reader.

Their reception in England was such as might be expected; every honour was paid to them, and none surely ever deserved it more. The space left unsurveyed between Captains J. Clerk Ross's farthest west, and Franklin's farthest east, from Point Turnagain, is exactly 222 geographical miles; to which, if we add the 150 between Franklin's farthest west and Beechey's farthest east, it will leave no more than 372 miles of the north coast of North America unexplored. The question of the north-west passage may thus be so far decided as to

say, that a water communication does exist between Melville Island, or Banks's Land, and Icy Cape; that is to say, that the sea flows from one to the other, but the constant obstruction of ice will ever prevent its being used as a passage to China. Accident, it is true, might throw it open for a season; but, as it could never be relied on, and might never occur again in the age of one man, it would be utterly useless. These expeditions may be received as a complete solution of the long-debated question of the North-west Passage.

CHAPTER XXIX.

South America.—Captain Fitzroy's surveys of South America—Terra del Fuego—The Galapagos, &c.

CONCLUSION.

THE gallant and enterprising young officer, Captain Fitzroy, has recently returned from a survey of the countries above mentioned, and has kindly favoured me with an outline of the operations since he was first employed in that service. The best charts of the coast of South America, which had been made by Portugal, were very inadequate to the wants of a continually growing intercourse. When France and England undertook to explore these shores for the benefit of the world, the French took the coasts of Brazil; the English Patagonia, Terra del Fuego, Chili, and Peru. In 1825, two vessels, the Adventure, of 330 tons, and the Beagle, of 235 tons, were ordered to be prepared. Captain Philip Parker King was appointed to the former, and charged with the expedition; Captain Stokes to the latter: both sailed from England in May, 1826.

Part of eastern Patagonia, the greater portion of the Straits of Magellan, and a considerable extent of the western shores of Patagonia, had been already examined, when the death of Captain Stokes caused a temporary suspension of the operations. Lieutenant Skyring, who was barbarously murdered about four years ago on the coast of Guinea, by the bloodthirsty savages of the country, was appointed by Captain King to the Beagle, but was soon after superseded by the commander-in-chief on the station, who placed Captain Fitzroy in the vacancy. During the years 1829 and 1830, the officers continued their survey, assisted by a tender, commanded by Lieutenant Thomas Graves. In the latter part of 1830 they returned to England, having surveyed the south-west and southern shores of Terra del Fuego, and added much to the knowledge of the interior, as well as of the natural history of the country.

Captain Fitzroy was sent out again in 1831, in the Beagle. He commenced his labours with the right or south bank of the Rio de la Plata; every mile of coast from thence to Cape Horn was accurately surveyed, and laid down on a large scale—

thirty miles of the Rio Negro, 200 of the Santa Cruz; and a chart was made of the Falkland Islands. In this work Lieutenant John Clements Wickham took an active part with Mr. J. L. Stokes, and Mr. A. B. Usborne, working night and day in two small decked boats. The western coast of South America, from the latitude of 47° to the river of Guayaquil, the whole coasts of Chili and Peru, were surveyed by them.

When Drake or Anson was on these coasts, the man, of whatever nation he might have been, who was found surveying, would, if taken, have ended his days in the dungeons of the Inquisition; in our time, on the contrary, we find a noble-minded Spaniard, Don Antonio José Vascuña, of Coquimbo, lending his own vessel for the purpose of completing this useful work. Nor must we omit to mention that this vessel was manned and victualled at the private expense of Captain Fitzroy. The Beagle, in the mean while, was employed in the survey of the Galapagos Islands, and tracing charts of the surveys. Copies were presented to the respective governors of the provinces by the British captain, even before the originals had reached England. This little active vessel, the Beagle, has in the last ten years traversed many thousands of leagues. Passing through the dangerous archipelago of the Society and Sandwich Islands, she touched at Otaheite, or Taheité as it is now called. In this voyage she discovered two, if not three, new islands. She touched at New Zealand (the Bay of Islands), Port Jackson, Van Diemen's Land, King George's Sound, the Keeling Islands, Mauritius, Cape of Good Hope, St. Helena, Ascension, Bahia in Brazil, Pernambuco, Cape de Verd Islands, and the Azores, thence to Falmouth, which she reached in October, 1836, with the same lower masts, yards, topmasts, topsail, and topgallant-yards, with which she sailed from England in 1831. This is a very surprising fact, and highly creditable to both officers and men.

We now look anxiously for the publication of these voyages, in which, if I mistake not, we shall find much to interest the general reader,—the interior of Patagonia, the stature, manners, and customs of its people, its climate, soil, and natural history, differing widely, in almost every respect, from the people of the corresponding parallel in the northern hemisphere. The condition of human nature seems to be, at least on the southern extremity of the continent, less wretched than that of the Esquimaux: a migratory people, they have the luxury of horses, and the accommodation of tents instead of snow-huts, and a more certain supply of food and raiment. It is a curious fact in the natural history of Patagonia, that the beautiful little humming-bird is seen fluttering about in the snow-storm.

The southern and western parts of Terra del Fuego may be briefly described by saying that deep but narrow arms of the sea intersect high mountainous islands, whose summits are covered with snow, while the steep and rocky shores are more than partially covered with evergreen woods.

Throughout the year, cloudy weather, rain, and much wind prevail; fine days are rare, frost and snow are constant on the mountains, but, near the level of the sea, "that great *climate-agent*," whose temperature is here never above 45° of Fahrenheit, neither the one nor the other are nearly so troublesome as we might expect. The immense advantage of the natives of the south over the Esquimaux consists in the inexhaustible supply of wood for fuel and other uses. The natives of Terra del Fuego seem, however, to be little, if at all, superior in their moral and physical character to the northern savages of the arctic regions, though less addicted to pilfering. A piece of skin, answering the double purpose of an apron and a bag to carry stones for their slings, seems to be in general their only covering. Their limbs are disproportioned, and they are altogether an ugly and almost deformed race; the women are better clad: their canoe is rude, and unlike the elegant-shaped corricle of the Esquimaux; it is made of the bark of the tree, ballasted with clay, and has always a fire in it, two considerations which would weigh much against beauty and symmetry of shape, in the mind of a seaman. Every foot of earth, and every tree and shrub, (says Captain Fitzroy,) on these islands, is always thoroughly wet, and probably there are not 10 days throughout the year on which rain or snow does not fall, nor 30 on which it does not blow strongly; but it is mild, and the temperature is surprisingly uniform throughout the year. There are four volcanoes in sight of the inhabitants of Chiloe, which is the southernmost inhabited part of the western coast.

Northward of Valdivia, towards Concepcion, is one of the finest climates in the world; there the Araucanians are still unconquered owners of their native land; nor has all the power of Old Spain ever been able to expel them from it.

While the Beagle was at Valdivia, in February, 1835, the great earthquake took place, in which (my young friend, Lieutenant J. C. Wickham, informs me) no less than 75 cities, towns, and villages were overthrown, and yet he could not learn that more than 200 lives were lost in all that vast heap of devastation. These awful and mysterious visitations of the Almighty seem to be confined to the northern and western coasts of South America. In one place, at Coquimbo, the coast, for a considerable extent, was raised 10 feet; a fine harbour was destroyed, and the sea, rolling in, presented the frightful appearance of a watery wall full 20 feet high, bursting in upon the town and shipping, and laying everything in ruins before it; and, what was singular, the cables of the vessels at anchor in the port were so twisted round each other as to render them almost inextricable.

The Galapagos Islands are all volcanic, of comparatively recent formation; they are 13 in number; a settlement, or small colony

has lately been established on Charles's Island. The largest island is 60 miles long, and 15 broad, and the highest is 4,000 feet above the level of the sea. The iguana and the land tortoise seem to be the aborigines of these islands, to which the latter animal has given its name, *galapagos* being the Spanish for land tortoise. An old sailor (another Robinson Crusoe) dwelt by himself many years in a cave on the top of Charles's Island; he had been unfortunate, and was tired of the world. The galapagos, or tortoise, and the sweet potato, had been his food. An old friend, the captain of a whaler, recognised and forcibly took him away; for so strongly was the old man attached to his cave, that no persuasion could induce him to leave it.

In his visit to Otaheite, Lieutenant Wickham affirms the existence of a phenomenon which seems to be an exception to the Newtonian principle; a similar fact is also mentioned by Ellis, I think, in his 'Polynesian Researches:' it is, that high water always recurs at the same hour, noon and midnight; so that the changes of the moon do not at all affect the tides in that archipelago.

Captain Fitzroy gives us a most pleasing and encouraging account of the happy effects of the Church Missionary labours in these islands, where, but a few years ago, the most hideous idolatry prevailed, and which gave sanction to manners and customs abhorrent to our nature. In the northern island of New Zealand, where cannibalism prevailed within these 10 years, the character of the natives is changing under the benign influence of the Gospel, to such a degree, that an Englishman may now walk alone, where, but in that short period back, he would have been murdered and eaten. English houses and plantations are scattered over the Bay of Islands; agriculture flourishes, farm-houses, barns, water-mills, mechanics' shops, are seen in every direction; and Captain Fitzroy was astonished to see a New Zealander come out of a mill with a sack of flour on his back. All this, he says, is the work of the missionaries. If we compare this with what Mr. Mariner describes only a few years ago, we shall be proud of our countrymen, and thankful to the Great Giver of all good.

Sydney and Hobart's Town do not present so flattering a picture. Children cannot be well educated when intrusted to the care of convict teachers and servants; a rancorous feeling also exists between the descendants of convicts (as well as those emancipated) and those of the free settlers. I am, perhaps, over sanguine in hoping, that the day is not far distant when we shall cease to have occasion to send convicts to these regions. Let us steadily pursue the plan of training and educating the children of the poor, and bringing them up to those

habits of virtue and industry which experience has proved to be the only way of preventing crime.

The people of England, and more particularly the great body of our senators, are not aware of the horrible crimes and human suffering which our fatal system of convict labour has produced in our penal colonies, especially in that degraded spot, Norfolk Island; and it may add to our regret when we reflect, that these convicts, and their crimes, have been the result of our neglect.

I here close the Naval History of Great Britain, having brought it down to the year 1836. I could have wished to have glanced at the present state of Europe, from the Dardanelles to the Straits of Dover, and from St. Petersburg to Gibraltar; but this would have led to a political discussion which more properly belongs to the daily and periodical press. I therefore take my leave of the public, for the present, with this solemn admonition,—that they look to their seamen, both as to religion and morals; that they treat them with kindness and with justice; and they may be assured, if they do this, that they will never want men to fight their battles in war, or conduct their shipping in peace.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

RAISING SEAMEN.

" As a means of strengthening this national arm, (the navy), I also recommend to your particular attention the propriety of the suggestion which attracted the consideration of Congress, at the last session, respecting the enlistment of boys as a suitable augmentation to the service. In this manner a nursery of skilful and able-bodied seamen can be established, which will be of the greatest importance. Next to the capacity to put afloat and arm the requisite number of ships, is the possession of the means to man them efficiently, and nothing seems better adapted to aid this object than the measures proposed. As an auxiliary to the advantages derived from our extensively commercial marine, it would furnish us with a resource ample enough for all the exigencies which can be anticipated. Considering the state of our resources, it cannot be doubted that whatever provision the liberality and wisdom of Congress may now adopt, with a view to the perfect organization of this branch of the service, will meet the approbation of all classes of our citizens."

The above quotation is from the Message of the President of North America to the senate and representatives in Congress. Every sentence of it contains a text upon which a chapter might be written; but I shall have discharged my duty, when I have called the serious attention of the government to its vital importance to Great Britain, as a maritime nation: it confirms, and more than confirms, every line I have written on this important subject; it proves that America is alive to her true interests; and, as a rival power, and one with whom we are certain to come into collision, the moment a war breaks out between Great Britain and any European state, it behoves us to take every means now available, to guard ourselves from a naval defeat. Should our fleet once meet with such a check, we should never recover it, and the fault would be our own.

To prepare a strong, loyal, and efficient body of seamen for naval mercantile shipping, though a matter of the very first importance, has never yet attracted the attention of the public as it should have done. Mr. Burchett, in 1720, animadverted on the then ruinous consequences of impressment. Its illegality has been proved; and its destruction to our trade should alone induce us to try every other expedient, before we had recourse to a measure both cruel, unjust, and in violation of our constitution, in the persons of those very people, to whom, under Providence, we are indebted for its defence. Yet we continue to impress seamen; and, as we bring them bound hand and foot on board of our ships, our bands strike up the old tune, " Who are so free as the sons of the waves?"—thus adding insult to injury and injustice. One hundred and fifteen years elapsed between the observations of Mr. Burchett and the passing of the

two bills of Sir James Graham, 6 Will. IV.; but these, though perhaps the best he could obtain from Parliament, were not such as we wanted, nor will they satisfy the seamen or induce parents to allow or encourage their children to go to sea.

Mr. Buckingham's perseverance has done him honour; I know he meant to have gone much farther, but he was prevented. Impressment must receive its death-blow from a British Parliament, and this can only be done by giving the thorough-bred seaman such encouragement in wages and allowances as he cannot find in any other country, and which no country but this can afford to give. Let us hear nothing about "economy:" if you require good sailors, you must make it worth a poor man's while to learn the trade, and above all, you must extend to him that security under our constitution, which he alone, of all the valuable class of labourers, is, in war-time, deprived of. You must, in fact, pay him as you would a tailor or a shoemaker, that is, equal to his merits, equal to what he can obtain in other countries, with certain boons and privileges into the bargain; do this, and you will have no need of press-warrants, which, allow me to say, you will never be able again to use, unless it be to the final ruin of your country.

The first 19 clauses of Sir James Graham's first bill give little to the sailors which they had not before, while the trouble to the ship-owner and the master is increased. Litigation is referred to, as if these people had nothing to do with their time or their money but spend it in court. Allusion is made to a sailor, being in the wrong, "paying the costs of suit;" a poor creature without a sixpence in his pocket!!! and if *he* does not pay, we all know *who* must.

The Registry (clause 20), I admit, has done some good, and may, if properly managed, do a great deal more, but still further encouragement is required for the perfection of the service, and that must come in two or three ways.

1st. Better wages than the Americans can give.

2d. Certainty of not being impressed, except in the event of actual invasion.

3d. The training and educating of boys for the sea-service. These, together with liberal privileges and rewards attached to good conduct, will ensure such a supply of young and well-educated people as shall be ready to fill every vacancy in ships of war, merchantmen, or the marine corps. It would have been cheaper to have paid every able seaman who served us last war, supposing their numbers in our fleet to have been 60,000, £60 or £100 a-year each, and given them all Greenwich Hospital for life, than to have provoked the American war, and paid the consequence of that war, and the pressgangs, and all the vile paraphernalia of the odious system.

I have read over, with the deepest attention, the admirable Letters of Mercator, published about three years ago in the 'Times' newspaper. Whoever will take the same trouble, will at once be convinced of the danger, if not the absolute ruin, of continuing to man our fleets in war-time by such unconstitutional means as we have

hitherto used. I have the satisfaction of knowing that the author of those able Letters has been employed by the Government in the Registry Office,—a great step towards improvement; the work must be completed, by removing the possibility of recurrence; and, if we only deal towards the sailors with justice and common honesty, and do not defraud them of their fair remunerative price of labour, we shall find their numbers increase and their quality improve, without any other stimulus being added.

The Act of Will. IV., 21st August, 1835, is good: it limits the service of seamen in war-time to five years, after which they are entitled to their discharge; or, if the exigency of the service will not at the moment admit of it, they may be retained for a certain period on an increased allowance of one-fourth more pay, and, in the event of their discharge, they may, if they deem it proper, re-enter the service on a fresh bounty; this is no more than strict justice demands, and what I suggested in the year 1822.—See "Naval History," first edition, vol. i. p. 48. See also my observations in the fourth volume of the same work, p. 497. These suggestions should have been followed up at the time; it is to be observed, however, that the boon of discharge, after five years' service, is clogged with the millstone of only two years' exemption. Why this disgusting clause should have been introduced, I know not: if you require the further services of the man, you have only to offer him the value of his time, and he is yours without any further difficulty; but if you want to take him by stealth, and compel him to serve for less money than he can obtain elsewhere, you will find, like all dishonest people, that you have lost your character and your object into the bargain. Of all men in the world, good seamen are the very last to be treated with want of sincerity and fair dealing; when once they detect such practices, they are lost, never to be recovered. If you had pursued the means now recommended, 100 years ago, you would have saved millions of your money, and thousands of valuable lives, to say nothing of the mental suffering occasioned by anxiety to the government, as well as to the nation, and to individuals.

If you come down to the last 40 years only, you would have avoided the mutiny in 1797, which brought the empire to the brink of ruin, and your consols to 46½; you would not have had those distressing isolated instances of mutiny and piracy, which so frequently occurred between 1797 and the peace of Amiens. You would not have lost the Hermione, the Danaë, or the Albanaise, by acts which have for ever sullied the hands of our sailors; you would not have had the dispute with America, and the non-importation act in 1806, nor the war with that country in 1812; nor would have lost the Guerrière, the Java, the Macedonian, the Peacock, and the Frolic; you would not have had the expenses of the last American war now to pay for; and your Canadian possessions would have been ten times more secure to you than they are at this moment. You would have been spared the infliction of so much execution and corporal punishment, which have at once shocked your feelings, rendered your government unpopular, and

lost the hearts of your sailors. The whole of these sad consequences, I contend, might have been avoided by one simple act of justice,—that of paying the labourer what he was worth. This is, however, only what is due to the adult or full-grown seaman—the child is still to be watched and provided for; and the following is the plan I proposed in 1834:—

No. II.

Letter to the Right Hon. Sir James G. Graham, Bart., First Lord of the Admiralty, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,

As you have kindly allowed me to address you publicly, I shall take the utmost care to avoid occupying more of your time than the importance of the subject demands.

These pages will be found to contain a mere outline or synopsis of our duties towards the youth of this country generally,—the application of them to the navy rests with yourself. I, as a naval officer, have long seen and felt the want of some effectual mode of training and educating young people, both for the army and navy, but most in the latter. I am not so wild an innovator, as to suppose that we can ever dispense with the use of the cat-o'-nine-tails, or resign the power of impressment, nor would any good officer accept of command under such limitations. I am rejoiced to learn, from high authority, that our ships of war at present are well manned; the same was, however, the case during the preceding intervals of peace, after all our former wars; yet, on the breaking out of any disturbance, we have always had recourse to press-warrants, and the number and the quality of the men sent into the service by these means have never been commensurate with the enormous expense to the country, and the loss of popularity to the Government and the naval service.

The plan which I have the honour to submit to you may, if properly followed up, obviate the necessity of having recourse to such violent and generally disgusting measures in future. The recruiting of the navy may be managed with the same facility as that of the Royal Marine: the youth of the country may then be kept in constant readiness for the naval or merchant service; and when we consider the vast importance of the object, both as to economy, humanity, and national prosperity, the sum of £300,000, or even of half a million annually, is a trifle; even the Slave Abolition Bill sinks into comparative insignificance when compared to this; but if we reflect on the expenses of the Rendezvous System, the destruction of human life, the loss of property, of boats, the desertion, and a thousand other contingencies connected with the plans hitherto adopted of raising seamen for the navy, we cannot but conclude that almost any thing is better than depending on such means in any future emergency.

The appointment of naval captains to be field-officers of marines, I hear is to be discontinued; be it so. It was always a source of jealousy and uneasiness between the two services, and for that reason only should be put an end to. How far it might be consistent with the views of Government to appoint naval officers of equal rank, to be commodores superintending the naval militia, at each of our great sea-ports, is a question which I shall not presume to discuss; but I strongly and earnestly recommend that the same care which has ever, since the reign of Queen Anne, been taken of the marines, should now be applied to the seamen; indeed, the institution of the marine corps was originally, according to Burchett, intended as a nursery for seamen.

We at present have no other nursery for seamen than the very worst that can be procured,—namely, our ships of war and merchantmen, where sailors are taught to drink spirits, and to be governed with violence and terror instead of mildness and firm decision; no pains being taken to improve their moral character. The young sailor is more frequently taught to despise such distinction from his fellows.

When a ship of war or merchantman arrives from a foreign station, and is either paid off or unloaded, the crew are all turned adrift, with their money and clothes; the whole of their earnings is squandered in a few days, their wearing apparel gone, and they are beggars on the town and highways.

This might be easily avoided, by a ship or two (or more if necessary) being provided at each port, for the reception of such men, where their chests and bedding might be taken care of; themselves allowed (with a portion of their money) to go and see their friends; and, on their return, to pay sixpence a-day for their food and accommodation on board, until they were again required to go to sea.

In the Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee of the House of Commons on Manufactures, Commerce, and Shipping, 10th July, 1833, No. 6,838, and down to 6,846, there are some very instructive observations made by Mr. John Astle, showing the inferiority of our seamen, as compared with Prussians,— not in point of prowess, but in orderly conduct. The laws in force in Prussia, tending to secure discipline, are more effectual than ours, while the wages of our men are more than double theirs. In the American service, the comparison is as much against us: their ships are now going to sea without spirituous liquors, and the use of them has been officially discountenanced in their army, while in our ships so many gallons of rum are given for the run home from the West Indies or Quebec; and in our ships of war the serving of grog always produces drunkenness, and this is as often followed by corporal punishment, desertion, and loss of life. The fate of the St. George in 1759, the Edgar in 1772, the Ajax in 1806, and the Kent East Indiaman, with many other more recent instances, should warn us of the consequences of taking that doubly fatal combustible, ardent spirits, to sea, in our ships.

The following is the plan which I respectfully beg leave to submit to your consideration:—

Proposal for raising young Men for the Royal Navy or Merchant Service, with a View to avoid the Necessity of Impressment or Punishment.

I. Every boy proposed for the sea-service shall be examined by a medical board; the powers of his body and mind carefully scrutinized; his moral habits strictly investigated.

II. He shall have attained the age of thirteen years; he shall voluntarily enter for the King's service; his name shall be enrolled in the books of Greenwich Hospital; and the Government shall charge itself with his future education, training, and support, provided he does not forfeit such protection by his own misconduct.

III. He shall serve two years in a training ship; he shall not be punished with any corporal infliction, unless in extreme cases; but he shall, for his faults, undergo certain terms of solitary confinement, be debarred from amusement, deprived of animal food, or finally, if in time of peace, dismissed from the service.

IV. Every boy shall be supplied, on his coming on board, with two hammocks, a set of clues, one lashing, with two blankets, and mattress and pillow; a bag, three shirts, two suits of clothes, a cap, Bible and prayer-book, a knife and fork, and a tin pot.

Every article to be marked with the boy's number on the books, and this number to be attached to him during his continuance in the sea-service. The above articles shall be gratuitously supplied, and called the Endowment. The early and honest acquisition of property is of great consequence.

V. The mode of training and education to be pursued is submitted in the following outline, subject to such alterations and improvements as the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty may direct:

THE MODE OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING.

The Bible. Prayer, morning and evening; never to exceed six minutes each time. Divine service twice on Sundays; neither service to exceed one hour.

Reading, writing, arithmetic, common observation of the sun and moon, calculation of tides: no boy to be compelled to learn, but rather stimulated and led to it.

Lectures on geography, history, travels, voyages,—shipwrecks, with the nature and position of rocks, shoals, tides, currents, &c.—and resources in all cases of danger.

An outline of anatomy, showing the construction of the human frame, the position of the large arteries, and how to stop an hemorrhage in case of a wound or accident.

Lectures on ship-building; attention to be directed to models of the most approved ships; with the art of repairing and building vessels, they will be taught that cases may arise where such knowledge may be essentially necessary.

Exercise of great guns and small arms, single stick or broad sword; rigging and unrigging a ship; loosing, reefing, and furling of sails; making rope; blacksmith's, carpenter's, and sailmaker's work; mending clothes, &c.

No boy ever to be allowed to remain idle. He must either work, read, or play; quarrelling and fighting to be strictly prohibited; mutual kindness and constant good-humour to be inculcated.

The expense of a frigate of the larger class, to make the demonstration for one year, with three hundred boys on board, would be as follows:—

1 Captain, half-pay, £225—add, to make £400,	£175
3 Lieutenants, half-pay each £90—add £30 to each, to make £120	90
1 Master, half-pay £60—add	40
1 Surgeon's Assistant	80
1 Chaplain, as Schoolmaster	100
Cost of Victualling, Clothing, &c. 300 Boys, at £15 each	4,500
Reserve Fund, to lay by, at the rate of £3 each Boy	900
Contingencies, Stationery, &c.	115
	£6,000

At this rate, the cost of maintaining, training, and educating 15,000 boys, to supply the king's and the merchant service with good seamen, would amount to £300,000, including the reserve fund; which, on a man attaining the age of 39 years, and having, from the period of entering the service, regularly contributed thereto, at the rate of £3 per annum, will amount to between £70 and £80; from which if we deduct the expense of education and training (for two years, at £15 per annum, £30), there will remain £40 or £50 for him to fit his house with, if he thinks proper to retire with his pension, to which, according to the rules of the service, he is entitled. Should he, however, choose to remain in the navy, he will receive the interest of all his savings, at four per cent., his pension for twenty-four years' servitude, with the addition of his pay.

The essential difference between the King's and the Merchants' service must be here pointed out to the young sailor. In the former, after a servitude of 14 or 21 years, he will be entitled to a larger pension; in the latter to a smaller one; nor can he be advanced above the rating of an able seaman, while a regularly bred King's man is found qualified for a petty officer. No seaman can be entitled to a petty officer's rating, until he has served six consecutive years in the navy with a good character; and he must enter the service under the express stipulation that he is never to drink grog or spirituous liquors.

Drunkards will be dismissed the service by the sentence of a court-martial, with forfeiture of all claim on Greenwich Hospital.

Should the master of a merchant-vessel get drunk, he will forfeit the indenture of his apprentice, who may be removed from his ship by any naval captain on full pay, on proof of the alleged fact.

A seaman having served his full time in the merchant service, viz. from 13 to 39 years of age, may claim the out-pension of Greenwich Hospital, provided he has conducted himself well, and has paid up his annual contribution to the fund.

We admit that it will cost £30 to train a boy for a sailor previously to his entering on his active career of life, but this is money well and cheaply expended—1st. In the preservation of life and property. 2nd. In the saving of the expense of raising seamen either by impress or otherwise. 3rd. By taking off the odium from the King's service. 4th. By doing away with drunkenness and corporal punishment. 5th. By decrease of parochial rates. 6th. By decrease of crime and police expense.

When a youth quits the training ship, and enters the King's or merchants' service, he shall be supplied with a certificate printed on parchment, to the effect and in the form and manner hereafter stated, being an abstract from the ship's books. (See Appendix No. IV.)

All service in the Navy to be rewarded after the rate of £1 per annum pension above six years; nothing under, except from loss of limb or other personal injury.

At the age of 13, a boy must choose his profession, either the King's or the mercantile service; a good and respectable master is to be selected for him if he goes into the merchants' service. Every good or bad act, being noted in the "Behaviour Book," will be reported by the master, on his return into port, to the commanding officer of the ship from whence he received him, or to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. Good conduct may be rewarded by so many days gained, and bad conduct punished by so many being lost; the result to be added to, or subtracted from, his time of servitude; the same mode of reward and punishment to be applied to the King's ships.

A Case.—A. C. has served from the age of 13 to 39 in the merchants' service; has paid up all his subscriptions; his certificates are good. What is his reward? £9. 2*s*. 6*d*. out-pension, with liberty to enter the King's service afloat, still retaining his pension, or Greenwich Hospital, if wounded, but no pension.

Another.—A. B. has served 24 years in like manner in the Royal Navy; what is to be his reward?—A pension of £14 a-year and, with it, liberty to continue his service; or he may enter Greenwich Hospital, with a pension of £14 a-year for life; or, again, he may retire with an out-pension of £24 a-year for life. All cases of merit to be farther rewarded according to the judgment of the Lords of the Admiralty.

And farther, it must be especially and clearly understood, that a man's name standing on the books of Greenwich Hospital, whether in the King's or merchants' service, provided he pays up his sub-

scription and performs his duty, shall entitle him to all the benefits of that institution, in case of wound or accident, the same as if he had received his hurt in the King's service.

Provided also, that, on the breaking out of any war or foreign disturbance, he shall, upon the King's proclamation, appear before the nearest officer of the Royal Navy within —— days after such proclamation. If he be out of the kingdom, and employed in any merchant vessel, he shall obtain leave from the nearest King's officer to perform his voyage; such voyage being completed, he is to surrender himself, on pain of the forfeiture of all his previous savings.

Or, in preference to either of these modes of raising the fund, the Government might levy a certain sum on each of the 15,000 parishes, according to their extent and opulence, always selecting boys from each parish according to its quota; but if the boy be at all objectionable, he must be sent back at the parish expense. I have now before me a list of 32 very fine boys, in the workhouse of St. Marylebone, above the age of 13, who, at the rate only of £9 a-year, reckoning from nine years of age, have cost the parish nearly £39 each, without any return; that is to say, the sum of £1,242 has been worse than thrown away; because if the boys have acquired NO GOOD, and I can prove they have not, then they must have acquired evil; for I hold learning, without a habit of labour and good principles, to be an instrument of destruction. And considering that these 32 boys will, in all probability, become a burthen on the industrious in some shape or other, if not on the poor's rates,—then I contend that the advantage to the parish and to the country, in every point of view, by thus training these children on board a ship, would be incalculable.

27,000 men voted by Parliament, 15,000 boys in training, make 42,000. At the breaking out of a war you need not issue press-warrants; your marines, volunteers, and landsmen would quickly fill your ships, to the number of 120,000 men. [But you must give better pay to your able seamen.]*

WIDOWS' FUND.

EVERY YOUNG PERSON ENTERING THE KING'S SERVICE shall deposit —— per cent. from all his wages, gains, prize money, or other emoluments or profits, towards a fund for the maintenance of widows. Should he die unmarried, this sum, whatever may be its amount, will fall to the Government Fund for Widows; but if he leave a widow, or mother, or sisters, or children, they shall receive the interest or principal, or both, as the Lords of the Admiralty may judge fit. We must not forget, that by deducting £1. 5*s*. per annum, or £30 from the whole of his savings at the end of the 24 years, the seaman has paid the expense of his education and training, while, by the same means, his moral and physical powers have

* The words between brackets were added after the letter was sent to Sir James Graham.

been so much improved, that he is worth twice as much either to the King or to the merchant as he would have been untrained and untaught; and 400 such men would do the work more effectually than 600 of the present school, at one-third less cost.*

I have the honour to be,
With grateful respect,
Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
EDW. P. BRENTON,
Capt. R.N.

18, *York Street, Gloucester Place,*
April 7th, 1834.

No. III.

It has been calculated that we expend annually, in the counties of England and Wales, the sum of £716,457 in the following items:—

Prosecution for crimes . . .	£186,915
Prisons	177,245
Maintenance	127,297
Transports	205,000
Penitentiary at Millbank . .	20,000
	£716,457

No charge is here made for police, or depredations committed on property, nor have I taken into account the sums levied on the credulous public by street-beggars, which, taken altogether in one sum, would amount to something so enormous, as to sink the demand I am about to make, into perfect insignificance.

We reckon about 15,300 parishes in England and Wales, and, that in each parish on an average there are three boys consigned to the prison,† to the workhouse, or to ruin, by neglect of parental or parochial or local authority, and that, from the age of eight years to that of puberty, they cost the public, one with another, £14 a-year each: this, in 12 years, would amount to £216, to say nothing of their plunder. These boys are all the most talented and the most desperate members of the uneducated part of society: bold, daring, hardy, and accustomed to privation, they only require a proper attention and training to make them the most valuable and productive, instead of being the most annoying, destructive class,—a blessing instead of a curse to their country.

Every parish in England and Wales should, then, supply one boy at least to the sea-service; he should be selected at the age of eleven years, a volunteer, of the best mental and bodily powers, and

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* When this plan has been fairly carried into effect, bounties to seamen may be discontinued. They were always objectionable, inasmuch as they added to profligacy and caused desertion.

† See Appendix D.

sent to a training ship for two years, there to be kept and taught in the manner hereafter pointed out. The Poor Law Commissioners would very soon furnish the proper returns; the ships to receive them are all ready in our ports; the captains and officers in the ordinary are ready to instruct them; the expense to Government would be nothing, and the money of the rate-payers would be saved by the diminution of your county rates and the expenses before enumerated; your poor-rates would diminish, crime would disappear, your prisons and convict hulks would be empty.

Now, having laid the subject in its condensed form before you, I only ask your serious attention to the following abstract of a parliamentary document, showing the extent of our losses by sea, and proving that the greater part of those losses is owing to the defective education and training, and to the bad character of our sailors. It is but an act of justice to Mr. James Silk Buckingham (a sailor of no mean talent), to say that to his exertions in Parliament we owe the valuable report from which the following is copied:—

SHIPWRECKS.

REPORT.

The Select Committee appointed to inquire into the causes of the increased number of Shipwrecks, with a view to ascertain whether such improvements might not be made in the construction, equipment, and navigation of merchant vessels, as would greatly diminish the annual loss of life and property at sea, and who were empowered to report their opinions and observations thereupon, together with the Minutes of the Evidence taken before them, to the House, have examined the matters referred to them, and agreed to the following resolutions:—

I.—Extent of Loss in Property and Lives at Sea.

1. That the number of ships and vessels belonging to the United Kingdom which were wrecked or lost in the periods specified below, appears, by a return made to the committee from the books of Lloyd's, to be as follows:—

NUMBER OF VESSELS STRANDED OR WRECKED.

1816	343	1833	595
1817	362	1834	454
1818	409	1835	524
	1,114		1,573

NUMBER OF VESSELS MISSING OR LOST.

1816	19	1833	56
1817	40	1834	43
1818	30	1835	30
	89		129

Making a total of 1,203 ships or vessels wrecked and missing in the first period of three years, and a total of 1,702 wrecked and missing in the second period of three years.

2. That, taking the number of vessels wrecked and lost in the two periods named above at the assumed value of £5,000 for each ship and cargo, on the average of the whole, the loss of property occasioned by these wrecks would amount, in the first three years, to £6,015,000, being an average of £2,005,000 per annum; and in the last three years to £8,510,000, being an average of £2,836,666 per annum.

3. That the number of ships in each of the years above specified, of which the entire crews were drowned, though the exact number of each crew is not stated, appears, by the same return made to your Committee, from the books of Lloyd's, to have been as follows:—

NUMBER OF VESSELS IN EACH YEAR, OF WHICH THE ENTIRE CREWS WERE DROWNED.

1816	15	1833	38
1817	19	1834	24
1818	15	1835	19
	49		81

Making a total of 49 in the first period of three years, and a total of 81 in the second period of three years.

4. That the number of persons drowned in each of the years specified, in addition to the above, and of which the number drowned belonging to each vessel is distinctly known, appears, by the same return from Lloyd's books, to be as follows:—

NUMBER OF PERSONS DROWNED IN EACH YEAR BY SHIPS NAMED.

1816	945	1833	572
1817	499	1834	578
1818	256	1835	564
	1,700		1,714

5. That, assuming the average number of persons in each of the vessels of which the entire vessels were lost, to consist of ten individuals, including officers, seamen, and passengers, it would appear, that in the first three years the number of persons drowned were 588 in the 49 vessels whose crews were entirely lost, and 1,700 in the vessels of which the exact number in each was known, making a total of 2,228 lives, or 763 per annum; and that in the last three years the number of persons drowned was 972 in the 81 vessels whose crews were entirely lost, and 1,710 in the vessels of which the exact number in each was known—making a total of 2,682 lives, or 894 per annum.

6. That among the special cases of loss by shipwreck on particular parts of the coast, it has been stated that, during the last four years, 272 ships were lost belonging to the port of Tyne, averaging 68 vessels per annum, the whole number of vessels registered in that port being about 1,000 sail; that these 272 vessels measured 60,489 tons; and assuming these to have been total losses, and the average value of the whole to be £10 per ton, the loss of property from this single port would be £604,890 in four years, or £151,222 per annum; while the number of lives lost in these 272 vessels during the same period was 682; the number of widows and orphans left for relief, 147; and the amount of money paid out of the funds of the Seamen's Association at Shields, for relief of members of that society only, amounted to £1,935. 15*s*. 9*d*.; the ships employed from this port being principally colliers, which perform eight or nine voyages in each year, and are continued in occupation during winter as well as summer along a dangerous coast.

7. That during a period of 16 months, from January 1, 1833, to May 1, 1834, the number of vessels reported in Lloyd's books as missing or lost, and which have never since been heard of, amounted to 95 in number; and these ships being principally engaged in foreign voyages, the calculation made on their value, and the number of their crews, including officers, seamen, and passengers, assuming £8,000 as the lowest average value of ship and cargo throughout, and 15 persons as the average number of persons on board the whole, gives a total loss in these missing ships only, within the short period of 16 months, of £760,000 sterling in property, and 1,425 lives.

8. That these results do not embrace the whole extent of loss in property or lives occasioned by shipwrecks, even among those vessels only which belong to the United Kingdom, inasmuch as these returns include only the losses entered in Lloyd's books, from which the returns adverted to were made out; whereas it is well known that many vessels and lives are lost by wreck or foundering at sea, of which no entry is made in Lloyd's books, and of which, as no record is kept, no return can be produced.

9. That the whole loss of property in British shipping wrecked or foundered at sea may therefore be assumed as amounting to nearly £3,000,000 sterling per annum, the value of which property, though covered by insurance to certain parties, is not the less absolutely lost to the nation, and its cost paid for by the British public, on whom its loss must ultimately fall.

10. That the annual loss of life occasioned by the wreck or foundering of British vessels at sea may, on the same grounds, be fairly estimated at not less than 1,000 persons in each year, which loss is also attended with increased pecuniary burdens to the British public, on whom the support of many of the widows and orphans left destitute by such losses must ultimately fall.

II.—Principal causes of Shipwreck.

11. That, among the various causes of shipwreck which appear susceptible of removal or diminution, the following appear to be the most frequent and the most generally admitted :—

1. Defective construction of ships.
2. Inadequacy of equipment.
3. Imperfect state of repair.
4. Improper or excessive loading.
5. Inappropriateness of form.
6. Incompetency of masters and officers.
7. Drunkenness of officers and men.
8. Operation of marine insurance.
9. Want of harbours of refuge.
10. Imperfection of charts.

No. IV.

No.	Age.	Date of Entry.		Name.	Parish.	Days.		Difference		How disposed of.	Signature of Captain or Master and Apprentice.	Date of Discharge.
		Month.	Year.			Gain	Lost	Gain	Lost			
1	13	Apr. 13	1834	John Jones	{ Whitechapel. Father, a Sailor }	70	13	53	..	Discharged into H.M.S. *Rattlesnake.*		
2	13	June 1	1834	Jacob Stevens ...	Father, a Marine	365	0	365	..	Discharged with highest mark of approbation.		
3	13	July ..	1834	Thomas Wild ..	Orphan	200	7	193	..	Apprentice–Brig *Maria*, of London, Captain Stevens, bound to Jamaica.		

A Certificate of this description should be given to every boy on his removal from the training ship. It should be on parchment, in a tin case, and confided to the custody of the captain or master with whom he sails. Captains of merchantmen should make a return of good or bad, on a paper certificate, in the same form. The number of days gained or lost is of itself a certificate of good or bad conduct: jumping overboard to save a man's life should be marked with a certain number of days, according to circumstances, guarding against collusion. Drunkenness: 1st offence, loss of 15 days; 2d ditto, 30 days; 3d ditto, 60 days; doubling every time until the column were full with 365 days; when disgrace and discharge must ensue, with loss of all savings, and to work at cleansing the harbours, but never to be chargeable to parish.

No. V.

St. Marylebone, 11th February, 1834.

At a Meeting of the Sub-Committee of Directors and Guardians — *Present*, Mr. Wm. Kensett, in the Chair; Shearman Chesterman, Esq.; Mr. Wm. Salter; Captain Brenton.

Your Committee went through the Boys' School, and inquired into the mode of treatment, instruction, and general management; and they are of opinion that Mr. Robinson, the master, performs his duty; that the boys appear to have generally a competent knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic; but that they are not, and cannot be, in such limits, trained to healthy labour and profitable occupation.

That your Committee next visited the workshops and manufactory, and found the boys discontented and labour unprofitable; that the weavers, shoemakers, and tailors produced no work of any value, and in the latter department the foreman informed your Committee, that a master, in taking an apprentice, preferred one who knew nothing to one who had received instruction.

That whatever profit might accrue in the rope-yard was more than overbalanced by the immoral habits of the boys, whose intercourse with the adult paupers of both sexes quickly eradicated every good impression, and that well-disposed boys frequently relapsed or were corrupted by the ridicule and bad example of their companions; and finally, your Committee observed with regret that the boys slept two in a bed, a practice which they must ever condemn.

(*Signed*) Edw. P. Brenton, R. Mills,
Shearman Chesterman, W. Kensett.

St. Marylebone, 17th Feb. 1834.

At a Meeting of the Sub-Committee of Directors and Guardians — *Present*, Captain Brenton, in the chair; Rev. G. A. Thursby; Shearman Chesterman, Esq.; Mr. Theo. Redwood; Mr. Richard Mills; Mr. William Kensett.

Your Committee proceeded to Hackney-Wick, to view the "Brenton Asylum," and to examine the boys placed in that institution; they have to report that they found them all (52 in number) healthy, contented, and engaged in cheerful and useful pursuits, principally spade labour, tending to establish habits of industry, good principles, and independence of character.

That the boys sent from this house were more particularly examined by your Committee, and they unanimously and readily expressed their pleasure and contentment with the treatment they received, and looked forward with satisfaction to the period when they should be removed (to the colonies) under the auspices and guidance of the "Society for the Suppression of Juvenile Vagrancy," (now the Children's Friend Society.)

Your Committee witnessed with much satisfaction the advancement of education, with the moral virtues, among the children, strikingly exemplified in their examination; their love of truth—their devoted obedience to their preceptors and masters—their repentance of past errors and an evident determination to amend. The marked improvement of character appears to have been brought about by kindness and strict attention,—the most important feature of the system.

After having given the subject their best consideration, your Committee think it their duty to recommend to the Board of Directors and Guardians, to make immediate arrangements with the "Society for the Suppression of Juvenile Vagrancy," to receive all the orphan boys of this house above the age of eight years, the institution engaging to keep them for the sum of four shillings per week each, during the period of their probation; and that previously to their being sent to the colonies, they shall be inspected by the Board of Guardians, who, on being satisfied, will make farther arrangements to defray the expenses of their voyage and outfit to the Cape of Good Hope or Swan River, at the rate of ten pounds, and two suits of clothes, for each boy.

(*Signed*) Edw. P. Brenton. R. Mills.
Shearman Chesterman. W. Kensett.
G. A. Thursby.

The children of the workhouse, if properly attended to, and placed at infant and agricultural schools in the country, would become the most valuable of the King's subjects. A man, from a manufacturing county, looking at 200 fine boys in St. Marylebone workhouse, had the sagacious impudence to say, that those boys would be to him a mine of wealth if he had them in Lancashire. I have no doubt they would, and that in twenty years all of them would have been swept away with disease occasioned by cruel treatment and worse than slave labour.

No. VI.

DIMENSIONS OF SOME OF THE MOST APPROVED SHIPS IN HIS MAJESTY'S NAVY, BETWEEN THE YEARS 1719 AND 1822.

Ships' Names.	Guns	When built.	Tonnage	Length of keel for tonnage.	Breadth, extreme.	Length of the gun-deck.	Height between decks.	Depth of hold.	Number of ports for guns on gun-deck.	Draught of water.		Quantity water stowing.	Height of lower-deck ports.	With 6 months' provisions.
				ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.	ft. in.		Afore.	Abaft.	Tons.	ft. in.	
Queen Charlotte	100	1810	..	156 1¾	52 6	190 0½	7 1½	22 9	30	24 10	25 7	380	5 2	
Royal George (broken up)	100	1788	2286	156 2⅜	52 5½	190 0	7 1½	22 4	30	24 11	26 0	350	5 4	
Leviathan (large class)	74	1790	1707	140 4	47 10	172 3	7 1	20 9	28	22 1	23 5	212	4 10	
Valiant (do.)	74	1807	1718	142 9⅝	47 6¾	174 0	7 0	20 0	28	21 10	23 2	200	4 8	
Old Royal George (sunk at Spithead in 1782)	100	1756	2041	143 5½	51 9½	178 0	7 1½	21 6	30	Returns	do not go	so far	back.	
Royal William	100	1719	1918	142 7	50 3½	175 4	7 0	20 1	28					
Brunswick (large class)	74	1790	1836	145 3	48 9	176 2½	7 0	19 6	28	21 9	22 3	226	6 0	6 months.
Egyptienne (frigate)	38	not known.	1430	141 5⅞	43 7	170 2	6 10	15 6	30	20 2½	20 2½	160	8 2	6 months.
Diamond (do.)	46	1816	1075	125 1¾	40 2½	150 0½	6 5	12 9	28	No returns.				
Spartan (do.)	46	1806	1084	129 6¼	39 8	154 2	6 5	13 6	28	18 3	19 4	140	7 9	
Amaranthe (brig)	18	1804	386	77 2½	30 8	100 0	..	12 9	18	11 6	14 9	32	Not	stated.
										Best sailing drght.				
San Josef	100	not known.	2457	156 11¼	54 3	194 3	7 2	24 3½	30	25 9	27 0	489	5 10	
Tonnant	80	ditto.	2281	160 (	51 9¼	194 2	7 2	23 3	30	23 0	24 1	375	6 9	
Caledonia	120	1808	2616	170 9⅛	53 8	205 0	7 1	23 2	32	24 8½	26 1	421	5 6	
Hibernia	120	1804	2508	167 4⅛	53 1	201 2	7 2	22 4	32	26 2	26 5	412	4 3	
Trusty (an old 50)	50	1782	1088	124 0¾	40 7⅜	150 5½	6 9½	17 9¾	..	19 1	20 1	148	5 1	
Leander (a new one)	60	1813	1572	145 1¼	45 1½	174 0	6 9	14 4	30	18 10	20 0	250	7 6	
Winchester (round stern)	60	1822	1487	145 7	43 10	173 1	6 8	14 6	30	No returns.				
Centaur	74	1797	1842	144 3	49 0	176 0	6 10½	20 0	28	24 0½	25 1	260	4 6	6 months.
Renown	74	1798	1899	150 0	48 9½	182 0	7 2	21 7	30	23 0	24 0	264	5 5	
Endymion	40	1797	1277	132 3	42 7⅜	159 3⅜	6 7½	12 4	26	18 4	19 6	117	6 2	
Prince Regent (round stern)	120	1823	2602	170 11	53 6	205 5½	7 1	23 2	32	No returns.				
Revenge (do.)	78	1805	1926	150 2½	49 2	182 6	7 2	20 9	30	22 5	24 8	275	4 9	6 months.
Havannah (do.)	42	1811	941	121 9¼	38 3½	145 0½	6 4	13 3¾	26	17 6	19 6	125	8 2	
									upper deck.					
Nelson	120	1816	2601	170 10⅓	53 8	205 0	..	24 0	32	2 68-lb. carronades in the foremost port.				
Cæsar (broke up)	84	1793	2003	148 1	50 5	181 0	..	22 11	30	but one, lower decks of 80-gun ships.				

All ships of the line are six feet high under the beam on the lower deck.

Guns.	Ships' Names.	Length. Gun Deck.	Length. Keel for Tonnage.	Breadth. Extreme.	Breadth. For Tonnage.	Depth in Hold.	Tons.	Built. When.	Built. Where.	Draught of Water. Afore.	Draught of Water. Abaft.	Height of Midship Port.	No. of Men.	Gun Deck. No.	Gun Deck. Prs.	Middle Deck. No.	Middle Deck. Prs.	Upper Deck. No.	Upper Deck. Prs.	Quarter Deck. No.	Quarter Deck. Prs.	Forecastle. No.	Forecastle. Prs.	By whose Draught.
										Load.	Load.	ft. in.										2	32	
110	Royal Frederick	204 0	166 5½	60 0	59 2	23 9	3099	..	Portsmouth .	23 4	24 4	6 6	..	28	32	28	32	32	32	10	32	2	68	Sir W. Symonds.
														2	68	2	68				Poop	4	18	
120	Neptune . .	205 8	170 5½	55 6½	54 7½	23 2	2705	1832	Portsmouth .	14 10	18 4	..	900	30	32	32	32	32	32	16	32	2	32	Sir W. Rule, as "Caledonia."
										23 10	25 2	6 0		2	68	2	68	2	68			2	32	
80	Vanguard . .	190 0	155 0	57 0	56 3	23 4	2609	1835	Pembroke .	15 5	18 8	..	630	28	32	..	..	26	32	14	32	8	32	Sir W. Symonds.
										23 0	24 0	7 0		2	68			2	68					
84	Asia . . .	196 4½	162 5	52 2½	51 5½	22 6	2289	1824	Bombay . .	..	..	..												As the "Canopus."
										21 8	24 3	7 0		2	68	..	..	2	68					
80	Bellerophon .	192 0	159 7⅜	49 11½	49 2½	21 0	2056	1818	Portsmouth .	13 9	16 11	..	620	28	32	..	..	30	24	4	12	2	12	Sir H. Peake.
										21 4	22 4	6 0		2	68									
74	Edinburgh . .	176 6	145 4⅝	48 7½	47 10½	21 0½	1772	1811	River Thames	13 9	17 7	..	500	26	32	..	..	26	18	4	12	2	12	Surveyors of the Navy.
										21 5	22 9	6 2½		2	68			2	68	10	32	2	32	
50	Vernon . . .	176 0	144 6½	52 8½	52 0½	17 1	2082	1832	Woolwich .	13 6	17 6½	..	450	28	32	..	..	..	..	14	32	8	32	Sir W. Symonds.
50	Barham . .	176 0	144 11⅜	48 4½	47 9½	13 10	1761	1811	Blackwall .	20 9	21 9	9 6												
										13 6	16 7	..	420	28	32	..	..	22	32	..	..	..	..	Surveyors of the Navy.
										as cut	down.													
36	Castor . . .	159 1½	133 6⅞	43 1	42 8	13 6	1293	1832	Chatham .	20 3	21 6	8 3												
										12 8	15 2	..	303	..	..	..	..	22	32	10	32	4	32	Sir R. Seppings.
36	Pique . . .	160 0	130 9½	48 10½	48 5½	14 7	1633	1834	Plymouth .	20 9	21 9	9 0												
										13 2	16 10	..	275	..	..	..	..	22	32	10	32	4	32	Sir W. Symonds.
36	Inconstant . .	160 1	133 5⅝	45 5	44 9	13 7	1422	1836	Portsmouth .	19 3	20 3	8 9												
										12 9½	15 5	..	275	..	..	..	..	22	32	10	32	4	32	Captain Hayes.
26	Vestal . . .	130 0	105 9	40 7½	40 3½	10 10	913	1833	Sheerness .	18 7	19 3	8 3												
										10 0	15 4	..	180	..	..	..	..	18	32	6	32	2	12	Sir W. Symonds.
28	Conway . .	125 4	105 9⅜	34 5½	34 0½	10 0	652	1832	Chatham .	16 1	17 8	6 4												
										10 11	13 9	..	175	..	..	..	..	20	32	6	32	2	9	Sir R. Seppings.
26	Actæon . .	121 6½	100 4	34 5	34 1	9 7	620	1831	Portsmouth .	16 6	16 8	5 8												
										10 2	12 11½	4 9	175	..	..	..	..	20	32	4	32	2	9	Superior Class of Shipwright Apprentices.
										16 7	16 10													
18	Dido . . .	120 0	99 0½	37 8	37 4	18 0	734	1836	Pembroke .	10 4	14 6	..	145	..	..	..	..	18	32	Guns		..	..	Sir W. Symonds.
										14 9	15 9	7 0												
18	Orestes . . .	109 11	92 10½	30 10	30 6	7 6	460	1824	Portsmouth .	8 6	11 0	..	125	..	..	..	..	16	32	Carronades		..	..	School of Naval Architecture.
										13 10	14 6	5 0						2	9	Guns				
18	Rover . . .	113 0	90 1½	35 5	35 1	16 9	590	1832	Chatham .	9 7	12 5	..	120	..	..	..	..	16	32	..	..	..	..	Sir W. Symonds.
										14 2	15 5	5 11						2	9					
16	Clio	100 0	77 5	31 1	30 9	13 1	389	1807	Mistleythorne	7 10	11 9	..	110	..	..	..	..	14	32	..	..	..	..	Sir W. Rule, as "Cruiser."
										12 0	14 8	4 3						2	9					
16	Ringdove . .	100 6	78 10⅜	32 4	32 0	15 2	429	1833	Plymouth .	8 6	11 7	..	117	..	..	..	..	14	32	..	..	..	..	Sir W. Symonds.
										13 3	14 6	4 10½						2	9					
10	Rapid . . .	90 1	72 3	24 8½	24 6½	11 0	231	1829	Portsmouth .	7 3	9 5	..	52	..	..	..	..	8	18	..	..	..	..	Sir H. Peake.
										10 6	12 4	4 7						2	6					
10	Dolphin . .	90 7½	71 2½	29 3½	29 0½	14 7½	320	1836	Sheerness .	6 10	10 9½	..	50	..	..	..	..	2	18	..	..	..	..	Sir W. Symonds.
										11 5	13 0	6 2½						1	32					
4	Swift . . .	95 5	75 2½	30 3½	30 0½	14 7	361	1835	Deptford . .	7 11	10 11	..	44	..	..	..	..	4	..	Brass Car.		Guns		Sir W. Symonds.
										11 4½	12 3	6 10												
4	Plover . . .	90 1	73 8	24 9	24 7	11 0	237	1821	Portsmouth .	7 10	9 2	..	30	..	..	..	..	4	12	Carronades		..	..	Sir H. Peake.
										10 6	11 9	3 10½												

No. VIII.—COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF ON HOME AND FOREIGN

	East Indies.	West Indies.		Mediterranean.	N. America.	Newfoundland.	Cape of Good Hope.
		Jamaica.	Leeward Isl.				
1783	Com. Sir R. King.	Rear-Adm. Joshua Rowley.	Rear-Adm. Sir R. Hughes.	Sir J Lindsay, K.B.	Rear-Adm. Sir C. Douglas.	Rear-Adm. J. Campbell.	..
1784	..	Rear-Adm. J. Gambier.	..	..	..	..	..
1785	Com. Mitchell.	Rear-Adm. A. Innes.	..	Com. P. Cosby.	Com. H. Sawyer.	..	..
1786	None.	Com. A. Gardner.	..	..	..	J. Elliot.	..
1787	..	..	Com. W. Parker.	..	..	..	..
1788	..	..	..	..	..	M. Milbank.	..
1789	Hon. W. Cornwallis.	..	..	..	Sir Richard Hughes.	..	..
1790	..	Rear-Adm. P. Affleck.	Rear-Adm. Sir J. Laforey.	J. Peyton.	..	..	..
1791	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1792	..	Com. Ford.	..	Com. S. C. Goodall.	..	Rear-Adm. Sir R. King.	..
1793	..	..	Rear-Adm. A. Gardner.	Vis. Hood.	Com. R. George.	..	..
1794	Com. P. Rainier.	..	Vice-Adm. Sir J. Jervis.	..	..	Rear-Adm. Sir J. Wallace.	..
1795	..	Rear-Adm. Sir H. Parker.	Rear-Adm. B. Caldwell.	Vice-Adm. Hotham.	Rear-Adm. G. Murray.	..	Rear-Adm. Sir G. Keith Elphinstone
1796	..	..	Vice-Adm. Sir J. Laforey.	Vice-Adm. Sir J. Jervis.	..	..	..
1797	..	..	Rear-Adm. H Hervey.	..	..	Vice-Adm. Hon. W. Waldegrave.	Rear-Adm. Pringle.
1798	..	..	..	Earl St. Vincent.	Rear-Adm. Vandeput.	..	Sir Hugh Christian.
1799	..	..	Vice-Adm Lord H. Seymour.	..	..	..	Rear-Adm. R. Curtis.
1800	..	Vice-Adm. Lord H. Seymour.¶	Rear-Adm. Sir J. Duckworth.	Lord Keith.	Sir William Parker.	Vice-Adm. Sir C. M. Pole.	..

Those marked thus (¶) died in the command.

STATIONS, FROM THE YEAR 1783 TO THE YEAR 1822.

Lisbon.	S. America.	Portsmouth.	Plymouth.	Cork.	Nore.	Leith.

No. VIII.—COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF ON

	East Indies.	West Indies.		Mediterranean.	N. America.	Newfoundland.	Cape of Good Hope.
		Jamaica.	Leeward Isl.				
1801	P. Rainier.	Rear-Adm. Sir J. Duckworth.	Rear-Adm. Totty ¶	Lord Keith.	Sir W. Parker.	Vice-Adm. Sir C. M. Pole.	Rear-Adm. S R. Curtis.
1802	..	..	Com. Sir S. Hood.	..	Vice-Adm. Sir A. Mitchell.	Vice-Adm. Gambier.	..
1803	..	..	..	Vice-Adm. Lord Nelson.	..	..	..
1804	Rear-Adm. Sir P. Pellew.	Rear-Adm. Dacres.	..	..	..	Vice-Adm. Sir E. Gower.	..
1805	Sir T. Trowbridge, who was drowned coming home in the Blenheim.	..	Rear-Adm. Sir A. Cochrane.	Vice-Adm. Collingwood.	..	..	..
1806	..	..	..	..	Vice-Adm. Berkeley.	..	..
1807	Sir E. Pellew, sole command.	..	..	..	Vice-Adm. Sir J. B. Warren.	Vice-Adm. Holloway.	..
1808	..	Vice-Adm. Rowley.¶	..	..	..	..	Rear-Adm. Bertie
1809	Rear-Adm. Drury.¶ *	..	..	..	..	Vice-Adm. Sir J. Duckworth.	..
1810	..	..	Rear-Adm. Sir F. Laforey.	..	Rear-Adm. Sawyer.	..	Rear-Adm. Stopford.
1811	Vice-Adm. Sir S. Hood.¶	Vice-Adm. Stirling.	..	Vice-Adm. Sir E. Pellew.	..	..	..
1812	..	..	..	..	Adms. Sir J. Warren, and W. Indies.	..	Rear-Adm. Tyler.
1813	..	Rear-Adm. Brown.¶	Rear-Adm. Durham.	..	Vice-Adm. Sir A. Cochrane.	Vice-Adm. Sir R. G. Keats.	..
1814	Rear-Adm. Burlton.¶	..	..	Rear-Adm. Penrose.	..	..	..
1815	Rear-Adm. Sir R. King.	Rear-Adm. Douglas.	..	Adm. Lord Exmouth was only on particular service.	Rear-Adm. E. Griffiths.	..	Rear-Adm. S G. Cockbur
1816	..	..	Rear-Adm. Harvey.	..	Rear-Adm. Sir D. Milne, who resigned.	Vice-Adm. Pickmore.¶	Rear-Adm. P. Malcoln
1817	..	Rear-Adm. Sir H. Popham.	..	Rear-Adm. Penrose.	..	..	Rear-Adm. Plampin.
1818	..	..	..	..	..	Vice-Adm. Sir C. Hamilton.	..
1819	Rear-Adm. Hon. Sir H. Blackwood.	..	Rear-Adm. Campbell.¶	Vice-Adm. Sir T. Freemantle.¶	Rear-Adm. Griffiths.	..	Rear-Adm. Lambert. I naparte di May 5, 182
1820	..	Rear-Adm. Sir C. Rowley.	Rear-Adm. Fahie, command united to N. America.	Vice-Adm. Sir G. Moore.	..	..	..
1821	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1822	Com. Grant.	..	..	..	..	..	Com. Nour

¶ When this sign is affixed, it sho

* On the death of the flag-officers in India from 1810 to 181

HOME AND FOREIGN STATIONS—(*continued.*)

Lisbon.	S. America.	Portsmouth.	Plymouth.	Cork.	Noke.	Leith.
..	..	Adm. Sir Peter Parker.	Sir R. King.	..	..	..
.	..	..	..	..	..	..
.. ..	..	Adm. Milbanke.	.. ..	..	..	.. ..
..	..	Adm. G. Montagu.	W. Young.	..	..	..
..	Rear-Adm. Sir W. Sid. Smith.	.. ..	..	Lord Gardner.	B. S. Rowley.	Rear-Adm. Vashon.
..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	.. ..	.. ..	..	.. ..	..	..
Vice-Adm. Sir C. Cotton.	Rear-Adm. Murray.	..	..	..	..	..
Vice-Adm. Berkeley.	.. ..	..	..	..	..	..
.. ..	Rear-Adm. De Courcy.	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	Sir R. Curtis.	Sir R. Calder.	Vice-Adm. E. Thornborough.	..	Rear-Adm. W. Albany Otway.
.. ..	.. ..	..	.. ..	..	In North Seas, Adm. W. Young.	.. ..
Vice-Adm. G. Martin.	Rear-Adm. Dixon.	Adm. Sir R. Bickerton.	..	..	Sheerness, Sir T. Williams.	..
.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	..	.. ..	.. ..	..
Rear-Adm. Fleming.	..	..	W. Domett.	Herbert Sawyer.	..	Sir W. J. Hope.
..	.. ..	.. ..	J. T. Duckworth.	..	Sir C. Rowley.	..
.. ..	.. ..	..	.. ..	.. ..	..	.. ..
..	.. ..	Adm. Sir E. Thornborough	Adm. Viscount Exmouth.	Sir B. Hallowell.	.. ..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	Com. Sir T. Hardy.	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	Adm. Sir G. Campbell.¶	..	Sir J. Rowley.	Rear-Adm. Sir J. Gore.	Rear-Adm. R. Waller Otway.
.. ..	..	..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..	.. ..
Sir J. H. Whitshed.	..	Sir J. H. Whitshed.	Sir A. Cochrane.	Lord Colville.	Sir B. Hallowell.	Sir J. P. Beresford.

that the Officer died in the command.
the command devolved on Captain G. Sayer, of the Leda.

No. VIII.—COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF ON HOME

	East Indies.	West Indies. Jamaica.	West Indies. Leeward Isl.	Mediterranean.	N. America.	Newfoundland.	Cape of Good Hope.
1823	Commodore Chas. Grant.	Rear-Adm. Sir C. Rowley, command united.	Coast of Africa, Com. Mends.	Vice-Adm. Sir Harry Neale.	Rear-Adm. S. W. C. Fahie.	Vice-Adm. Sir C. Hamilton.	¶Com. Nourse.
1824	..	Vice-Adm. Sir L. W. Halsted.	Com. C. Bullen.	..	Rear-Adm. W. T. Lake, command united.		..
1825	Com. Sir C. Brisbane.	..	..	..	..	..	..
1826	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1827	Rear-Adm. W. H. Gage.	Vice-Adm. Sir C. Fleming.	..	Vice-Adm. Sir E. Codrington.	..	..	Com. H. H. Christian.
1828	Rear-Adm. Sir E. Owen.	..	Com. Sir F. A. Collier.	Vice-Adm. Sir P. Malcolm.	Rear-Adm. Sir Chas. Ogle.	..	Com. Skipsey. Com. Sir C. M. Schomberg.
1829	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1830	..	*See* N. America.	Com. J. Hayes.	..	¶Vice-Adm. Sir E. G. Colpoys, including Jamaica.	..	..
1831*	Vice-Adm. Sir J. Gore.	..	..	¶Vice-Adm. Sir H. Hotham.	..	..	..
1832	Dec. 1831.	*See* above.	*See* Cape of Good Hope.	..	..	..	Rear-Adm. F. Warren, and Coast of Africa.
1833†	..	*See* above.	..	Vice-Adm. Sir P. Malcolm.	Vice-Adm. Sir G. Cockburn.	..	..
1834	Rear-Adm. Sir T. B. Capel.	..	*See* Cape of Good Hope.	Vice-Adm. Sir J. Rowley.	..	..	Rear-Adm. Sir P. Campbell.
1835	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1836	..	..	..	..	Vice-Adm. S. P. Halkett.		..

¶ Prefixed shows that the Officer
* This year Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Codrington
† This year Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Briggs was appointed Admiral-Superintendent at Malta, and Portsmouth, took the former Commissioners'

AND FOREIGN STATIONS—(*continued.*)

Lisbon.	S. America.	Portsmouth.	Plymouth.	Cork.	Nore.	Leith.
Nemo.	Rear-Adm. Sir G. Eyre, K.C.B.	Adm. Sir J. H. Whitshed, G.C.B.	Adm. Hon. Sir A. Cochrane, G.C.B.	Rear-Adm. Lord Colville.	Vice-Adm. Sir B. Hallowell, K.C.B.	Rear-Adm. Sir J. P. Beresford, Bt. K.C.B.
Vice-Adm. Lord A. Beauclerc, K.C.B.	..	Adm. Sir G. Martin, G.C.B.	Adm. Sir J. Saumarez, G.C.B.	..	Vice-Adm. Sir R. Moorsom, K.C.B.	Discontinued as flag command.
..	..	..	..	Vice-Adm. R. Plampin.	..	..
..	Rear-Adm. Sir W. Otway, K.C.B.	..	..	..	..	..
..	..	Adm. Hon. Sir R. Stopford, G.C.B.	Adm. Earl of Northesk, G.C.B.	..	..	..
Nemo.	..	..	..	..	Vice-Adm. Hon. Sir H. Blackwood, K.C.B.	..
..	Rear-Adm. Sir T. Baker, K.C.B.	..	..	Rear-Adm. Sir C. Paget 1829.	..	..
..	..	¶Adm. Sir T. Foley, G.C.B.	Adm. Sir M. Dixon, G.C.B.	Command discontinued.	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rear-Adm. Sir W. Parker, K.C.B.	..	..	..	..	..	..
..	¶Rear-Adm. Sir Mich. Seymour, K.C.B.	Adm. Sir T. Williams, G.C.B.	Adm. Sir W. Hargood, G.C.B.	..	¶Vice-Adm. Sir R. King, Bt. K.C.B.	..
Rear-Adm. Sir W. Hall Gage.	..	Rear-Adm. Sir F. L. Maitland, K.C.B. appointed superintendent in 1833.	Capt. C. B. H. Ross, superintendent 1833.	..	..	..
..	Rear-Adm. Sir Graham Eden Hammond.	..	..	..	Vice-Adm. Hon. Sir C. Elphinstone Fleming.	..
..	..	Adm. Sir P. H. Durham, G.C.B.	Adm. Lord A. Beauclerc, G.C.B.	..	..	..

died while in the command.
commanded a Squadron of Observation in the Channel.
Sir Frederick L. Maitland at Portsmouth, in lieu of Commissioners. The Commander-in-Chief, at residence in the Dock-yard.

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